

Adams

#2-2-Vol.1







*Domineus Gulielmus Temple Equus Baroettus
Ser.^m et Pol.^m Mag. Britanniarum Regis ad Ord.^m Fed.^m Belgii Legatus
Elect.^m et apud Tractatus pacis tam Aquisgranum quam Nomeni Legat.^m
Mediat.^m Eiusdem Ser.^m Regis a Secretariis Consilij. 1670.*

T H E
W O R K S

O F

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t.

In T W O V O L U M E S.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

To which is Prefix'd
Some Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS
of the AUTHOR.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROUND, J. TONSON, J. CLARKE, B. MOTTE,
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SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE *and* WRITINGS

OF

SIR William Temple, BAR^t.



WHEN the Works of a deceased Author, especially one of Eminency, are publish'd together, it is very reasonable that something shou'd be prefix'd concerning his Life and Actions, as well as some Character of his Person and Performances ; all which will render the whole more useful and entertaining. As to the particular Life of this great Man, we are in hopes of seeing it from those that are fully qualified for such an Undertaking ; but till such appears, we must be contented with smaller Sketches, and

Some Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS

and with such Particulars as are to be learnt from several Parts of his Writings.

But not to be wholly silent in the Case of a Person of such Variety of Talents, we are to remember that Sir *William Temple*, Baronet, was the Son of Sir *John Temple* of *Sheen*, in the County of *Surrey*, Master of the *Rolls*, and Privy Counsellor in *Ireland*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. His Mother was *Mary* Daughter to Mr. *Hammond*, and Sister to the celebrated Dr. *Hammond* one of the great Ornaments of the Church of *England*. His Grand-Father, the first Sir *William Temple*, and Secretary to the unfortunate Earl of *Essex* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, was a younger Son of the ancient Family of the *Temples*, of *Temple-Hall* in *Leicestershire*. Our present Author Sir *William*, marry'd *Dorothy* the Daughter of Sir *Peter Osborne*, Governor of *Jersey* for King *Charles* the First, by whom he had a numerous Issue; and yet but one Daughter who surviv'd him.

From his Youth he discovered a curious and penetrating Genius and a remarkable Thirst after Knowledge, which his Father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal Education. After he pass'd the *Latin School*, he was sent to *Cambridge*, in which University he distinguish'd himself by the Improvements he made in all the Parts of human Learning; and, besides the Academick Tongues, he made himself perfect Master of the two most useful modern Languages, the *French* and the *Spanish*. So that when he remov'd from thence, he had by his Parts and his Industry made himself capable of any publick Employment.

In which manner he pass'd twenty Years with particular Honour and Success, namely, from the thirty second to the fifty second Year of his Age; which he took to be the Part of a Man's Life, most fit to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince and Country; *the rest being*, as he observ'd, *too much taken up with his Pleasures, or his Ease*. His political Principles would not suffer him to enter upon any publick Affairs, till the Way was made open for the King's Restoration in the Year 1660; nor wou'd they allow him to continue in Business any longer than the Year 1680; when the *French Party* having gain'd so much Ground, he sent his Son to acquaint the King with his Resolutions, *to pass the remainder of his Life, like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never to meddle with any publick Employment*.

To give a particular Account of his Negotiations at Home and Abroad, wou'd be to lay open a great Part of the History of that Reign;

Reign : yet some Account ought to be given of his Management in two great Treaties, which have helped to immortalize his Name ; the One a temporary Advantage, the Other a lasting Blessing to these Kingdoms.

The First was his skilful and dexterous bringing about the *Triple League* between *England, Holland* and *Sweden*, in the latter End of the Year 1665, so much to the Peace of *Europe*, and to the Diminution of the threatening Power of *France*. This was manag'd with so much Secrecy and uncommon Industry, together with so much unexpected Success, that the great Statesman *De Wit*, too much leaning to the *French Party*, cou'd not help complimenting him, ' with having the Honour, which never any other
' Minister had before him, of drawing the *States* to a Resolution
' and Conclusion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greatest Im-
' portance, and an Assistance of the greatest Expence they had
' ever been engag'd in ; and all directly against the *Nature of their*
' *Constitution*, which enjoin'd them to have Recourse to their Pro-
' vinces : Adding, That now it was done, it look'd like a *Mira-*
' *cle.*' Upon the Conclusion, two Letters were writ, one from *De*
Wit to the Earl of *Arlington*, and the second from the *States-*
General to the King of *Great Britain*, of which some Notice
ought to be taken. The former says, ' As it was impossible to
' send a Minister of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper
' or Genius of this Nation than Sir *William Temple* ; so, I believe,
' no other Person, either will or can more equitably judge of the
' Disposition wherein he has found the *States*, to answer the good
' Intentions of the King of *Great Britain.*' In the *States Letter*,
they tell the King, ' As it is a Thing without Example, that in so
' few Days, three such Important Treaties have been concluded ;
' so we can say, That the Address, the Vigilance, and the Sincer-
' ity of Sir *William Temple*, are also without Example. If your
' Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the Knot will
' grow too fast ever to be unty'd. And yet Sir *William*, with
no less Wit than Modesty, gave another Turn to it in a Letter to
Monsieur *Gourville*, saying, ' They will needs have me pass here
' for one of great Abilities, for having finish'd and sign'd in five
' Days a Treaty of such Importance to *Christendom* : But I will tell
' you the *Secret* of it : To draw Things out of their Center, re-
' quires Labour and Address to put them into Motions ; but to
' make them return thither, Nature helps so far, that there needs
' no more than just to set them a going.

The other Treaty prov'd of a more durable Nature and Consequence, both to the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, and the Happiness of the *British* Kingdoms, which was the Marriage between the then Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *York*, and Niece to his Majesty. All this was manag'd and effected by the several Steps and Gradations, principally by Sir *William Temple*, who by his Taciturnity as well as Dexterity brought it to Maturity, and to be completed in the Year 1667, even contrary to the Will of the Lady's Father, and not very much with the Inclination of her Royal Uncle. Any other Season, or a very small Variation of Circumstances, must have disappointed or overturn'd that Great Work. In the latter Part he indeed made use of the Assistance of the Lord-Treasurer *Danby*, since Duke of *Leeds*, who thought the Affair of that Happiness and Importance to the Publick, that afterwards in Print he declar'd, *That he wou'd not suffer that Part of his Service to be buried in Oblivion.*

Having gone through these, and other difficult Employments, in a Court that did not always reward Merit, but usually exercis'd the Strength of its Ministers; in the Year 1680, Sir *William* chose to leave the Court and Publick Affairs, in order to enjoy Retirement, and a more Philosophical Life; as also to enjoy his Pen, which really had been far from being idle in the midst of all his Business. Indeed it is a common Thing for Men, who live in the Splendor and Hurry of Courts, sometimes to wish for a Retreat, where they may relieve themselves after the Fatigue of State and Business; yet they seldom do retire, but when they know not how to stay any longer: So that the Contempt of a Court is in many Men a Contrivance in Self-love, to alleviate the Mortifications of being excluded, by undervaluing Greatness, and those that are in Power. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult to the generality of Men, who have enjoy'd the Pomp and Pleasures of a Court, than to finish the Remainder of their Lives in Privacy and Retirement. For few Persons have so rich a Fund in themselves, as to supply and fill up the great Chasm, which the Want of publick Business and Diversion leaves on their Minds. But Sir *William Temple* had the Happiness to escape both these Inconveniencies; and as his retiring from Business was in all appearance voluntary, so his Contempt of Greatness and Splendor was the Result of a thorough Knowledge of the Emptiness and Vanity of those glaring Objects. He was sensible that there was little in a Court but a perpetual Exchange of false Friendship, pretended Honesty, seeming Confidence, and designing Gratitude:

titude : So that those, who, as Sir *William* did, acted upon a sincere Bottom, and gave Realities instead of Shews ; ‘ profess’d ‘ themselves as great Bubbles, as such as gave good Money, ‘ where Counterfeit Coin pass’d for Current Payment.’ He had by long Experience made the Estimate of the Advantages of a private Life, above those of a Publick ; and was thoroughly convinc’d, That the Blessings of Innocence, Security, Meditation, good Air, Health, and sound Sleep, were clearly preferable to the Splendor of Courts ; considering the slavish Attendance, the invidious Competitions, servile Flattery, and the mortal Disappointments that usually attend them. He set the Frowns of Princes, the Envy of those that judge by Hear-say, and the innumerable Temptations, Vices, and Excesses of a Life of Pomp and Pleasure, in Ballance against the Smiles of bounteous Nature, the Diversion of healthful Exercises for the Body, and the solid and lasting Entertainments of the Mind ; and concluded, ‘ That he that is a Slave ‘ in the Town, is a kind of a petty Prince in the Country.

Such were the Sentiments and Opinions of this great Man, and a Strain of these appears through all his Works and Writings ; of which it will now be proper to give some little Account. His Works shew him to be both a penetrating Statesman, and a curious and refin’d Thinker ; and they were writ as well in the Hurry of Business, as in the Freedom of Retirement ; consulting of Matters Historical and Political, as also Moral and Philosophical ; in all which he shews a delicate and exquisite Taste, both as to Men and Things. And let this Subject be what it will, it receives a new Turn by his dexterous Management, and there all along appears the fine Gentleman, in Opposition to the stiff Pedant ; so that his Writings are all free and easy, and not bound up by the strict Rules of Criticks and Pedagogues. His Stile is of the same Nature, fine and polite, but still more Beautiful than Correct, and more perhaps for Delight, than for Imitation.

To be particular as to his Works, wou’d be too great an Anticipation to the Reader ; yet among all, we are not to forget his *Memoirs*, which have not been equal’d by any that have writ since him. They are the more useful, because they take in the principal Parts of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second ; and without them we shou’d have but an imperfect Account of many Particulars in that unequal Administration. The Second Part slip first into the World, without the Knowledge, as it was said, tho’ most believe, with the Connivance of the Author. They consist not only of many Domestick Affairs relating to the Court of *England*,

but of the principal Foreign Negotiations begun in 1673, and ended in 1678, in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and with the general Peace of *Europe*; all laid open with Fairness and Impartiality, as well as Clearness and Simplicity. The first Part was never publish'd at all, but is very well supply'd by a great Number of Letters and Publick Papers; which sufficiently shew what a vigorous Actor Sir *William Temple* was, and how great a Statesman he prov'd, and how much a Master of Business and Politicks.

The Third Part appear'd some Years after his Death, which, tho' complain'd of as being publish'd without Consent of Relations, was never charg'd with being the least spurious. This, tho' shortest in Compass, both as to Time and Matter, yet keeping close to the *English* Administration at home, and discovering greater Depths of those Affairs, we take to be the most useful and enlightning of the Three. Here are laid open, not only the secret Springs of many Actions which were generally unknown before, but all the subtle Arts and Projections of Ministers of State, which those various Windings and Turnings with which Strangers are so often perplex'd and confounded in a Court. Here the Dispositions and Aims of some great Men, as the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Essex*, &c. are so effectually as well as handsomly expos'd, that many of one Party are willing to have the Credit of it call'd in Question, But as it has long stood, so no doubt but it will continue to stand the Test against all Opponents.

We shall say nothing further of his Writings, but only observe that when the Reader comes to peruse the whole, he will readily form to himself the general Character of an accomplish'd Gentleman, a penetrating Politician, a wise Patriot, and a Learned Man: and if this great Idea shou'd really be shaded by some Touches of *Vanity* and the *Spleen*, he may easily consider that the greatest and wisest Men have not always been exempt from those very Failings and Imperfections; and that the former might arise from some peculiar Excellencies in his Character, and the latter from some uncommon Provocations of those who differ'd from him either in Politicks or in Learning; and in both perhaps without his being the Aggressor.

In the latter Case, we think he was too hardly, if not too designedly, attack'd first by Mr. *Wotton*, and then by Dr. *Bentley*; and that he was treated after too rigid a Manner, and too Scholastical and Critical a Way, for a Gentleman of his refin'd Genius and superior Education, and one who was so ready to oblige the Publick
in

in an easy, free and beautiful Way of delivering his Thoughts and Sentiments. This a little rais'd his Indignation, and forc'd him to say in his Answer, ' That the *Criticks* are a Race of Scholars I am very little acquainted with ; having always esteem'd them but like *Brokers*, who having no Stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other Men ; buying here and selling there, and commonly abusing both Sides, to make out a little paltry Gain, either of Money or Credit, for themselves, and care not at whose Cost.' Then, after acknowledging the Usefulness of such Persons at the first Restoration of Learning, and the Copies of the Ancients, he cou'd but look upon the latter sort as a degenerate Race, and was provok'd to declare, ' There is, I think, no sort of Talent so despicable, as that of such common *Criticks*, who can at best pretend to value themselves, by discovering the *Defaults* of other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their own : A sort of *Levellers*, that will needs equal the best and richest of the Country, not by improving their own Estates, but reducing those of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves.

To such Persons as these, whose Genius's are sufficient to find out Blemishes but not to discover Beauties, we owe several notable Reflections and Censures upon the most sublime and polite Writers. We are told from some of them, that Sir *William Temple* was more a superficial than a solid Writer, and that he had more Shew than Learning. If there be any thing of Truth in this, he had certainly the finest Way of skimming a Subject that we can find in any other Author ; and if he had not much Learning, he had the greatest Appearance of it of any Man ; and if he had no Knowledge in Reality, he had such an admirable Knack in counterfeiting of it, as made it as useful to the World as true Sterling. The shortest Way of answering such Censures, is to challenge them to write better, and more agreeable upon the same Subject.

But we will not enter into a Controversy with those Men, whose Heads are sufficiently fertile in the Discovery of Slips and Errors, but not enlarg'd enough to come up to the Beauties and Excellencies of Sir *William Temple*. All that we shall add is, that if any Reader, unacquainted with his Works, will be pleas'd to read over any one of his Pieces, we do not doubt but he will meet with so much Entertainment and Encouragement, as to cause him to read over all the rest.

Some Account of the LIFE, &c.

After a Life of great Variety on one Part, and no less Tranquility on the other, towards the End of the Year 1700, and in the 72d Year of his Age, this eminent Man dy'd at *Moor Park*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where, according to the plain Directions in his Will, his Heart was deposited in a Silver Box, and bury'd under the Sun-Dial in the Garden, opposite to the Window, from whence he us'd to contemplate and admire the glorious Works of Nature, with his beloved Sister, the ingenious Lady *Giffard*: A Lady, who as she had shar'd and reliev'd the Fatigues of his Voyages and Travels during his Publick Negotiations, so she was the principal Delight and Comfort of his last Retirement and old Age.



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OBSER

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

United Provinces

OF THE

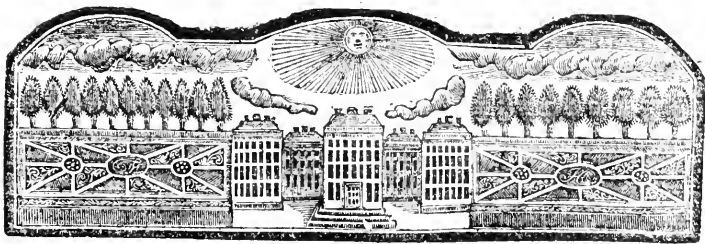
NETHERLANDS.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, of Shene in the County of Surry, Baronet, Ambassador at the Hague, and at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Year 1668.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. TONSON, S. BIRT, and T. OSBORNE.
MDCCXXXI.



T H E
P R E F A C E.

HAVING lately seen the State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce, and Number of Inhabitants, arriv'd at length to such a Height by the Strength of their Natives, their fortify'd Towns, and standing Forces, with a constant Revenue, proportioned to the Support of all this Greatness) as made them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.

We have, this Summer past, beheld the same State, in the midst of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength and Vigour, almost ruin'd and broken to pieces, in some few Days, and by very few Blows; and reduc'd in a manner to its first Principles of Weakness, and Distress; expos'd, oppress'd, and very near at Mercy. Their Inland Provinces swallow'd up by an Invasion, almost as sudden, and unresisted, as the Inundations to which the others are subject. And the Remainders of their State rather kept alive by Neglect, or Disconcert of its Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or Endeavours at its own Recovery.

Now, because such a Greatness and such a Fall of this State seem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceiv'd, even by those who have lately seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle Man's Time, to give some Account of the Rise and Progress of this Common-wealth, The Causes of their Greatness, And the Steps towards their Fall: Which were all made by Motions, perhaps, little taken Notice of by common Eyes, and almost undiscernible to any Man, that was not plac'd to the best Advantage, and something concern'd, as well as much inclin'd, to observe them:

The usual Duty of Employments abroad, impos'd not only by Custom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare some formal Account of this Country and Government, after two Years Embassy, in the midst of great Conjunctions and Negotiations among them. And such a Revolution as has since happen'd there, though it may have made these Discourses little important to his Majesty, or his Council; yet it will not have render'd them less agreeable to common Eyes, who, like Men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows to see it in a Calm.

The P R E F A C E.

Besides, at a Time when the Actions of this Scene take up, so generally, the Eyes and Discourses of their Neighbours; and the Maps of their Country grow so much in request: I thought a Map of their State and Government would not be unwelcome to the World, since it is fall as necessary as the others, to understand the late Revolutions, and Changes among them. And as no Man's Story can be well written till he is dead; so the Account of this State could not be well given till its Fall, which may justly be Dated from the Events of last Summer (whatever Fortunes may further attend them) since therein we have seen the sudden and violent Dissolution of that more popular Government, which had continu'd, and made so much Noise for above Twenty Years in the World, without the Exercise, or Influence, of the Authority of the Princes of Orange, a Part so Essential in the first Constitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly lose my Pains in this Adventure, when I shall gain the Ease of Answering this way, at once, those many Questions I have lately been us'd to, upon this Occasion: Which made me first observe, and wonder, how ignorant we were, generally, in the Affairs and Constitutions of a Country, so much in our Eye, the common Road of our Travels, as well as Subject of our Talk, and which we have been of late, not only curious but concern'd to know.

I am very sensible, how ill a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd, and little can be gain'd; since whoever does it ill is sure of Contempt; and the justliest that can be, when no Man provokes him to discover his own Follies, or to trouble the World: If he writes well, he raises the Envy of those Wits that are possess'd of the Vogue, and are jealous of their Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in State; and have found, that the nearest Way to their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by the Derision of other Men. But, however, I am not in Pain, for 'tis the Affectation of Praise, that makes the Fear of Reproach, and I write without other Design than of entertaining very idle Men, and, among them, my self. For I must confess, that being wholly useless to the Publick; and unacquainted with the Cares of encreasing Riches (which busie the World) being grown cold to the Pleasures of younger or livelier Men; and having ended the Entertainments of Building and Planting (which use to succeed them) finding little Taste in common Conversation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the Care of my Eyes, (since an Illness contracted by many unnecessary Diligences in my Employments abroad) there can hardly be found an idler Man than I; nor consequently, one more excusable for giving way to such Amusements as this: Having nothing to do, but to enjoy the Ease of a private Life and Fortune; which, as I know no Man envies, so (I thank God) no Man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, than the Vein of Reading never ran lower than in this Age; and seldom goes farther than the Design of raising a Stock to furnish some Calling, or Conversation. The Desire of Knowledge being either laugh'd out if Doors, by the Wit that pleases the Age, or beaten out by Interest that so much possesses it: And the Amusement of Books, giving way to the Liberties or Refinements of Pleasure, that were formerly less known, or less avowed, than now.

Yet

The PREFACE.

Yet some there will always be found in the World, who ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget themselves. And, whether that be brought about by Drink or Play, by Love or Business, or by some Diversions, as idle as this, 'tis all a Case.

Besides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or other, that some Prince, or great Minister, may not be ill pleas'd in these kind of Memorials (upon such a Subject) to trace the Steps of Trade and Riches, of Order and Power in a State, and those likewise of weak, or violent Counsels; of corrupt or ill Conduct; of Faction or Obstinacy, which decay and dissolve the firmest Governments: That so by Reflections upon Foreign Events, they may provide the better and the earlier against those at home, and raise their own Honour and Happiness, by equal degrees with the Prosperity and Safety of the Nations they govern.

For, under favour of those who would pass for Wits in our Age, by saying Things, which David tells us, the Fool said in His: And set up with bringing those Wares to Market, which (G O D knows) have been always in the World, though kept up in Corners, because they us'd to mark their Owners, in former Ages, with the Names of Buffoons, Prophane, or Impudent Men; who deride all Form and Order, as well as Piety and Truth; and, under the Nation of Fopperies, endeavour to dissolve the very Bonds of all Civil Society; though by the Favour and Protection thereof, they themselves enjoy so much greater Proportions of Wealth, and of Pleasures, than would fall to their share, if all lay in common, as they seem to design (for then such Possessions would belong of right to the strongest and bravest amongst us.)

Under favour of such Men, I believe it will be found, at one Time or other, by all who shall try, That whilst human Nature continues what it is, The same Orders in State, The same Discipline in Armies, The same Virtues and Dispositions of Princes and Magistrates, deriv'd by Interest, or Imitation, into the Customs and Humours of the People, will ever have the same Effects upon the Strength and Greatness of all Governments, and upon the Honour and Authority of those that Rule, as well as the Happiness and Safety of those that Obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themselves Losers, or less entertain'd, when we see them employ their Time, and their Thoughts in so useful Speculations, and to so glorious Ends: But that rather thereby they attain their true Prerogative of being Happier, as well as Greater, than Subjects can be: For all the Pleasures of Sense, that any Man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private Fortune, and ordinary Contrivance; grow fainter with Age, and duller with Use; must be revived with Intermissions, and wait upon the Returns of Appetite, which are no more at Call of the Rich, than the Poor. The Flashes of Wit and good Humour, that rise from the Vapours of Wine, are little different from those that proceed from the Heats of Blood, in the first Approaches of Fevers, or Frenzies; and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the Effects of Dis temper. But the Pleasures of Imagination, as they beighten and refine the very Pleasures of Sense, so they are of larger Extent,
and

The P R E F A C E.

and longer Duration. And if the most sensual Man will confess there is a Pleasure in Pleasing, he must likewise allow, there is Good to a Man's self, in doing Good to others: And the further this extends, the higher it rises, and the longer it lasts. Besides, there is Beauty in Order; and there are Charms in well deserved Praise: And both are the greater, by how much greater the Subject; As the first Appearing in a well framed and well governed State; and the other arising from noble and generous Actions. Nor can any Veins of good Humour be greater than those, that swell by the Success of wise Counsels, and by the fortunate Events of publick Affairs; since a Man that takes Pleasure in doing Good to Ten Thousand, must needs have more, than he that takes none, but in doing Good to himself.

But these Thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpose: Therefore I shall leave them for those I had first in my Head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And whereas the Greatness of their Strength and Revenues, grew out of the Vastness of their Trade, into which their Religion, their Manners and Dispositions, their Situation and the Form of their Government, were the chief Ingredients; and this last had been raised, partly upon an old Foundation, and partly with Materials brought together by many and various Accidents; it will be necessary for the Survey of this great Frame, to give some Account of the Rise and Progress of their State by pointing out the most remarkable Occasions of the first, and Periods of the other. To discover the Nature and Constitutions of their Government in its several Parts, and the Motions of it, from the first and smallest Wheels. To observe, what is peculiar to them in their Situation, or Dispositions: And what in their Religion. To take a Survey of their Trade, and the Causes of it: Of the Forces and Revenues, which composed their Greatness: And the Circumstances, and Conjunctions, which conspired to their Fall. And these are the Heads, that shall make the Order and Arguments in the several Parts of these Observations.





OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

United Provinces of the Netherlands.

CHAP. I.

Of the Rise and Progress of the United Provinces.

WHOWER will take a View of the Rise of this Commonwealth, must trace it up as high as the first Commotions in the *Seven Provinces*, under the Dutchefs of *Parma's* Government; and the true Causes of that more avowed and general Revolt in the Duke of *Alva's* Time: And, to find out the Natural Springs of those Revolutions, must reflect upon that sort of Government under which the Inhabitants of those Provinces lived for so many Ages past, in the Subjection of their several Dukes or Counts, till by Marriages, Successions or Conquest, they came to be united in the House of *Burgundy*, under *Philip* Surnamed *The Good*: And afterwards in that of *Austria*, under *Philip* Father of *Charles*, in the Person of that great Emperor incorporated with those vast Dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the Purpose upon this Search, to run a little higher into the Antiquities of these Countries: For though most Men are contented only to see a River as it runs by them, and talk of the Changes in it, as they happen; when 'tis troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the Country in a Flood, or forsakes it in a Drought: Yet he that would know the Nature of the Water, and the Causes of those Accidents (so as to guess at their Continuance or Return) must find out its Source, and observe with what Strength it rises, what Length it runs, and how many small Streams fall in, and feed it to such a Height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the Eye, and useful or dangerous to the Country about it.

The Numbers and Fury of the Northern Nations, under many different Names, having by several Inundations broken down the whole Frame of the *Roman Empire* (extended in their Provinces as far as the *Rhine*) either gave a Birth, or made way for the several Kingdoms and Principalities, that have since continu'd in the Parts of *Europe* on this side that River, which made the ancient Limits of the *Gallick* and *German* Nations. The Tract of Land, which

we usually call the *Low Countries*, was so wafted by the Invasions or Marches of this raging People (who pass'd by them to greater Conquests) that the Inhabitants grew thin; and being secure of nothing they possess'd, fell to seek the Support of their Lives, rather by Hunting, or by Violence, than by Labour and Industry; and thereby the Grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the Course of Years turned either to Forest, or Marshes; which are the two natural Soils of all desolated Lands in the more temperate Regions. For by soaking of frequent Showers, and the Course of Waters from the higher into lower Grounds, when there is no Issue that helps them to break out into a Channel, the flat Land grows to be a Mixture of Earth and Water, and neither of common Use nor Passage to Men or Beasts, which is call'd a *Marsh*. The higher, and so the drier Parts, moisten'd by the Rain, and warm'd by the Sun, shoot forth some sorts of Plants, as naturally as Bodies do some sort of Hair, which, being preserv'd by the Defolateness of a Place untroudden, as well as untill'd, grow to such Trees or Shrubs as are natural to the Soil, and those in time producing both Food and Shelter for several kind of Beasts, make the sort of Country we call a *Forest*.

And such was *Flanders* for many Years before *Charlemaign's* Time, when the Power of the *Franks*, having rais'd and establish'd a great Kingdom of their own, upon the entire Conquest of *Gaul*, began to reduce the Disorders of that Country to the Form of a Civil, or (at least) Military Government; to make Divisions and Distributions of Lands and Jurisdictions, by the Bounty of the Prince, or the Services of his chief Followers and Commanders: To one of whom a great Extent of this Land was given, with the Title of *Forester of Flanders*. This Office continu'd for several Descents, and began to civilize the Country, by repressing the Violence of Robbers and Spoilers, who infested the Woody and Fast Places, and by encouraging the milder People to fall into Civil Societies, to trust to their Industry for Subsistence, to Laws for Protection, and to their Arms united under the Care and Conduct of their Governors, for Safety and Defence.

In the Time of *Charlemaign*, as some write; or, as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a County, which chang'd the Title of *Forester* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the Succession.

What the Extent of this County was at first, or how far the Jurisdiction of *Foresters* reach'd, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only border'd upon, or included, the lower Parts of the vast Woods of *Ardenne*, which, in *Charlemaign's* Time, was all Forest as high as *Aix*, and the rough Country for some Leagues beyond it, and was us'd commonly by that Emperor for his Hunting: This appears by the ancient Records of that City, which attribute the Discovery, or, at least, retrieving the Knowledge of those hot Baths, to the Fortune of that Prince, while he was Hunting: For his Horse poching one of his Legs into some hollow Ground, made way for the smoaking Water to break out, and gave Occasion for the Emperor's building that City, and making it his usual Seat, and the Place of Coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland, being an Island made by the dividing Branches of the ancient *Rhine*, and call'd formerly *Batavia*, was esteem'd rather a Part of *Germany* than *Gaul*, (between which it was seated) in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a Great and Ancient People of *Germany*, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an Allied than a subjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute besides Bands of Soldiers, much esteem'd for their Valour, and join'd as Auxiliaries to their Legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *British* Wars.

'Tis probable, this Island chang'd, in a great measure, Inhabitants and Customs, as well as Names, upon the Inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the *Normans* and *Danes*, from whose Countries and Language the Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* seem to be deriv'd. But about the Year 860, a Son of the Count of *Frize*, by a Daughter of the Emperor *Lewis* the Second, was by him instituted Count of *Holland*, and gave Beginning to that Title; which, running since that Time through so many direct or collateral Successions and some Ufurpations, came to an end at last in *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, by the Defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under

Under these first *Foresters* and *Counts* (who began to take those wasted Countries and mixed People into their Care, and to intend the Growth, Strength, and Riches of their Subjects, which they esteem'd to be their own;) many old and demolish'd Castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to those of their Subjects or Friends, whom they most lov'd or esteem'd, with large Circuits of Lands for their Support, and Seignourial Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants: And this upon several easie Conditions, but chiefly of Attendance on their Prince at the necessary Times of either honouring him in Peace, or serving him in War. Nay possibly, some of these Seignouries and their Jurisdictions may, as they pretend, have been the Remains of some old Principalities in those Countries among the *Gallick* and *German* Nations, the first Institutions whereof were lost in the Immensity of Time that preceded the *Roman* Discoveries or Conquest, and might be deriv'd perhaps from the first Paternal Dominion, or Concurrence of loose People into orderly Neighbourhoods, with a Deference, if not Subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many Cities and Towns; of which the Old had their ancient Freedoms and Jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the New had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great Immunities and Privileges for the Encouragement of Inhabitants to come and people in them: All these Constitutions agreeing much in Substance, perhaps by Imitation, or else by the agreeing Nature of the People, for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in Form according to the Difference of their Original, or the several Natures, Customs and Interests of the Princes, whose Concessions many of them were, and all their Permissions

Another Constitution, which enter'd deep into their Government, may be deriv'd from another Source. For these *Northern* Nations, whose unknown Language and Countries perhaps made them be call'd *Barbarous* (though indeed almost all Nations out of *Italy* and *Greece* were stil'd so by the *Romans*) but whose Victories in obtaining new Seats, and Orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policy'd People, than they appear'd by the Vastness of their Multitude, or the Rage of their Barters.

Where-ever they pass'd, and seated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Constitution which has since been called, in most *European* Languages, *The States*; consisting of three Orders, *Noble*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Popular*, under the limited Principality of one Person, with the Stile of *King*, *Prince*, *Duke*, or *Count*. The Remainders, at least, or Traces hereof, appear still in all the Principalities founded by those People in *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and were of a piece with the present Constitutions in most of the great Dominions on t'other side of the *Rhine*: And it seems to have been a Temper first introduc'd by them between the Tyranny of the Eastern Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Commonwealths.

'Tis true, the *Goths* were *Gentiles* when they first broke into the *Roman* Empire, till one great Swarm of this People, upon Treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon Concessions of a great Tract of Land to be a Seat for their Nation, embraced at once the Christian Faith. After which, the same People breaking out of the Limits that had been allow'd them, and by fresh Numbers bearing all down where they bent their March; as they were a great means for propagating Religion in many Parts of *Europe* where they extended their Conquests: so the Zeal of these new Profelytes, warmed by the Veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enrich'd by the Spoils and Possessions of so vast Countries, seem to have been the First that introduced the Maintenance of the Churches and Clergy, by Endowments of Lands, Lordships, and Vassals, appropriated to them: For before this Time the Authority of the Priesthood in all Religions seem'd wholly to consist in the People's Opinion of their Piety, Learning, or Virtues, or a Reverence for their Character and Mystical Ceremonies and Institutions; their Support, or their Revenues, in the voluntary Oblations of pious Men, the Bounty of Princes, or in a certain Share out of the Labours and Gains of those who liv'd

under their Cure, and not in any Subjection of Mens Lives or Fortunes, which belong'd wholly to the Civil Power: And *Ammianus*, though he taxes the Luxury of the Bishops in *Valentinian's* Time, yet he speaks of their Riches, which occasioned or fomented it, as arising wholly from the Oblations of the People. But the Devotion of these new Christians introducing this new Form of endowing their Churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemaign*, Kings of the *Franks*, upon their Victories in *Italy*, and the Favour of the *Roman* Bishop to their Title and Arms, having annexed great Territories and Jurisdictions to that See: This Example, or Custom, was followed by most Princes of the Northern Races through the rest of *Europe*, and brought into the Clergy great Possessions of Lands, and by a necessary Consequence a great Share of temporal Power, from the Dependences of their Subjects or Tenants; by which Means they came to be generally one of the Three Orders that compos'd the Assembly of the States in every Country.

This Constitution of the States had been establish'd from Time immemorial in the several Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and was often assembled for determining Disputes about Succession of their Princes, where doubtful or contested; for deciding those between the great Towns; for raising a Milice for the Defence of their Countries in the Wars of their Neighbours; for Advice in Time of Dangers abroad, or Discontents at home; but always upon the new Succession of a Prince, and upon any new Impositions that were necessary on the People. The Use of this Assembly was another of those Liberties, whereof the Inhabitants of these Provinces were so fond and so tenacious. The rest, besides those ancient Privileges already mentioned of their Towns, were Concessions and Graces of several Princes; in particular, Exemptions or Immunities, Jurisdiction both in Choice and Exercise of Magistracy and Civil Judicature within themselves; or else in the Customs of using none but Natives in Charges and Offices, and passing all weighty Affairs by the great Council compos'd of the great Lords of the Country, who were in a manner all Temporal, there being but three Bishops in all the Seventeen Provinces, till the Time of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*.

The Revenues of these Princes consisted in their ancient Demesnes, in small Customs (which yet grew considerable by the Greatness of Trade in the Maritime Towns) and in the voluntary Contributions of their Subjects, either in the States or in particular Cities, according to the Necessities of their Prince, or the Affections of the People. Nor were these frequent, for the Forces of these Counts were compos'd of such Lords, who either by their Governments, or other Offices, or by the Tenure of their Lands, were oblig'd to attend their Prince on Horse-back, with certain Numbers of Men, upon all his Wars: Or else of a Milice, which was call'd *Les gens d'Ordonnance*, who served on foot, and were not unlike our Train-bands; the Use, or at least Stile whereof, was renew'd in *Flanders* upon the last War with *France* in 1667, when the Count *Egmont* was made by the Governor, General *de gens d'Ordonnance*.

These Forces were defray'd by the Cities or Countries, as the others were raised by the Lords when Occasion required; and all were licens'd immediately when it was past, so that they were of little Charge to the Prince. His Wars were but with other Princes of his own Size, or Competitors to his Principality; or sometimes with the Mutinies of his great Towns; short, though violent; and decided by one Battle or Siege; unless they fell into the Quarrels between *England* and *France*, and then they were engaged but in the Skirts of the War, the Grofs of it being waged between the two Kings, and these smaller Princes made use of for the Credit of Alliance, or sometimes the Commodiousness of a Diversion, rather than for any great Weight they made in the Main of the Affair.

The most frequent Wars of the Counts of *Holland* were with the *Frisons*; a Part of the old *Saxons*; and the fiercest Battles of some of the Counts of *Flanders* were with the *Normans*, who pass'd that Way into *France*, and were the last of those Nations that have infested the more Southern Parts of *Europe*. I have sometimes thought, how it should have come to pass, that the infinite

Swarm

Swarm of that vast Northern-Hive, which so often shook the World like a great Tempest, and overflow'd it like a Torrent; changing Names, and Customs, and Government, and Language, and the very Face of Nature, wherever they seated themselves; which upon Record of Story, under the Name of *Gauls*, pierc'd into *Greece* and *Italy*, sacking *Rome*, and besieging the Capitol in *Camillus* his Time; under that of the *Cimbri*, march'd through *France*, to the very Confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Huns* or *Lombards*, *Visigots*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, conquered the whole Forces of the *Roman* Empire, sack'd *Rome* thrice in a small Compas of Years, seated three Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Africk*, as well as *Lombardy*; and under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, possess'd themselves of *England*, a great part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*: How (I say) these Nations, which seem'd to spawn in every Age, and at some Intervals of Time discharged their own native Countries of so vast Numbers, and with such Terror to the World, should, about seven or eight hundred Years ago, leave off the Use of these furious Expeditions, as if on a sudden they should have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill Climates. But I suppose, we owe this Benefit wholly to the Growth and Progress of Christianity in the North, by which early and undistinguish'd Copulation, or multitude of Wives, were either restrain'd or abrogated: By the same means Learning and Civility got footing among them in some degree, and enclosed certain Circuits of those vast Regions, by the Distinctions and Bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder Lives, spent without other Cares or Pleasures, than of Food, or of Lust; and betook themselves to the Ease and Entertainment of Societies: With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade follow'd; and these made way for Luxury, and that for many Diseases or ill Habits of Body, which, unknown to the former and simpler Ages, began to shorten and weaken both Life and Procreation. Besides, the Divisions and Circles of Dominion occasion'd Wars between the several Nations, though of one Faith: and those of the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and *Muscovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made greater Slaughters; and by these Accidents I suppose the Numbers of those fertile Broods have been lessen'd, and their Limits in a measure confin'd; and we have had thereby, for so long together in these Parts of the World, the Honour and Liberty of drawing our own Blood, upon the Quarrels of Humour or Avarice, Ambition or Pride, without the Assistance, or Need, or any barbarous Nations to destroy us.

But to end this Digression, and return to the *Low-Countries*, where the Government lasted, in the form and manner described (though in several Principalities) till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great Extent of a populous Country, and the mighty Growth of Trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp* (attributed by *Comines* to the Goodness of the Princes, and Ease and Safety of the People) both *Philip*, and his Son *Charles the Hardy*, found themselves a Match for *France*, then much weaken'd, as well by the late Wars with *England*, as the Factions with the Princes. And in the Wars of *France*, was the House of *Burgundy*, under *Charles* and *Maximilian* of *Austria* (who married his Daughter and Heir) and afterwards under *Charles* the Fifth, their Grand-child, almost constantly engag'd; the Course, Successes, and Revolutions whereof are commonly known.

Philip of *Burgundy*, who began them, was a good and wise Prince, lov'd by his Subjects, and esteem'd by his Enemies; and took his Measures so well, that upon the Declining of the *English* Greatness abroad, by their Dissensions at home, he ended his Quarrels in *France*, by a Peace, with Safety and Honour; so that he took no Pretence from his Greatness, or his Wars, or change any thing in the Forms of his Government: But *Charles the Hardy*, engag'd more rashly against *France* and the *Switzers*, began to ask greater and frequent Contributions of his Subjects; which, gain'd at first by the Credit of his Father's Government and his own great Designs, but spent in an unfor-

runate War, made his People discontented, and him difesteemed, till he ended an unhappy Life, by an untimely Death, in the Battle of *Nancy*.

In the Time of *Maximilian*, several *German* Troops were brought down into *Flanders*, for their Defence against *France*; and in that of *Charles* the Fifth, much greater Forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, upon the same occasion; a Thing unknown to the *Low-country-men* in the Time of their former Princes. But through the whole Course of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his Greatness and Fame encreasing together, either diverted or suppressed any Discontents of his Subjects upon the Increase of their Payments, or the Grievance of so many Foreign Troops among them. Besides, *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous Nature; and, being born in the *Low Countries*, was naturally kind and easie to that People, whose Customs and Language he always used when he was among them, and employed all their great Men in the Charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies, through the several Parts of his vast Dominions; so that upon the last great Action of his Life, which was the Resignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, he left to *Philip* the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a Condition as peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or Subjects could desire.

Philip the Second, coming to the Possession of so many and great Dominions, about the Year 1556, after some Tryal of good and ill Fortune in the War with *France* (which was left him by his Father, like an Encumbrance upon a great Estate) restor'd, by the Peace of *Cambrai*, not only the Quiet of his own Countries, but in a manner of all Christendom, which was in some degree or other engag'd in the Quarrel of these Princes. After this, he resolv'd to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low-Countries* under a subordinate Government, which had been till *Charles* the Fifth's Time the constant Seat of their Princes, and shar'd the Presence of that great Emperor with the rest of his Dominions. But *Philip*, a *Spaniard* born, retaining, from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeness and Gravity of the Nation, which the *Flemings* call'd Reservedness and Pride; conferring the Offices of his House, and the Honour of his Council and Confidence, upon *Spaniards*, and thereby introducing their Customs, Habits, and Language into the Court of *Flanders*; continuing, after the Peace, those *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, and the Demand of Supplies from the States which the War had made necessary, and the easier supported; He soon left off being lov'd, and began to be fear'd by the Inhabitants of those Provinces.

But *Philip* the Second thought it not agreeing with the Pomp and Greatness of the House of *Austria*, already at the Head of so mighty Dominions; nor with his Designs of a yet greater Empire, to consider the Discontents or Grievances of so small a Country; nor to be limited by their ancient Forms of Government: And therefore, at his Departure from *Spain*, and Substitution of his Natural Sister the Dutchess of *Parma* for Governess of the *Low-Countries*, assisted by the Ministry of *Granvell*, he left her instructed to continue the Foreign Troops, and the Demand of Money from the States for their Support, which was now by a long Course of War grown customary among them, and the Sums only disputed between the Prince and the States: To establish the fourteen Bishops, he had agreed with the Pope, should be added to the three, that were anciently in the *Low-Countries*: To revive the Edicts of *Charles* the Fifth against *Luther*, publish'd in a Diet of the Empire about the Year 1550, but eluded in the *Low-Countries* even in that Empire's Time; and thereby to make way with the Inquisition with the same Course it had received in *Spain*; of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Mohors* there, were made an equal Pretence. And these Points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the first Commotions of Mens Minds in the Provinces.

The Hatred of the People against the *Spaniards*, and the Insolencies of those Troops, with the Charge of their Support, made them look'd upon by the Inhabitants in general, as the Instruments of their Oppression and Slavery, and not of their Defence, when a general Peace had left them no Enemies: And therefore the States began here their Complaints, with a general Content and Passion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Country. And upon
the

the Delays that were contriv'd, or fell in, the States first refused to raise any more Monies, either for the *Spaniards* Pay, or their own standing Troops; and the People ran into so great Despair, that in *Zeland* they absolutely gave over the working at their Diques, suffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Country; and resolving (as they said) rather to be devoured by that Element, than by the *Spanish* Soldiers: So that after many Disputes and Intrigues, between the Governes and the Provinces, the King, upon her Remonstrances, was induced to their Removal; which was accordingly performed with great Joy and Applause of the People.

The erecting of Fourteen new Bishops Sees raised the next Contest. The great Lords look'd upon this Innovation as a lessening of their Power, by introducing so many new Men into the Great Council. The Abbots (out of whose Lands they were to be endow'd) pleaded against it, as a violent Usurpation upon the Rites of the Church, and the Will of the Dead, who had given those Lands to a particular Use. The Commons murmured at it, as a new degree of Oppression upon their Conscience or Liberty, by the erecting so many new Spiritual Courts of Judicature, and so great a Number of Judges, being Seventeen for Three, that were before in the Country; and those depending absolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all Men declaimed against it, as a Breach of the King's Oath at his Accession to the Government, for the preserving the Church and the Laws in the same State he found them. However this Point was gain'd entirely by the Governes, and carry'd over the head of all Opposition, tho' not without leaving a general Discontent.

In the midst of these ill Humours stirring in *Flanders*, the Wars of Religion breaking out in *France*, drove great Numbers of *Calvinists* into all those Parts of the *Low-Countries* that confine upon *France*, as the Troubles of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans* into the *Provinces* about the *Rhine*; and the Prosecutions under Queen *Mary*, those of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great Commerce of this Kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

These Accidents and Neighbourhoods fill'd these Countries, in a small Tract of Time, with Swarms of the reformed Professors: And the Admiration of their Zeal, the Opinion of their Doctrine and Piety, the Compassion of their Sufferings, the Infusion of their Discontents, or the Humour of the Age, gain'd them every Day many Proselytes in the *Low-Countries*, some among the Nobles, many among the Villages, but most among the Cities, whose Trade and Riches were much encreased by these new Inhabitants; and whose Interest thereby, as well as Conversation, drew them on to their Favour.

This made Work for the *Inquisition*, though moderately exercised by the Prudence and Temper of the Governes, mediating between the Rigor of *Granwell*, who strain'd up to the highest his Master's Authority, and the Execution of his Commands upon all Occasions; and Resoluteness of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the Edicts, and protect the Liberties of their Country against the Admission of this New and Arbitrary Judicature, unknown to all ancient Laws and Customs of the Country; and for that, not less odious to the People, than for the Cruelty of their Executions. For before the *Inquisition*, the Care of Religion was in the Bishops; and before that, in the Civil Magistrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry Debates in Council, but chiefly upon the universal Ministry of *Granwell*, a *Burgundian* of mean Birth, grown at last to a Cardinal, and more famous for the Greatness of his Parts, than the Goodness of his Life; the chief Lords of the Country (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marquess of *Berghen* and *Montigny*, were most considerable) grew to so violent and implacable an Hatred of the Cardinal (whether from Passion or Interest) which was so universally spread through the whole Body of the People, either by the Causes of it, or the Example, that the Lords first refused their Attendance in Council, protesting, *Not to endure the Sight of a Man so absolute there, and to the Ruin of their Country*: And afterwards Petitioned the King, in the Name of the whole Country, for his Removal:

Removal: Upon the Delay whereof, and the Continuance of the Inquisition, the People appeared, upon daily Occasions and Accidents, heated to that degree, as threaten'd a general Combustion in the whole Body, whenever the least Flame should break out in any Part.

But the King at length consented to *Granvell's* Recels, by the Opinion of the Dutchefs of *Parma*, as well as the Pursuit of the Provinces: Whereupon the Lords reassum'd their Places in Council; Count *Egmont* was sent into *Spain* to represent the Grievances of the Princes; and being favourably dispatched by the King, especially by remitting the Rigour of the Edicts about Religion, and the Inquisition, all Noise of Discontent and Tumult was appeas'd, the Lords were made use of by the Governels in the Council, and Conduct of Affairs; and the Governels was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the beginning of the Year 1565, there was a Conference at *Bayonne* between *Katharine* Queen-Mother of *France* and her Son *Charles* the Ninth (though very young) with his Sister *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*: In which no other Person but the Duke of *Alva* interven'd, being deputed thither by *Philip*, who excus'd his own Presence, and thereby made this Interview pass for an Effect or Expression of Kindness between the Mother and her Children. Whether great Resolutions are the more suspected, where great Secrecy is observed; or if it be true, what the Prince of *Orange* affirm'd to have by accident discover'd, That the Extirpation of all Families which should profess the New Religion in the *French* or *Spanisb* Dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual Assistance of the Two Crowns: 'Tis certain, and was owned, that Matters of Religion were the Subject of that Conference; and that soon after, in the same Year, came Letters from King *Philip* to the Dutchefs of *Parma*, disclaiming the Interpretation which had been given to his Letters by Count *Egmont*, declaring, His Pleasure was, That all Hereticks should be put to Death without Remission; That the Emperor's Edicts, and the Council of *Trent*, should be published and observed; and commanding, That the utmost Assistance of the Civil Power should be given to the *Inquisition*.

When this was divulg'd, at first the Astonishment was great throughout their Provinces; but that soon gave way to their Rage, which began to appear in their Looks, in their Speeches, their bold Meetings and Libels; and was encreas'd by the miserable Spectacles of so many Executions upon account of Religion. The Constancy of the Sufferers, and Compassion of the Beholders, conspiring generally to lessen the Opinion of Guilt or Crime, and heighten a Detestation of the Punishment and Desire of Revenge, against the Authors of that Counsel, of whom the Duke of *Alva* was esteem'd the Chief.

In the beginning of the Year 1566 began an open Mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindering Executions, and forcing Prisons and Officers; and this was followed by a Confederacy of the Lords, Never to suffer the *Inquisition* in the *Low-Countries*, as contrary to all Laws, both sacred and prophane, and exceeding the Cruelty of all former Tyrannies; upon which, all Resolutions of Force or Rigor grew unsafe for the Government, now too weak for such a Revolution of the People; and on the other side, *Brederoede*, in confidence of the general Favour, came at the Head of two hundred Gentlemen, thorough the Provinces, to *Brussels*, and in bold Terms petition'd the Governels for abolishing the *Inquisition*, and Edicts about Religion; and that new ones should be fram'd by a Convention of the States.

The Governels was forc'd to use the gentle Remedies to so violent a Disease; to receive the Petition without shew of the Repentment she had at Heart, and to promise a Representation of their Desires to the King; which was accordingly done: But though the King was startled with such Consequences of his last Commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the Slowness of his Nature, or the Forms of the *Spanisb* Court, the Answer came too late: And as all his former Concessions, either by Delay, or Testimonies of Ill-will or Meaning in them, had lost the good Grace; so this lost absolutely the Effect, and came into the *Low-Countries* when all was

in flame, by an Insurrection of the meaner People through many great Towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*; who fell violently upon the Spoil of Churches, and Destruction of Images, with a thousand Circumstances of barbarous and brutish Fury; Which, with the Institution of Consistories and Magistrates in each Town among those of the reformed Profession, with publick Confederacies and Distinctions, and private Contributions agreed upon for the Support of their common Cause, gave the first Date in this Year of 1566 to the Revolt of the *Low-Countries*.

But the Nobility of the Country, and the richest of the People in the Cities, though unsatisfy'd with the Government, yet feeling the Effects, and abhorring the Rage, of popular Tumults, as the worst Michief that can befall any State; and encourag'd by the Arrival of the King's Concessions, began to unite their Councils and Forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great Vigor and Loyalty, for suppressing the late Insurrections, that had seiz'd upon many, and shak'd most of the Cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great Instruments, by the Authority of their great Charges (one being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*;) but more by the general Love and Confidence of the People; till by the reducing *Valenciens*, *Maastricht*, and the *Burse*, by Arms; the Submission of *Antwerp* and other Towns; the Defection of Count *Egmont* from the Councils of the Confederate Lords (as they were call'd;) the Retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany*; and the Death of *Brederode*; with the News and Preparations of King *Philip's* sudden Journey into the *Low-Countries*, as well as the Prudence and Moderation of the Dutchess, in governing all these Circumstances; the whole Estate of the Provinces was perfectly restor'd to its former Peace, Obedience, and, at least, Appearance of Loyalty.

King *Philip*, whether having never really decreed his Journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the Pacification of the Provinces, and Apprehension of the *Mors* rebelling in *Spain*, or a Distrust of his Son Prince *Charles* his violent Passions and Dispositions, or the Expectation of what had been resolv'd at *Bayonne* growing ripe for Execution in *France*, gave over the Discourse of seeing the *Low-Countries*; but at the same time took up the Resolution for dispatching the Duke of *Alva* thither at the Head of an Army of ten thousand Veteran *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, for the Assistance of the Governess, the Execution of the Laws, the Suppressing and Punishment of all who had been Authors or Fomenters of the late Seditions.

This Result was put suddenly in Execution, though wholly against the Advice of the Duchess of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Feria* (one of the chief Ministers) in *Spain*: Who thought, the present Peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new Occasions; nor the Royal Authority lessened, by being made a Party in a War upon his Subjects; nor a Minister employed, where he was so profess'dly both hating, and hated, as the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low-Countries*.

But the King was unmoveable; so that in the end of the Year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* arriv'd there with an Army of ten thousand, the best *Spanish* and *Italian* Soldiers, under the Command of the choicest Officers, which the Wars of *Charles* the Fifth, or *Philip* the Second, had bred up in *Europe*; which, with two thousand *Germans* the Dutchess of *Parma* had rais'd in the last Tumults, and under the Command of so Old and Renewed a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a Force, which nothing in the *Low-Countries* could look in the face with other Eyes, than of Astonishment, Submission, or Despair.

Upon the first Report of this Expedition, the Trading People of the Towns and Country began in vast Numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so as the Dutchess wrote to the King, That, in few days, above a hundred thousand Men had left the Country, and withdrawn both their Money and Goods, and more were following every Day: So great Antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under

Laws,

Laws, which the other pretends shall be subject to his Sword, and his Will. And upon the first Action of the Duke of *Alva* after his Arrival, which was the seizing Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, as well as the suspected Death of the Marquis of *Berghen*, and Imprisonment of *Montigny* in *Spain* (whither, some Months before, they had been sent with Commission and Instructions from the Dutchess) she immediately desired leave of the King to retire out of the *Low-Countries*.

This was easily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* invested in the Government, with Powers never given before to any Governor: A Council of Twelve was erected for Tryal of all Crimes committed against the King's Authority, which was called by the People, *The Council of Blood*. Great Numbers were condemned and executed by Sentence of this Council, upon account of the late Insurrections. More by that of the *Inquisition*, against the Parting-advice of the Dutchess of *Parma*, and the Exclamation of the People at those illegal Courts. The Towns stomached the Breach of their Charters, the People of their Liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the Charters of their Order, by these new and odious Courts of Judicature: All complain of the Difuse of the States, of the Introduction of Armies, but all in vain: The King was constant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in his Nature cruel and inexorable; the new Army was fierce and brave, and desirous of nothing so much as a Rebellion in the Country: The People were enraged, but awed and unheaded: All was Seizure and Process, Confiscation and Imprisonment, Blood and Horror, Insolence and Dejection, Punishments executed, and meditated Revenge: The smaller Branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Count *Egmont* and *Horn* lasted several Months; but, at length, in Spight of all their Services to *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Philip*, as well as of their new Merits in quieting of the Provinces, and of so great Supplications and Intercessions as were made in their Favour, both in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, they were publicly beheaded at *Brussels*, which seemed to break all Patience in the People; and, by their End, to give those Commotions a Beginning, which cost *Europe* so much Blood, and *Spain* a great part of the *Low-Country* Provinces.

After the Process of *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was retir'd into *Germany*, was summoned to his Tryal for the same Crimes, of which the others had been accused; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed Traitor, and his whole Estate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in *Burgundy*) seized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this manner, while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his Credit with those Provinces engaged to him by Alliance, or by common Fears of the House of *Austria*, throws off all Obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raises Forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces; all enrag'd at the Duke of *Alva's* cruel and arbitrary Government, and resolv'd to revenge the Count *Egmont's* Death (who had ever been the Darling of the People.) With these Troops he enters *Friesland*, and invades the outward Parts of *Brabant*, receives Succours from the Protestants of *France*, then in Arms under the Prince of *Conde*: And after many various Encounters and Successes, by the great Conduct of *Alva*, and Valour of his Veteran Army, being hinder'd from seizing upon any Town in *Brabant* (which both of them knew would shake the Fidelity of the Provinces) he is at length forc'd to break up his Army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon, *Alva* returns in Triumph to *Brussels*; and as if he had made a Conquest, instead of a Defence, causes, out of the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, his Statue to be cast in Brass, treading and insulting upon two smaller Statues, that represented the two Estates of the *Low Countries*: And this to be erected in the Cittadel he had built at *Antwerp*, for the absolute subjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous Town.

Nothing had raised greater Indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick Sight and Ostentation of this Statue; and the more, because they knew the Boast to be true, finding their ancient Liberties and Privileges (the Inheritance of so many Ages, or Bounty of so many Princes) all now prostrate before

fore this one Man's Sword and Will, who from the Time of *Charles* the Fifth had ever been esteem'd an Enemy of their Nation, and Author of all the Counsels for the absolute subduing their Country.

But *Alva*, mov'd with no Rumors, terrified with no Threats from a broken and unarmed People, and thinking no Measures nor Forms were any more necessary to be observ'd in the *Low Countries*, pretends greater Sums are necessary for the Pay and Reward of his Victorious Troops, than were annually granted upon the King's Request, by the States of the Provinces: And therefore demands a general Tax of the Hundredth part of every Man's Estate in the *Low Countries*, to be rais'd at once: And for the future, the Twentieth of all Immovables, and the Tenth of all that was Sold.

The States, with much Reluctancy, consent to the first, as a Thing that ended at once; but refus'd the other two, alledging the Poverty of the Provinces, and the Ruin of Trade. Upon the Duke's persisting, they petition the King by Messengers into *Spain*, but without Redress; draw out the Year in Contests, sometimes stomachful, sometimes humble, with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further Delay, causes the Edict, without Consent of the States, to be published at *Brussels*. The People refuse to pay, the Soldiers begin to levy by Force; the Townsmen all shut up their Shops; the People in the Country forbear the Market, so as not so much as Bread or Meat is to be bought in the Town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the Soldiers to Arms, and commands several of the Inhabitants, who refus'd the Payments, to be hang'd that very Night upon their Sign-posts; which nothing moves the Obstinacy of the People: And now the Officers of the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when News comes to Town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Gueses*, and of the Expectation that had been given of sudden Revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected Blow struck the Duke of *Alva*; and foreseeing the Consequences of it, because he knew the Stubble was dry, and now he found the Fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill Time to make an end of the Tragedy in *Prabant*, whilst a new Scene was opened in *Holland*; and so, giving over for the present his Taxes and Executions, applies his Thoughts to the Suppression of this new Enemy, that broke in upon him from the Sea; and for that reason, the Bottom and Reach of the Design, as well as the Nature and Strength of their Forces, were to the Duke the less known, and the more suspected. Now because this Seizure of the *Briel* began the second great Commotion of the *Low Countries*, in 1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the Loss of those Provinces, where the Death of the *Spanish* and Royal Government gave Life to a new Commonwealth; it will be necessary to know, what sort of Men, and by what Accidents united, and by what Fears or Hopes emboldened, were the first Authors of this Adventure.

Upon *Brederode's* delivering a Petition to the Dutchess of *Parma*, against the *Inquisition*, and for some Liberty in Point of Religion; those Persons, which attended him, looking mean in their Cloaths and their Garb, were called by one of their Courtiers, at the Entrance into their Palace, *Gueses*, which signifies *Beggars*; a Name, though rais'd by Chance, or by Scorn, yet affect'd by the Party, as an Expression of Humility and Distress, and us'd ever after by both Sides, as a Name of Distinction, comprehending all, who dissent'd from the *Roman* Church, how different soever in Opinion amongst themselves.

These Men, spread in great Numbers through the whole Extent of the Provinces, by the Accidents and Dispositions already mention'd, after the appeasing of their first Sedition, were broken in their common Counsels; and by the Cruelty of the *Inquisition*, and Rigour of *Alva*, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at least such as had means or hopes of subsisting abroad: Many of the poorer and more desperate fled into the Woods of the upper Countries (where they are thick and wild) and liv'd upon Spoil; and, in the first Descent of the Prince of *Orange* his Forces, did great Mischiefs to all scatter'd Parties of the Duke of *Alva's* Troops in their March through those Parts. But after that Attempt of the Prince

ended without Success, and he was forced back into *Germany*; the Count of *Muncke*, a violent and implacable Enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops (whom the same Fortune and Disposition had left together in *Friezland*) man'd out some Ships of small Force, and betook themselves to Sea; and, with Commissions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could master that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They sometimes sheltered and watered, and sold their Prizes in some Creeks or small Harbours of *England*, though forbidden by Queen *Elizabeth* (then in Peace with *Spain*) sometimes in the River *Ems*, or some small Ports of *Friezland*; till at length having gain'd considerable Riches by these Adventures, whether to sell, or to refresh, whether driven by Storm, or led by Design (upon knowledge of the ill Blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the Island of the *Biel*, assaulted and carried the Town, pull'd down the Images in the Churches, professed openly their Religion, declared against the Taxes and Tyranny of the *Spanish* Government, and were immediately followed by the Revolt of most of the Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friezland*, who threw out the *Spanish* Garrisons, renounced their Obedience to King *Philip*, and swore Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new Forces, and, making use of this Fury of the People, contented not himself with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but march'd up into the very Heart of the Provinces, within five Leagues of *Brussels*, seizing upon *Mechlin*, and many other Towns, with so great Consent, Applause, and Concourse of People, that the whole *Spanish* Dominion now seem'd ready to expire in the *Low-Countries*, if it had not been reviv'd by the Misfacre of the Protestants at *Paris*; which, contriv'd by joint Councils with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spanish* Party in the Court of *France*, and with so fatal a Blow to the contrary Faction, encourag'd the Duke of *Alva*, and damp't the Prince of *Orange* in the same Degree; so that one gathers Strength enough to defend the Heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the Seat of the War.

This Country was strong by its Nature, and Seat among the Waters that encompass and divide it; but more by a rougher sort of People at that Time, less softened by Trade, or by Riches; less us'd to Grants of Money and Taxes; and proud of their ancient Fame, recorded in the *Roman* Stories, of being obstinate Defenders of their Liberties, and now most implacable Haters of the *Spanish* Name.

All these Dispositions were encreas'd and harden'd, in the War that ensu'd under the Duke of *Alva's* Conduct, or his Sons; by the Slaughter of all innocent Persons and Sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, where the Houses were burnt, and the Walls levelled to the Ground; by the desperate Defence of *Haellem* for ten Months, with all the Practices and Returns of Ignominy, Cruelty, and Scorn on both Sides; while the very Women list'd themselves in Companies, repair'd Breaches, gave Alarms, and beat up Quarters, till, all being famish'd, four hundred Burgers (after the Surrender) were kill'd in cold Blood, among many other Examples of an incens'd Conqueror; which made the Humour of the Parties grow more desperate, and their Hatred to *Spain* and *Alva* incurable.

The same Army broken and forc'd to rise from before *Almaer*, after a long and fierce Siege in *Alva's* Time; and from before *Leyden* in the Time of *Requifenes* (where the Boors themselves open'd the Sluices, and drown'd the Country, resolving to mischief the *Spaniards*, at the Charge of their own Ruin) gave the great Turn to Affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows sensible of Danger, and apprehensive of the total Defection of the Provinces; *Alva*, weary of his Government, finding his violent Councils and Proceedings had rais'd a Spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the War goes on under *Requifenes*; who dying suddenly, and without Provisions made by the King for a Successor, the Government, by Customs of the Country, devolved by way of Interim upon the Great Council, which lasted some Time, by the

the Delay of *Don John* of *Austria's* Coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But in this Interim, the Strength of the Disease appears; for, upon the Mutiny of some *Spanish* Troops, for want of their Pay, and their seizing *Alost*, a Town near *Brussels*, the People grow into a Rage, and Tradesmen give over their Shops, and the Country-men their Labour, and all run to Arms: In *Brussels* they force the Senate, pull out those Men they knew to be most addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill such of that Nation as they meet in the Streets, and all in general cry out for the Expulsion of Foreigners out of the *Low-Countries*, and the Assembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to consent. In the mean time, the chief Persons of the Provinces enter into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common Affairs of the Provinces by the same Councils; so as when the Estates assembled at *Ghent* without any Contest, they agreed upon that Act, which was called *The Pacification of Ghent*, in the Year 1576, whereof the chief Articles were, *The Expulsion of all Foreign Soldiers out of the Provinces; Restoring all the ancient Forms of Government, And referring Matters of Religion in each Province to the Provincial Estates; And that, for performance hereof, the rest of the Provinces should for ever be confederate with Holland and Zealand.* And this made the first Period of the *Low-Country* Troubles, proving to King *Philip* a dear Experience, how little the best Conduct, and boldest Armies, are able to withstand the Torrent of a stubborn and enraged People, which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different Channels by Arts, or by Chance; or, till the Springs, which are the the Humors that fed it, come to be spent, or dry up of themselves.

The Foreign Forces, refusing to depart, are declar'd Rebels; whereupon the *Spanish* Troops force and plunder several Towns, and *Antwerp* among the rest (by Advantage of the Citadel) with equal Advantage and Avarice; and defend themselves in several Holds from the Forces of the States, till *Don John's* Arrival at *Luxemburg*, the only Town of the Provinces, where he thought himself safe, as not invol'd in the Defection of the rest.

The Estates refuse to admit him, without his accepting and confirming the *Pacification of Ghent*; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the Government with the Dismission of all Foreign Troops, which return into *Italy*. But soon after, *Don John*, whether out of Indignation to see himself but a precarious Governor, without Force or Dependence; or, desiring new Occasions of Fame by a War; or, instructed from *Spain* upon new Councils, takes the occasion of complimenting *Queen Margaret of Navarre* upon her Journey out of *France* to the *Spaw*, and on a sudden seizes upon the Castle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their Obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Brussels*, where he is made Protector of *Brabant*, by the States of that Province, and Preparations are made on both sides for the War: While *Spain* is busie to form new Armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only Provinces obedient to that Crown: And all the rest agree to elect a Governor of their own, and send to *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, to offer him the Charge.

At this time began to be form'd the Male-content Party in the *Low-Countries*; which, though agreeing with the rest in their Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and Defence of their Liberties and Laws, yet were not inclin'd to shake off their Allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and establish'd Religion: And these were headed by the Duke of *Aerschot*, and several Great Men, the more averse from a general Defection, by Emulation or Envy of the Prince of *Orange's* Greatness, who was now grown to have all the Influence and Credit in the Councils of the League.

By the Assistance of this Party, after *Don John's* sudden Death, the Duke of *Parma*, succeeding him, gain'd Strength and Reputation upon his coming to the Government, and an Entrance upon that great Scene of Glory and Victory, which made both his Person so renowned, and the Time of his Government signaliz'd by so many Sieges and Battles, and the Reduction of so great a part of the Body of the Provinces to the Subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the Growth of this Party, and for Distinction from them, who, pursuing a middle and dangerous Counsel, were at length to become an Accession to one of the Extreams; the more Northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1579, fram'd an Act or Alliance, which was ever after call'd *The Union of Utrecht*; and was the Original Constitution and Frame of that Commonwealth, which has since been so well known in the World, by the Name of *The United Provinces*.

This Union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* Breach of the *Pacification of Ghent*, and new Invasion of some Towns in *Guelderland*; and was not pretended to divide these Provinces from the Generality, nor from the said *Pacification*; but to strengthen and pursue the Ends of it, by more vigorous and united Counsels and Arms.

The chief Force of this Union consists in these Points, drawn out of the Instrument it self.

The Seven Provinces unite themselves so, as if they were but one Province, and so, as never to be divided by Testament, Donation, Exchange, Sale, or Agreement: Reserving to each particular Province and City, all Privileges, Rights, Customs and Statutes: In adjudging whereof, or Differences that shall arise between any of the Provinces, the rest shall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an Agreement.

They bind themselves to assist one another with Life and Fortunes against all Force and Assault made upon any of them, whether upon Pretence of Royal Majesty, of restoring Catholick Religion, or any other whatsoever.

All Frontier-Towns belonging to the Union, if Old, to be fortified at the Charge of the Province where they lie; if New, to be erected at the Charge of the Generality.

All Imposts and Customs, from three Months to three Months, to be offered to them that bid most; and, with the Incomes of the Royal Majesty, to be employed for the common Defence.

All Inhabitants to be lifted and trained within a Month, from 18 to 60 Years old. Peace and War not to be made without Consent of all the Provinces; other Cases, that concern the Management of both, by most Voices. Differences that shall arise upon the first, between the Provinces, to be submitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, Lands, and Cities, to be admitted into the Union, by Consent of the Provinces.

For Religion, those of *Holland* and *Zealand* to act in it as seems good unto themselves. The other Provinces may regulate themselves according to the Tenor establish'd by *Matthias*, or else as they shall judge to be most for the Peace and Welfare of their particular Provinces; provided, every one remain free in his Religion, and no Man be examined or entrapp'd for that Cause, according to the *Pacification of Ghent*.

In case of any Dissension or Differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it shall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: In both which Cases, Sentence to be pronounced within a Month, and without Appeal or Revision.

The States to be held, as has been formerly used; and the Mint in such manner, as shall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of these Articles to remain in the States; but in case of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themselves to fall upon, and imprison any, that shall act contrary to these Articles; in which case no Privilege nor Exemption to be valid.

This Act was Signed by the Deputies of *Guelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Frieze*, Jan. 23. 1579, but was not Signed by the Prince of *Orange* till May following, and with this Signification, judging, that by the same the Superiority and Authority of Arch-Duke *Matthias* is not lessened.

In the same Year, this Union was enter'd and sign'd by the Cities of *Ghent*, *Nimneguen*, *Arnhem*, *Licwarden*, with some particular Nobles of *Friseland*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*. And thus these Provinces became a Common-

a Commonwealth, but in so low and uncertain a State of Affairs, by reason of the various Motions and Affections of Men's Minds, the different Ends and Interests of the several Parties, especially in the other Provinces; and the mighty Power and Preparations of the *Spanish* Monarchy to oppress them, that in their first Coin they caused a Ship to be stamped, labouring among the Waves without Sails or Oars; and these Words, *Incertum quo fata ferant*.

I thought so particular a Deduction necessary to discover the natural Causes of this Revolution in the *Low-Countries*, which has since had so great a part for near a hundred Years, in all the Actions and Negotiations of Christendom; and to find out the true Incentives of that obstinate Love for their Liberties, and invincible Hatred for the *Spanish* Nation and Government, which laid the Foundation of this Commonwealth: And this last I take to have been the stronger Passion, and of the greater Effect, both in the bold Counsels of contracting their Union, and the desperate Resolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Council of this new State, being press'd by the Extremities of their Affairs, passing by the Form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earnest and solemn Offer of the Dominion of these Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refused by both Crowns: And though they retain'd the Name of a free People, yet they soon lost the Ease of the Liberties they contended for, by the Absoluteness of their Magistrates in the several Cities and Provinces, and by the exorbitant Pressure of their Taxes, which so long a War, with so mighty an Enemy, made necessary for the Support of their State.

But the Hatred of the *Spanish* Government, under *Alva*, was so universal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of Men, as appeared by the Pacification of *Ghent*; Till by the Division of the Parties, by the Powers of so vast a Monarchy as *Spain* at that Time, and by the matchless Conduct and Valour of the Duke of *Parma*, this Humour, like Poison in a strong Constitution, and with the Help of violent Physick, was expell'd from the Heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant* (with the rest of the Ten Provinces) into the outward Members; and by their being cut off, the Body was saved. After which, the most inflamed Spirits being driven by the Arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the Hopes of Liberty and Safety, into the *United Provinces* out of the rest, the Hatred of *Spain* grew to that height, that they were not willing to submit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Master to protect them, and their Affairs grew desperate, they were once certainly upon the Counsel of burning their great Towns, waisting and drowning what they could of their own Country, and going to seek some new Seats in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off their Numbers, and had not been detained by the Compassion of those which must have been left behind, at the Mercy of an incensed and conquering Master.

The *Spanish* and *Italian* Writers content themselves to attribute the Causes of their Revolutions to the Change of Religion, to the native Stubbornness of the People, and to the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*: But Religion, without Mixtures of Ambition and Interest, works no such violent Effects; and produces rather the Examples of constant Sufferings, than of desperate Actions: The Nature of the People cannot change of a sudden, no more than the Climate which infuses it; and no Country hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of these Provinces, both before and since these Com-motions among them; and the Ambition of one Man could neither have designed or atchieved so great an Adventure, had it not been seconded with universal Discontent; nor could that have been raised to so great an Height and Heat, without so many Circumstances as fell in from an unhappy Course of the *Spanish* Counsels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head such a Body, and give it so strong a Principle of Life, and so regular Motions, without the accident of so great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince *William* of *Orange*: A Man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; Cautious and Resolute, Affable and Severe; supple to Occasions, and yet

yet constant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependence in the Provinces, of great Credit and Alliance in *Germany*; esteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely lov'd and trusted by the People, who thought him affectionate to their Country, sincere in his Professions and Designs, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own. Yet all these Qualities might very well have been confined to the Duty and Services of a Subject, as they were in *Charles* the Fifth's time; without the Absence of the King, and the People's Opinion of his Ill-will to their Nation and their Laws; without the Continuance of Foreign Troops after the Wars were ended; the erecting the new Bishops Sees, and introducing the *Inquisition*; the sole Ministry of *Granvell*, and Exclusion of the Lords from their usual part in Councils and Affairs; the Government of a Man so hated, as the Duke of *Alva*; the Rigour of his Prosecutions, and the Insolence of his Statue: And lastly, without the Death of *Egmont*, and the Imposition of the Tenth and Twentieth Part, against the legal Forms of Government in a County, where a long derived Succession had made the People fond and tenacious of their ancient Customs and Laws.

These were the Seeds of their Hatred to *Spain*; which, increasing by the Course of about threescore Years War, was not allay'd by a long succeeding Peace; but will appear to have been an Ingredient into the Fall, as it was into the Rise of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conferred and cultivated by many Accidents and Influences from abroad: But those having had no Part in the Constitution of their State, nor the Frame of their Government; I will content my self to mention only the chief of them, which most contributed to preserve the Infancy of their Commonwealth, and make way for its Growth. The Causes of its succeeding Greatness and Riches being not to be sought for in the Events of their Wars, but in the Institutions and Orders of their Government, their Customs and Trade, which will make the Arguments of the ensuing Chapters.

When *Don. John* threw off the Conditions he had at first accepted of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and by the Surprise of *Namur* broke into Arms; the Estates of the Provinces offer'd the Government of their Country to *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor, as a Temper between their Return to the Obedience of *Spain*, and the popular Government which was moulding in the Northern Provinces. But *Matthias* arriving without the Advice or Support of the Emperor, or Credit in the Provinces; and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a Cypher, and his Government a Piece of Pageantry, which pass'd without effect, and was soon ended: So that, upon the Duke of *Parma's* taking on him the Government, some new Protection was necessary to this Infant-State, that had not Legs to support it against such a Storm, as was threaten'd upon the Return of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, to make the Body of a formidable Army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*.

Since the Conference of *Bayonne* between the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Daughter Queen of *Spain*, those two Crowns had continued, in the Reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to assist one another in the common Design there agreed on, of prosecuting with Violence those they call'd the Hereticks, in both their Dominions. The Peace held constant, if not kind, between *England* and *Spain*; so as King *Philip* had no Wars upon his Hands in Christendom, during these Commotions in the *Low-Countries*: And the Boldness of the Confederates, in their first Revolt and Union, seem'd greater at such a Time, than the Success of their Resistances afterwards, when so many Occasions fell in to weaken and divert the Forces of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

For *Henry* the Third coming to the Crown of *France*, and at first only fetter'd and control'd by the Faction of the *Guises*, but afterwards engaged in an open War (which they had rais'd against him, upon pretext of preserving the Cathelick Religion, and in a Conjunction of Counsels with *Spain*) was forced into better Measures with the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom, and fell into ill Intelligence with *Philip* the Second, so as Queen *Elizabeth* having declin'd to undertake openly the Protection of the *Low-Country* Provinces, it was, by the

the conquering Resolution of the States, and the Consent of the *French* Court, devolved upon the Duke of *Alencon*, Brother to *Henry* the Third.

But this Prince enter'd *Antwerp* with an ill Preface to the *Flemings*, by an Attempt which a *Biscainer* made the same Day upon the Prince of *Orange's* Life, shooting him, though not mortally, in the Head: And he continued his short Government with such mutual Distastes between the *French* and the *Flemings* (the Heat and Violence of one Nation agreeing ill with the Customs and Liberties of the other) that the Duke, attempting to make himself absolute Master of the City of *Antwerp* by Force, was driven out of the Town, and thereupon retired out of the Country, with extreme Resentment of the *Flemings*, and Indignation of the *French*; so as the Prince of *Orange* being not long after assassi'd at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* encreasing daily in Reputation and in Force, and the Male-content Party falling back apace to his Obedience, an End was presag'd by most Men to the Affairs of the Confederates.

But the Root was deeper, and not so easily shaken: For the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy Transactions with the *French*, under the Duke of *Alencon*, re-assum'd their Union in 1583, binding themselves, in case by Fury of the War any Point of it had not been observed, to endeavour from that Time to see it effected: In case any Doubt had happened, to see it clear'd: And any Difficulties, compos'd: And in regard the Article concerning Religion had been so framed in the Union, because in all the other Provinces, besides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romish* Religion was then us'd, but now the *Evangelical*; it was agreed by all the Provinces of the Union, that, from this Time in them all, the Evangelical reformed Religion should alone be openly preach'd and exercis'd.

They were so far from being broken in their Designs by the Prince of *Orange's* Death, that they did all the Honour that could be to his Memory, substituted Prince *Maurice* his Son, though but sixteen Years old, in all his Honours and Commands, and obstinately refus'd all Overtures that were made them of Peace; resolving upon all the most desperate Actions and Sufferings, rather than return under the *Spanish* Obedience.

But these Spirits were fed and heighten'd, in a great degree, by the Hopes and Countenance given them about this Time from *England*: For Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Philip* the Second, though they still preserv'd the Name of Peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the Effects as well as the Dispositions of it, whilst the *Spaniard* fomented and assist'd the Insurrections of the *Bish* and Queen *Elizabeth* the new Commonwealth in the *Low-Countries*; though neither directly, yet by Countenance, Money, voluntary Troops, and Ways that were equally felt on both Sides, and equally understood.

King *Philip* had lately increased the Greatness of his Empire, by the Inheritance or Invasion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebastian's* Loss in *Africa*: But I know not whether he had encreas'd his Power, by the Accession of a Kingdom, with disputed Title, and a discontented People, who could neither be us'd like good Subjects, and govern'd without Armies; nor like a conquer'd Nation, and so made to bear the Charge of their forc'd Obedience. But this Addition of Empire, with the vast Treasure flowing every Year out of the *Indies*, had without question rais'd King *Philip's* Ambition to vaster Designs; which made him embrace at once, the Protection of the League in *France* against *Henry* the Third and Fourth, and the Donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and so embark himself in a War with both those Crowns, while he was bearded with the open Arms and Defiance of his own Subjects in the *Low-Countries*.

But 'tis hard to be imagin'd, how far the Spirit of one great Man goes in the Fortunes of any Army or State. The Duke of *Parma*, coming to the Government without any footing in more than Two of the smallest Provinces, collecting an Army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken Troops of the Country left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated against him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open part in their Defence; yet, by force of his own Valour, Conduct, and the Discipline

pline of his Army, with the disinterested and generous Qualities of his Mind, winning equally upon the Hearts and Arms of the revolted Countries, and pierced through the Provinces with an uninterrupted Course of Successes, and the Recovery of the most important Towns in *Flanders*; at last, by the taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduc'd the Affairs of the Union to so extreme Distress, that, being grown destitute of all Hopes and Succours from *France* (then deep engaged in their own Civil Wars) they threw themselves wholly at the Feet of Queen *Elizabeth*, imploring her Protection, and offering her the Sovereignty of their Country. The Queen refus'd the Dominion, but enter'd into Articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herself to very great Supplies of Men and of Monies, lent them upon the Security of the *Briel*, *Flushing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and Sir *John Norrice* sent over to command her Forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the War broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty Threats of the *Spanish* Armada, she sent over yet greater Forces under the Earl of *Leicester*, whom the States admitted, and swore Obedience to him, as Governor of their *United Provinces*.

But this Government lasted not long, Distastes and Suspicions soon breaking out between *Leicester* and the States; partly from the Jealousy of his affecting an absolute Dominion, and arbitrary Disposal of all Offices; but chiefly, from the Queen's Intentions to make a Peace with *Spain*; and the easy Loss of some of their Towns, by Governors plac'd in them by the Earl of *Leicester*, encreas'd their Discontents. Notwithstanding this ill Intercourse, the Queen re-assures them in both those Points, disapproves some of *Leicester's* Proceedings, receives frank and hearty Assurances from them in her Naval Preparations against the *Spaniards*; and at length, upon the Disorders encreasing between the Earl of *Leicester* and the States, commands him to resign his Government, and release the States of the Oath they had taken to obey him. And after all this had pass'd, the Queen easily sacrificing all particular Resentments to the Interest of her Crown, continued her Favour, Protection and Assurances to the States, during the whole Course of her Reign, which were return'd with the greatest Deference and Veneration to her Person, that was ever paid by them to any Foreign Prince, and continues still to her Name in the Remembrance, and frequently in the Mouths, of all sorts of People among them.

After *Leicester's* Departure, Prince *Maurice* was, by the Consent of the Union, chosen their Governor, but with a Reservation to Queen *Elizabeth*; and enter'd that Command with the Hopes, which he made good in the Execution of it for many Years; proving the greatest Captain of his Age, famous, particularly, in the Discipline and Ordonance of his Armies, and the Ways of Fortification by him first invented or perfected, and since his Time imitated by all.

But the great Breath that was given the States in the Heat of their Affairs, was by the sharp Wars made by Queen *Elizabeth* upon the *Spaniards* at Sea in the *Indies*, and the Expedition of *Lisbon* and *Cadiz*, and by the declining Affairs of the League in *France*, for whose Support *Philip* the Second was so passionately engag'd, that twice he commanded the Duke of *Parma* to interrupt the Course of his Victories in the *Low-Countries*, and march into *France* for the Relief of *Roan* and *Paris*; which much augmented the Renown of this great Captain, but as much impair'd the State of the *Spanish* Affairs in *Flanders*. For in the Duke of *Parma's* Absence, Prince *Maurice* took in all the Places held by the *Spaniard* on t'other Side the *Rhine*, which gave them Entrance into the *United Provinces*.

The Succession of *Henry* the Fourth to the Crown of *France*, gave a mighty Blow to the Designs of King *Philip*; and a much greater, the general Obedience and Acknowledgment of him upon his Change of Religion. With this King the States began to enter a Confidence and Kindness, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of *England*, who had all their Dependence during her Life.

But,

But, after her Death, King *Henry* grew to have greater Credit than ever in the *United Provinces*; tho', upon the Decay of the *Spanish* Power under the Ascendant of this King, the States fell into very early Jealousies of his growing too great, and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* dy'd all the Discipline, and, with that, all the Fortunes, of the *Spanish* Arms in *Flanders*: The frequent Mutinies of their Soldiers, dangerous in Effect and in Example, were more talked of, than any other of their Actions, in the short Government of *Mansfeld*, *Ernest*, and *Fuenter*. Till the old Discipline of their Armies began to revive, and their Fortune a little to respire under the new Government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders* both Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*, in the Head of a mighty Army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the last Effort of the *Spanish* Power, either in a prosperous War, or, at least, in making way for a necessary Peace.

But the Choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new Authority, had a deeper Root and Design, than at first appear'd: For that mighty King *Philip* the second, born to so vast Possessions, and to so much vaster Desires, after a long Dream of raising his Head into the Clouds, found it now ready to lye down in the Dust: His Body broken with Age and Infirmities, his Mind with Cares and distemper'd Thoughts and the Royal Servitude of a solicitous Life: He began to see, in the Glass of Time and Experience, the true Shapes of all human Greatness and Designs; and, finding to what airy Figures he had hitherto sacrificed his Health, and Ease, and the Good of his Life; he now turned his Thoughts wholly to Rest and Quiet, which he had never yet allow'd either the World, or himself: His Designs upon *England*, and his invincible Armada, had ended in Smoak: Those upon *France*, in Events the most contrary to what he had propos'd; and instead of mastering the Liberties, and breaking the Stomach of his *Low-Country* Subjects, he had lost Seven of his Provinces, and held the rest by the Tenure of a War, that cost him more than they were worth. He had made lately a Peace with *England*, and desir'd it with *France*; and tho' he scorn'd it with his revolted Subjects in his own Name, yet he wish'd it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a Quarrel upon his Son, which had cross'd his Fortunes, and busied his Thoughts all the Course of his Reign. He therefore resolv'd to commit these two Designs to the Management of Arch-Duke *Albert*, with the Stile of Governor and Prince of the *Low Countries*; to the end that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old Subjection, he should govern them as *Spanish* Dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he should by a Marriage with *Clara Isabella Eugenia* (King *Philip's* beloved Daughter) receive these Provinces as a Dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a Condition only of their returning to *Spain*, in case of *Isabella's* dying without Issue. King *Philip* believ'd, that the Presence of a natural Prince among his Subjects; that the Birth and Customs of Arch-Duke *Albert*, being a *German*; the generous and obliging Dispositions of *Isabella*, might gain further upon this stubborn People, than all the Force and Rigor of his former Councils; and at the worst, that they might make a Peace, if they could not a War, and without intereasing the Honour and Greatness of the *Spanish* Crown.

In pursuit of this Determination, like a wise King, while he intended nothing but Peace, he made Preparations, as if he design'd nothing but War; knowing that his own Desires of Peace would signify nothing, unless he could force his Enemies to desire it too. He therefore sent the Arch-Duke into *Flanders*, at the Head of such an Army, that, believing the Peace with *France* must be the first in order, and make way for either the War or Peace afterward in the *Low Countries*, he march'd into *France*, and took *Amiens* the chief City of *Picardy*; and thereby gave such an Alarm to the *French* Court, as they little expected, and had never received in the former Wars. But while *Albert* bent the whole Force of the War upon *France*, till he determined it in a Peace with that Crown, Prince *Maurice*, who had taken *Groningue* in the Time of *Ernest*, now master'd *Linghen*, *Groll*, and other Places of *Overyssel*, thereby adding those Provinces intire, to the Body of the Union; and at *Albert's*

Return into *Flanders*, entertained him with the Battle of *Nuport*, won by the desperate Courage of the *English*, under Sir *Francis Vere*, where *Albat* was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this Loss, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and reliev'd by the obsequious Affections and Obedience of his new Subjects, so far as to resolve upon the Siege of *Ostend*; which having some time continued, and being almost disheartened by the Strength of the Place, and invincible Courage of the Defendants, he was recruited by a Body of eight thousand *Italians*, under the Marquis *Spinola*, to whom the Prosecution of this Siege was committed: He took the Place, after three Years Siege, not by any Want of Men or Provisions within (the Haven, and Relief by Sea, being open all the Time;) but perfectly for want of Ground, which was gain'd Foot by Foot, till not so much was left, as would hold Men to defend it; a great Example, how impossible it is to defend any Town, that cannot be reliev'd by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not save *Ostend*, made yet amends for its Loss, by the taking of *Grave* and *Sluyce*; so as the *Spaniards* gain'd little but the Honour of the Enterprize: And *Philip* the Second being dead, about the Time of the Arch-Duke's and Dutchess's Arrival in *Flanders*, and, with him, the Personal Repentment of that War, the Arch Duke, by consent of the *Spanish* Court, began to apply his Thoughts wholly to a Peace; which another Circumstance had made more necessary, than any of those already mention'd.

As the *Dutch* Commonwealth was born out of the Sea, so out of the same Element it drew its first Strength and Consideration, as well as afterwards its Riches and Greatness: For before the Revolts, the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, though never allow'd the Trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spanish* Fleets, and under *Spanish* Covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the Voyages, and became skilful Pilots, as well as vers'd in the Ways, and sensible of the infinite Gains of that Trade. And after the Union, a greater Confluence of People falling down into the *United Provinces*, than could manage their Stock, or find Employment at Land; great Multitudes turn'd their Endeavours to Sea; and having lost the Trade of *Spain* and the *Streights*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the Northern Seas, but ventur'd upon that of the *East-Indies*, at first with small Forces and Success; but in course of time, and by the Institution of an *East-India* Company, this came to be pursu'd with so general Application of the Provinces, and so great Advantage, that they made themselves Masters of most of the Colonies and Forts planted there by the *Portuguese* (now Subjects of *Spain*.) The *Dutch* Seamen grew as well acquainted with those vast Seas and Coasts, as with their own; and *Holland* became the great Magazine of all the Commodities of those Eastern Regions.

In the *West Indies* their Attempts were neither so frequent nor prosperous, the *Spanish* Plantations there being too numerous and strong: but by the Multitudes of their Shipping, set out with publick or private Commissions, they infested the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten the *Spanish* *Indian* Fleets, and sometimes to attempt their Coast in that new World (which was to touch *Spain* in the most sensible Part) and gave their Court the strongest Motives to endeavour a Peace, that might secure those Treasures in their Way, and preserve them in *Spain*, by stopping the Issue of those vast Sums, which were continually transmitted to maintain the *Low-Country* Wars.

These Respects gave the first Rise to a Treaty of Peace, the Proposal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*; and the very Mention of it could hardly at first be listen'd upon the States; nor could they ever be prevail'd with to make way for any Negotiation by a Suspension of Arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, He would treat with them as with Free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor *Spain*, had any Pretence. However, the Affair was pursu'd with so much Art and Industry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with so passionate Desires of the *Spanish* Court to end this War, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the Seat of the States-General; and, for the greater Honour, and better Conduct of the whole Business, appointed the

Four chief Ministers of the Arch-Duke's, their Commissioners to attend and pursue it there; who were, their Camp-Master-General *Spinola*, the President of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in *Flanders*.

On the other Side, in *Holland* all the Paces towards this Treaty were made with great Coldness and Arrogance, raising punctilious Difficulties upon every Word of the Arch-Duke's Declaration of Treating them as free Provinces; and upon *Spain's* Ratification of that Form; and forcing them to send Expresses into *Spain*, upon every Occasion, and to attend the length of those Returns. For the prosperous Success of their Arms at Land, in the course of above thirty Years War, and the mighty Growth of their Naval Power, and (under that Protection) of their Trade, had made the whole Body of their Militia, both at Land and Sea, averse from this Treaty, as well as the greatest part of the People; whose inveterate Hatred against *Spain* was still as fierce as ever; and who had the Hopes or Dispositions of raising their Fortunes by the War, whereof they had so many and great Examples among them.

But there was, at the Bottom, one Foreign, and another Domestic, Consideration, which made way for this Treaty, more than all those Arguments that were the common Themes, or than all the Offices of the Neighbouring Princes, who concern'd themselves in this Affair, either from Interest of their own, or the Desires of ending a War, which had so long exercis'd, in a manner, the Arms of all Christendom upon the Stage of the *Low Countries*. The Greatness of the *Spanish* Monarchy, so formidable under *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second, began now to decline by the vast Designs, and unfortunate Events, of so many ambitious Counsels: And, on the other side, the Affairs of *Henry* the Fourth of *France* were now at the greatest Height and Felicity, after having atchieved so many Adventures, with incredible Constancy and Valour, and ended all his Wars in a Peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagin'd, that the hor Spirit of the *French* could not continue long without some Exercise; and that to prevent it at home, it might be necessary for that King to give it them abroad: That no Enterprize lay so convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had anciently been part of the *Gallick* Nation, and whose first Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Besides, they had Intimations, that *Henry* the Fourth was taken up in great Preparations for War, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that Side, at least if they were invited by any greater Decays of the *Spanish* Power in *Flanders*: And they knew very well, they should lie as much at the Mercy of such a Neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of such a Master as *Spain*. For the *Spanish* Power in *Flanders* was fed by Treasures that came by long and perilous Voyages out of *Spain*; by Troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much Casualty, and more Expence: Their Territory of the ten Provinces was small, and awed by the Neighbourhood and Jealousies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* was once Master of *Flanders*, the Body of that Empire would be so great, and so entire; so abounding in People, and in Riches, that whenever they found, or made, an Occasion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no hopes of preserving themselves by any Opposition or Diversion: And the end of their mighty Resistances against *Spain* was, to have no Master; and not to change one for another, as they should do in this Case: Therefore the most Intelligent among their Civil Ministers thought it safest, by a Peace, to give Breath to the Arch-Duke's and *Spanish* Power, and by that means, to lessen the Invitation of the Arms of *France* into *Flanders*, under so great a King.

For what was Domestic, the Credit and Power of Prince *Maurice*, built at first upon that of his Father, but much rais'd by his own personal Virtue and Qualities, and the Success of his Arms, was now grown so high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces; and two of his Cousins of the other three) that several of the States, headed by *Bernevelt*, Pensioner of *Holland*, and a Man of great Abilities and Authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's Power, and pretended to fear the Growth of it to an absolute Dominion: They knew, it would increase

by the Continuance of a War, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought, that in a Peace it would diminish, and give way to the Authority of Civil Power: Which dispos'd this whole Party to desire the Treaty, and to advance the Progress and Issue of it by all their Assistances. And these different Humours stirring in the Heart of the States, with almost equal Strength and Vigor; the Negotiation of a Peace came to be eluded, after long Debates and infinite Endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the Points of Religion, and the *Indian Trade*: But yet came to knit again, and conclude in a Truce of twelve Years, dated in the Year 1609, whereof the most essential Points were, the Declaration of Treating with them as Free Provinces; the Cessation of all Acts of Hostility on both Sides, during the Truce; the Enjoyment, for that Space, of all that each Party possess'd at the Time of the Treaty; that no new Fortification should be rais'd on either Side; and that free Commerce should be restor'd on all Parts in the same manner as it was before the Wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledg'd as a Free Commonwealth by their ancient Master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent Embassies and Negotiations. Among which, a particular Preference was given to the *English* Crown, whose Ambassador had Session and Vote in their Council of State, by Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in Acknowledgment of those great Assistances, which gave Life to their State, when it was upon the point of expiring: Though the *Dutch* pretend, that Privilege was given to the Ambassador, by Virtue of the Possession this Crown had of the *bruel*, *Flushing* and *Ramkins*; and that it was to cease upon the Restitution of those Towns, and Repayment of those Sums lent by the Queen.

In the very Time of treating this Truce, a League was concluded between *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and the States, for preserving the Peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in case of its failing, for Assistance of one another, with ten thousand Men on the King's Part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any Difficulty of continuing the two Regiments of Foot, and two hundred Horse in the States Service, at his own Charge, after the Truce, which he had maintain'd for several Years before it: Omitting no Provisions that might tie that State to his Interests, and make him at present Arbitrator of the Peace, and for the future of the War, if the Truce should come to be broken, or to expire of it self.

By what has been related, it will easily appear, That no State was ever born with stronger Throws, or nurs'd up with harder Fare, or inur'd to greater Labours or Dangers in the whole course of its Youth; which are Circumstances that usually make strong and healthy Bodies: And so this has proved, having never had more than one Disease break out, in the space of ninety three Years, which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of *Utrecht*, enter'd by the Provinces in 1579. But this Disease, like those of the Seed, or Conception, in a natural Body, though it first appear'd in *Barnevelt's* Time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with *Spain*, and seem'd to end with his Death (who was beheaded not many Years after) yet has it ever since continued lurking in the Veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions, that seem to favour the Predominancy of one or other Humour in the Body; and under the Names of the Prince of *Orange's*, and the *Arminian* Party, has ever made the weak Side of this State; and when-ever their Period comes, will prove the Occasion of their Fall.

The Ground of this Name of *Arminian* was, That whilst *Barnevelt's* Party accus'd those of the Prince of *Orange's*, as being careles of their Liberties, so dearly bought; as devoted to the House of *Orange*, and dispos'd to the Admission of an absolute Principality, and in order thereunto, as Promoters of a perpetual War with *Spain*: So those of the Prince's Party accus'd the others, as leaning still to, and looking kindly upon, their old Servitude, and relishing the *Spaniard*, both in their Politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by being generally *Aminians*, (which was esteem'd the middle part between the *Calvinists* and the *Roman* Religion)

Religion.) And besides these mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themselves upon the asserting, one of the true and purer reformed Religion; and the other, of the truer and freer Liberties of the State.

The Fortunes of this Commonwealth, that have happened in their Wars or Negotiations, since the Truce with *Spain*, and what Circumstances or Accidents, both abroad and at home, served to cultivate their mighty Growth, and conspired to the Greatness wherein they appear'd to the World in the Beginning of the Year 1665, being not only the Subject of the Relations, but even the Observations of this present Age; I shall either leave, as more obvious, and less necessary to the Account I intend of the Civil Government of this Commonwealth: Or else reserve them till the same Vein of Leisure or Humour invite me to continue this Deduction to this present Time; the Affairs of this State having been complicated with all the Variety and memorable Revolutions, both of Actions and Counsels, that have since happen'd in the rest of Christendom.

In the mean time, I will close this Relation with an Event, which arriv'd soon after the Conclusion of the Truce, and had like to have broken it within the very Year, if not prevented by the Offices of the Neighbour Princes, but more by a Change of Humour in the United States, conspiring to the Conservation of the new-restored Peace in these Parts of the World.

In the End of the Year 1609, died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without Heir Male, leaving those Dutchies to the Pretensions of his Daughters, in whose Rights the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburgh* possessed themselves of such Parts of those Territories as they first could invade; each of them pretending Right to the whole Inheritance. *Brandenburgh* seeks Protection and Favour to his Title from the *United Provinces*. *Nieuburgh* from Arch Duke *Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Arch Duke, newly respiring from so long a War, had no desire to interest himself in this Quarrel, further than the Care, that the *Dutch* should not take Advantage of it; and, under pretext of assisting one of the Parties, seize upon some of those Dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not so equal, nor content to lose so fair an Occasion, and surprized the Town of *Juliers* (tho' pretending only to keep it till the Parties agreed:) And believing that *Spain*, after having parted with so much in the late Truce, to end a Quarrel of their own, would not venture a Breach of it upon a Quarrel of their Neighbours. But the Arch Duke having first taken his Measures with *Spain*, and foreseeing the Consequence of this Affair, resolv'd to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new War, rather than suffer such an Encrease of Power and Dominion to the States. And thereupon, First, in the Behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, requires from them the Restitution of *Juliers*; and upon their artificial and dilatory Answers, immediately draws his Forces together, and with an Army, under the Command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers* (which the States were in no Care of, as well provided for a bold Defence;) but makes a sudden Turn, and sits down before *Wesel*, with such a Terror and Surprise to the Inhabitants, that he carries the Town before the *Dutch* could come in to their Assistance. *Wesel* was a strong Town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburgh* pretended to, as belonging to the Dutchy of *Cleve*; but the Citizens held at this time as an imperial Town, and under Protection of the *Dutch*: Who, amaz'd at this sudden and bold Attempt of *Spinola*, which made him Master of a Pass that lay fair for any further Invasion upon their Provinces (especially those on t'other Side the *Rhine*) engage the Offices of both the *English* and *French* Crowns, to mediate an Agreement, which at length they conclude, so as neither Party should, upon any pretence, draw their Forces into any Part of these Dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke having, by the Fondness of Peace, newly made a Truce, upon Conditions impos'd by the *Dutch*; now, by the Resolution of making War, obtains a Peace, upon the very Terms propos'd by himself, and by *Spain*. An Event of great Instruction and Example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their Aid, which makes them a Prey to their Friend, instead of their Enemy: How the only Time of making an advantageous Peace, is, when your

Enemy

Enemy desires it, and when you are in the best Condition of pursuing a War: And how vain a Counsel it is, to avoid a War, by yielding any Point of Interest or Honour; which does but invite new Injuries, encourage Enemies, and dishearten Friends.

C H A P. II.

Of their GOVERNMENT.

IT is evident by what has been discoursed in the former Chapter concerning the Rise of this State (which is to be dated from the Union of *Utrecht*) that it cannot properly be stiled a Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual Defence, without any Dependence one upon the other. But to discover the Nature of their Government from the first Springs and Motions, it must be taken yet into smaller Pieces, by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise compos'd of many little States or Cities, which have several Marks of Sovereign Power within themselves, and are not subject to the Sovereignty of their Provinces; not being concluded in many Things by the Majesty, but only by the universal Concurrence of Voices in the Provincial States. For as the States General cannot make War or Peace, or any new Alliance, or Levies of Money, without the Consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude of any of those Points, without the Consent of each of the Cities, that, by their Constitution, has a Voice in that Assembly. And tho' in many Civil Causes there lies an Appeal from the common Judicature of the Cities, to the Provincial Courts of Justice; yet in Criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the Sovereignty of a Province exercise any Judicature, seize upon any Offender, or pardon any Offence within the Jurisdiction of a City, or execute any common Resolution or Law, but by the Justice and Officers of the City it self. By this a certain Sovereignty in each City is discerned, the chief Marks whereof are, the Power of exercising Judicature, levying of Money, and making War and Peace: For the other, of Coining Money, is neither in particular Cities or Provinces, but in the Generality of the Union, by common Agreement.

The main Ingredients therefore into the Composition of this State, are the Freedom of the Cities, the Sovereignty of the Provinces, the Agreements or Constitutions of the Union, and the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*: Which make the Order I shall follow in the Account intended of this Government. But whereas the several Provinces in the Union, and the several Cities in each Province, as they have, in their Orders and Constitutions, some particular Differences, as well as a general Resemblance; and the Account of each distinctly would swell this Discourse out of Measure, and to little purpose: I shall confine my self to the Account of *Holland*, as the richest, strongest, and of most Authority among the Provinces; and of *Amsterdam*, as that which has the same Preheminencies among the Cities.

Govern-
ment of the
City of Am-
sterdam. The Sovereign Authority of the City of *Amsterdam* consists in the Decrees or Results of their Senate, which is compos'd of Six and Thirty Men, by whom the Justice is administer'd, according to ancient Forms; in the Names of Officers, and Places of Judicature. But Monies are levied by arbitrary Resolutions, and Proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the Change or Emergency of Occasions. These Senators are for their Lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the Voices of the richer Burghers, or Freemen of the City, who upon the Death of a Senator met together, either in a Church, a Market, or some other Place spacious enough to receive their Numbers; and there made an Election of the Person

to succeed by the Majority of Voices. But about a hundred and thirty or forty Years ago, when the Towns of *Holland* began to increase in Circuit and in People, so as those frequent Assemblies grew into danger of Tumult and Disorder upon every Occasion, by reason of their Numbers and Contentions; this Election of Senators came, by the Resolution of the Burghers in one of their General Assemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the standing Senate at that Time; so as ever since, when any one of their number dies, a new one is chosen by the rest of the Senate, without any Intervention of the other Burghers; which makes the Government a sort of *Oligarchy*, and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally esteem'd by those, who, passing or living in these Countries, content themselves with common Observations or Inquiries. And this Resolution of the Burghers, either was agreed upon, or follow'd by general Consent or Example, about the same Time, in all the Towns of the Province, though with some difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are chosen the chief Magistrates of the Town, which are the Burgomasters, and the Eschevins: The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* are Four, whereof three are chosen every Year; so as one of them stays in Office two Years; but the three last chosen are call'd the *Reigning-Burgomasters* for that Year, and preside by turns, after the first three Months; for so long after a new Elect, the Burgomaster of the Year before presides; in which time it is suppos'd the new ones will grow instructed in the Forms and Duties of their Office, and acquainted with the State of the Cities Affairs.

The Burgomasters are chosen by most Voices of all those Persons in the Senate, who have been either Burgomasters or Eschevins; and their Authority resembles that of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of our Cities. They represent the Dignity of the Government, and do the Honour of the City upon all Occasions. They dispose of all Under-Offices that fall in their Time; and issue out all Monies out of the common Stock or Treasure, judging alone what is necessary for the Safety, Convenience, or Dignity of the City. They keep the Key of the Bank of *Amsterdam* (the common Treasure of so many Nations) which is never open'd without the Presence of one of them: And they inspect and pursue all the great Publick Works of the City, as the *Ramparts* and *Stadt-huise*, now almost finished, with so great Magnificence, and so vast Expence.

This Office is a Charge of the greatest Trust, Authority, and Dignity; and so much the greater, by not being of Profit or Advantage, but only as a way to other constant Employments in the City, that are so. The Salary of a Burgomaster of *Amsterdam* is but five hundred Guilders a Year, though there are Offices worth five thousand in their Disposal; but yet none of them known to have taken Money upon such Occasions, which would lose all their Credit in the Town, and thereby their Fortunes by any Publick Employments. They are oblig'd to no sort of Expence more than ordinary modest Citizens, in their Habits, their Attendance, their Tables, or any part of their own Domestick. They are upon all publick Occasions waited on by Men in Salary from the Town; and whatever Feasts they make upon solemn Days, or for the Entertainment of any Princes or Foreign Ministers, the Charge is defrayed out of the common Treasure; but proportion'd by their own Discretion. At other times, they appear in all Places with the Simplicity and Modesty of other private Citizens. When the Burgomaster's Office expires, they are of course dispos'd into the other Charges or Employments of the Towns, which are very many and beneficial; unless they lose their Credit with the Senate, by any want of Diligence or Fidelity in the Discharge of their Office, which seldom arrives.

The *Eschevins* are the Court of Justice in every Town. They are at *Amsterdam* nine in Number; of which seven are chosen annually; but two of the preceding Year continues in Office. A double Number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomasters now chuse, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former Constitution. They are Sovereign Judges in all criminal Causes. In Civil, after a certain Value, there lies Appeal to the Court

of Justice of the Province. But they pass Sentence of Death upon no Man, without first advising with the Burgomasters; though, after that Form is pass'd, they proceed themselves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomasters Opinion, but are left to their own: This being only a Care or Favour of Supererogation to the Life of a Man, which is so soon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under these Sovereign Magistrates, the chief subordinate Officers of the Town, are the Treasurers, who receive and issue out all Monies that are properly the Revenues or Stock of the City: The *Scout*, who takes care of the Peace, seizes all Criminals, and sees the Sentences of Justice executed, and whose Authority is like that of a Sheriff in a Country with us, or a Constable in a Parish; the *Penfioner*, who is a Civil-Lawyer, vers'd in the Customs, and Records, and Privileges of the Town, concerning which he informs the Magistracy upon Occasion, and vindicates them upon Disputes with other Towns; he is a Servant of the Senate and the Burgomasters, delivers their Messages, makes their Harangues upon all publick Occasions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our Towns.

In this City of *Amsterdam* is the famous Bank, which is the greatest Treasure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the World. The Place of it is a great Vault under the Stadthouse, made strong with all the Circumstances of Doors and Locks, and other appearing Cautions of Safety, that can be: And 'tis certain, that whoever is carried to the Bank, shall never fail to find the Appearance of a mighty real Treasure, in Bars of Gold and Silver, Plate and infinite Bags of Metals, which are supposed to be all Gold and Silver, and may be so far ought I know. But the Burgomasters only having the Inspection of this Bank, and no Man taking any particular Account of what issues in and out, from Age to Age, 'tis impossible to make any Calculation, or guess what Proportion the real Treasure may hold to the Credit of it. Therefore the Security of the Bank lies not only in the Effects that are in it, but in the Credit of the whole Town or State of *Amsterdam*, whose Stock and Revenue is equal to that of some Kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all Monies that are brought into their Bank. The Tickets or Bills hereof make all usual great Payments, that are made between Man and Man in the Town; and not only in most other Places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other Trading Parts of the World. So as this Bank is properly a general Cash, where every Man lodges in Money, because he esteems it safer, and easier paid in and out, than if it were in his Coffers at home: And the Bank is so far from paying any Interest for what is there brought in, that Money in the Bank is worth something more in common Payments, than what runs current in Coin from Hand to Hand; no other Money passing in the Bank, but in the Species of Coin the best known, the most ascertain'd, and the most generally current in all parts of the *Higher* as well as the *Lower Germany*.

The Revenues of *Amsterdam* arise out of the constant Excise upon all sorts of Commodities bought and sold within the Precinct: Or, out of the Rents of those Houses or Lands that belong in common to the City: Or, out of certain Duties and Impositions upon every House, towards the Uses of Charity, and the Repairs, or Adornments, or Fortifications, of the Place: Or else, out of extraordinary Levies consented to by the Senate, for furnishing their Part of the Publick Charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial States, for the Use of the Province: Or, by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States-General, for Support of the Union. And all these Payments are made into one Common Stock of the Town, not, as many of ours are, into that of the Parish, so as Attempts may be easier made at the Calculations of their whole Revenue: And I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to publick Uses of the States-General, the Province, and the City in *Amsterdam*, amounts to above sixteen hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling* a Year. But I enter into no Computations, nor give these for any thing more, than what I have heard from Men who pretended to make such Enquiries, which, I confess, I did not. 'Tis certain, that in no Town, Strength, Beauty, and Convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited Expence, than

in this, by the Magnificence of their publick Buildings, as Stadthoufe and Arfenals; the Number and Spacioufnefs, as well as Order and Revenues, of their many Hofpitals; the Commodioufnefs of their Canals, running through the chief Streets of Pallage; the mighty Strength of their Bafions and Ramparts; and the Neatnefs, as well as Convenience, of their Streets, fo far as can be compafs'd in fo great a Confluence of induftrious People: All which could never be achieved without a Charge much exceeding what feems proportioned to the Revenue of one fingle Town.

The Senate chufes the Deputies, which are fent from this City to the States of *Holland*; the Sovereignty whereof is represented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, compofing nineteen Voices: Of which the Nobles have only the firft, and the Cities eighteen, according to the Number of thofe which are called *Stemms*; the other Cities and Towns of the Province having no Voice in the States. Thefe Cities were originally but Six, *Dort, Haarlem, Delf, Leyden, Amfterdam* and *Teigou*. But were encreafed, by Prince *William of Naffau*, to the Number of Eighteen, by the Addition of *Rotterdam, Gorcum, Schedam, Schenoven, Briel, Alvernaer, Horne, Enchtfen, Edam, Moninckdam, Aldenbick*, and *Perneven*. This makes as great an Inequality in the Government of the Province, by fuch a fmall City as *Perneven* having an equal Voice in the Provincial-States with *Amfterdam* (which pays perhaps half of all Charges of the Province) as feems to be in the States-General, by fo fmall a Province as *Overyffel* having an equal Voice in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which contributes more than half to the general Charge of the Union. But this was by fome Writers of that Age interpreted to be done by the Prince's Authority, to leffen that of the Nobles, and balance that of the greater Cities, by the Voices of the fmaller, whofe Dependencies were eafier to be gained and fecured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not represented by all their Number, but by Eight or Nine, who, as Deputies from their Body, have Seffion in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, choofe another to fucceed him. Though they have all together but one Voice equal to the fmalleft Town; yet they are very confiderable in the Government, by poffeffing many of the beft Charges both Civil and Military; by having the Direktion of all the Ecclefiaftical Revenue that was feiz'd by the State upon the Change of Religion; and by fending their Deputies to all the Councils both of the Generalty and the Province, and by the Nominacion of one Counfellor in the two great Courts of Juftice. They give their Voice firft in the Affembly of the States, and thereby a great Weight to the Bufinefs in Confultation. The Penfioner of *Holland* is feated with them, delivers their Voice for them, and affifts at all their Deliberations, before they come to the Affembly. He is, properly, but Minifter or Servant of the Province, and fo his Place or Rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great Credit, becaufe he is perpetual, or feldom difcharged; though of right he ought to be chofen or renewed every fifth Year. He has Place in all the feveral Affemblies of the Province, and in the States propofes all Affairs, gathers the Opinions, and forms or digefts the Refolutions; pretending likewise a Power, not to conclude any very important Affair by plurality of Voices, when he judges in his Confcience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill Confequence or Prejudice to the Province. He is likewise one of their conftant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the Cities are drawn out of the Magiftrates and Senate of each Town: Their Number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the Cuftoms or Pleafure of the Cities that fend them, becaufe they have all together but one Voice, and are all maintained at their Cities Charge: But commonly one of the Burgomafters and the Penfioner are of the Number.

The States of *Holland* have their Seffion in the Court at the *Hague*. and affemble ordinarily four times a Year, in *February, June, September*, and *November*. In the former Seffions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant Charges, and for renewing the Farms of all the feveral Taxes, and for confulting about any Matters that concern either the general Good of the Pro-

vince, or any particular Differences arising between the Towns. But in November, they meet purposely to resolve upon the Continuance of the Charge which falls to the Share of their Province the following Year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as necessary for the Support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary Occasions, they are convoked by a Council called the *Gecommitteerde Raeden*, or the commissioned Counsellors, who are properly a Council of State, of the Province, composed of several Deputies; one from the Nobles; one from each of the chief Towns; and but one from three of the smaller Towns, each of the three choosing him by turns. And this Council sits constantly at the *Hague*; and both proposes to the Provincial States, at their extraordinary Assemblies, the Matters of Deliberation; and executes their Resolutions.

In these Assemblies, though all are equal in Voices, and any one hinders a Result; yet it seldom happens, but that, united by one common Bond of Interest, and having all one common End of publick Good, they come after full Debates to ease Resolutions; yielding to the Power of Reason, where it is clear and strong, and suppressing all private Passions or Interests, so as the smaller part seldom contests hard or long, what the greater agrees on. When the Deputies of the States agree in Opinion, they send some of their Number to their respective Towns, proposing the Affair and the Reasons alledged, and desiring Orders from them to conclude; which seldom fails, if the Necessity or Utility be evident: If it be more intricate, or suffers Delay, the States adjourn for such a Time, as admits the Return of all the Deputies to their Towns; where their Influence and Interest, and the Impressions of the Debates in their Provincial Assemblies, make the Consent of the Cities easier gain'd.

Besides the States and Council mention'd, the Province has likewise a Chamber of Accounts, who manage the general Revenues of the Province: And, besides this Trust, they have the absolute Disposition of the ancient Demefn of *Holland*, without giving any Account to the States of the Province: Only at Times, either upon usual Intervals, or upon a Necessity of Money, the States call upon them for a Subsidy of two or three hundred thousand Crowns, or more, as they are pres'd, or conceive the Chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general Design of encreasing the Ease and Fortunes of those Persons who compose it. The States of *Holland* dispose of these Charges to Men grown aged in their Service, and who have pass'd through most of the Employments of State, with the Esteem of Prudence and Integrity; and such Persons find here an honourable and profitable Retreat.

The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they used formerly to have one Governor in the Time of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*; so they have long had one common Judicature, which is exercised by two Courts of Justice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The first is composed of twelve Counsellors, nine of *Holland*, and three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the Head; by the old Constitution used to preside whenever he pleased, and to name all the Counsellors except one, who was chosen by the Nobles. This Court judges without Appeal in all Criminal Causes; but in Civil there lies Appeal to the other Court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no Appeal, but only by Petition to the States of the Province for a Revision: When these judge there is Reason for it, they grant Letters-patents to that purpose, naming some *Syndiques* out of the Towns, who being added to the Counsellors of the two former Courts revise and judge the Cause in the last Resort. And this Course seems to have been instituted by way of Supply or Imitation of the Chamber of *Mechlyn*, to which, before the Revolt of the Provinces, there lay an Appeal, by way of Revision, from all or most of the Provincial Courts of Justice, as there still doth in the *Spanish* Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

The Union is made up of the seven Sovereign Provinces before named, who choose their respective Deputies, and send them to the *Hague*, for the composing of three several Colleges, call'd the States-General, the Council

of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The Sovereign Power of this United State lies effectively in the Assembly of the States-General, which used at first to be convoked upon extraordinary Occasions by the Council of State; but that seldom, in regard they usually consisted of about Eight Hundred Persons, whose meeting together in one Place, from so many several Parts, gave too great a Shake to the whole Body of the Union; made the Debates long, and sometimes confused; the Resolutions slow, and, upon sudden Occasions, out of time. In the Absence of the States-General, the Council of State represented their Authority, and executed their Resolutions, and judged of the Necessity of a new Convocation; till after the Earl of *Leicester's* Departure from the Government, the Provincial States desired of the General, That they might, by their constant respective Deputies, continue their Assemblies under the Name of *States-General*, which were never after assembled but at *Bergen op Zoom*, for ratifying with more solemn Form and Authority the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

This Desire of the Provinces was grounded upon the Pretences, That the Council of State convoked them but seldom, and at Will; and that being to execute all in their Absence, they thereby arrogated to themselves too great an Authority in the State. But a more secret Reason had greater Weight in this Affair, which was, That the *English* Ambassador had, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a constant Place in their Council of State; and upon the Distastes arising between the Provinces and the Earl of *Leicester*, with some Jealousies of the Queen's Disposition to make a Peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Ambassador should be present any longer in the first Digestion of their Affairs, which was then usually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they first framed the ordinary Council, call'd the *States-General*, which has ever since pass'd by that Name, and sits constantly in the Court at the *Hague*, represents the Sovereignty of the Union, gives Audience and Dispatches to all Foreign Ministers; but yet is indeed only a Representative of the States General, the Assemblies whereof are wholly dissolved.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treasury, are all subordinate to this Council: All which are continu'd in as near a Resemblance, as could be, to the several Councils used in the Time when the Provinces were subject to their several Principalities; or united under one in the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria*: Only the several Deputies (composing one Voice) now succeeding the single Persons employ'd under the former Governments: And the *Hague*, which was the ancient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, still continues to be so of all these Councils; where the Palace of the former Sovereigns, lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governor, and receives these several Councils as attending still upon the Sovereignty, represented by the States-General.

The Members of all these Councils are placed and changed by the several Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Customs. To the States-General every one sends their Deputies, in what Number they please; some Two, some Ten or Twelve; which makes no Difference, because all Matters are carry'd, not by the Votes of Persons, but of Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many soever, have one single Vote. The Provinces differ likewise in the Time fixed for their Deputation; some sending for a Year, some for more, and others for Life. The Provinces of *Holland* send to the States General one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; Two Deputies chosen out of their Eight chief Towns; and One out of *North-Holland*; and with these, Two of their Provincial Council of State, and their *Pensioner*.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any Person in Military Charge, has Session in the States-General. Every Province presides their Week in turns, and by the most qualified Person of the Deputies of that Province: He sits in a Chair with Arms, at the middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty Persons; for about that Number this Council is usually composed of. The *Greffier*, who is in Nature of a Secretary, sits at the lower end of the Table. When a Foreign Minister has Audience, he is seated at the

middle of this Table, over against the President, who proposes all Matters in this Assembly; makes the *Greffier* read all Papers; puts the Question; calls the Voices of the Provinces; and forms the Conclusion. Or, if he refuses to conclude according to the Plurality, he is obliged to resign his Place to the President of the ensuing Week, who concludes for him.

This is the Course in all Affairs before them, except in Cases of Peace and War, of Foreign Alliances, of Raising or Coining Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which, All the Provinces must concur, Plurality being not at all weighed or observed. This Council is not Sovereign, but only represents the Sovereignty; and therefore, though Ambassadors are both received and sent in their Name; yet neither are their own chosen, nor Foreign Ministers answer'd, nor any of those mention'd Affairs resolv'd, without consulting first the States of each Province by their respective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them; and in other important Matters, though decided by Plurality, they frequently consult with the Council of State.

Nor has this Method or Constitution ever been broken since their State began, excepting only in one Affair, which was in *January 1668*, when His Majesty sent me over to propose a League of Mutual Defence with this State, and another for the Preservation of *Flanders* for the Invasion of *France*, which had already conquered a great Part of the *Spanish* Provinces, and left the rest at the Mercy of the next Campaign. Upon this Occasion I had the Fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three Treaties, and upon them draw up and sign the several Instruments, in the Space of five Days; without passing the essential Forms of their Government by any Recourse to the Provinces, which must likewise have had it to the several Cities: There, I knew, those Foreign Ministers, whose Duty and Interest it was to oppose this Affair, expected to meet, and to elude it; which could not have failed, in case it had run that Circle, since engaging the Voice of one City must have broken it. 'Tis true, that in concluding these Alliances without Commission from their Principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventur'd their Heads, if they had been disowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear Evidence of so direct and so important an Interest (which must have been lost by the usual Delays) they all agreed to run the Hazard; and were so far from being disowned, that they were applauded by all the Members of every Province: Having thereby changed the whole Face of Affairs in Christendom, and laid the Foundation of the Triple-Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix* (which were concluded about four Months after.) So great has the Force of Reason and Interest ever prov'd in this State, not only to the uniting of all Voices in their Assemblies, but to the absolving of the greatest Breach of their Original Constitutions; even in a State, whose Safety and Greatness has been chiefly founded upon the severe and exact Observance of Order and Method, in all their Counsels and Executions. Nor have they ever used, at any other time, any greater Means to agree and unite the several Members of their Union, in the Resolutions necessary, upon the most pressing Occasions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name some of their ablest Persons to go and confer with the Dissenting, and represent those Reasons and Interests, by which they have been induced to their Opinions.

The Council of State is compos'd of Deputies from the several Provinces; but after another manner than the States-General, the Number being fix'd. *Gelderland* sends Two, *Holland* Three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* Two apiece, *Friesland*, *Overyssel* and *Groninghen*, each of them One, making in all Twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by Personal Voices; and every Deputy presides by Turns. In this Council the Governor of the Provinces has Session, and a decisive Voice; and the Treasurer-General, Session, but a Voice only deliberative; yet he has much Credit here, being for Life; and so is the Person deputed to this Council from the Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The rest are but for two, three, or four Years.

The Council of State executes the Resolution of the States-General; consults and proposes to them the most expedient Ways of raising Troops, and levying

levying Monies, as well as the Proportions of both, which they conceive necessary in all Conjunctions and Revolutions of the State; superintends the Milice, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of the Enemies Country, the Forms and Disposals of all Passports, and the Affairs, Revenues, and Government of all Places conquer'd since the Union; which, being gain'd by the common Arms of this State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the End of every Year, this Council forms a State of the Expence they conceive will be necessary for the Year ensuing; presents it to the States-General, desiring them to demand so much of the States-Provincial, to be rais'd according to the usual Proportions, which are, of 100000 Guilders.

	Grs.	St.	D.
Gelderland	3612	05	00
Holland	58309	01	10
Zealand	9183	14	02
Utrecht	5830	17	11
Friesland	11661	15	10
Overijssel	3571	08	04
Groninghen	5930	17	11

This Petition, as 'tis call'd, is made to the States-General, in the Name of the Governor and Council of State, which is but a Continuance of the Forms us'd in the Time of their Sovereigns, and still by the Governors and Council of State in the *Spanish Netherlands*: Petition signifying barely asking or demanding, tho' implying the Thing demanded to be wholly in the Right and Power of them that give. It was us'd by the first Counts, only upon extraordinary Occasions, and Necessities; but in the Time of the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Austria* grew to be a Thing of Course, and annual, as it is still in the *Spanish Provinces*.

The Council of State disposes of all Sums of Money destin'd for all extraordinary Affairs, and expedites the Orders for the whole Expence of the State, upon the Resolutions first taken, in the main, by the States-General. The Orders must be sign'd by three Deputies of several Provinces, as well as by the Treasurer-General, and then registr'd in the Chamber of Accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any Difficulty, Charge, or Delay.

Every Province raises what Monies it pleases, and by what Ways or Means; sends its *Quota*, or Share, of the general Charge, to the Receiver-General, and converts the rest to the present Use, or reserves it for the future Occasions of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about sixty Years ago, for the Ease of the Council of State, to examine and state all Accounts of all the several Receivers, to controul and register the Orders of the Council of State, which disposes of the Finances: And this Chamber is compos'd of Two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three Years.

Besides these Colleges, is the Council of the Admiralty; who, when the States General, by Advice of the Council of State, have destin'd a Fleet of such a Number and Force to be set out, have the absolute Disposition of the Marine Affairs, as well in the Choice and Equipage of all the several Ships, as in issuing the Monies allotted for that Service.

This College is subdivided into Five, of which Three are in *Holland*, viz. One in *Amsterdam*, another at *Rotterdam*, and the Third at *Horn*; the Fourth is at *Middelburg* in *Zealand*, and the Fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friesland*. Each of these is compos'd of Seven Deputies, Four of that Province where the College resides, and Three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his Absence, the Vice-Admiral, has Session in all these Colleges, and presides when he is present. They take Cognizance of all Crimes committed at Sea; judge all Pirates that are taken, and all Frauds or Negligences in the Payment or Collections of the Customs; which are particularly affected

to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other Use. This *Fond* being not sufficient in Times of War, is supplied by the States with whatever more is necessary from other *Fonds*; but in Time of Peace, being little exhausted by other constant Charge, besides that of Convoys to their several Fleets of Merchants in all Parts, the Remainder of this Revenue is applied to the Building of great Ships of War, and furnishing the several Arsenals and Stores with all sorts of Provision, necessary for the Building and Rigging of more Ships than can be needed by the Course of a long War.

So soon as the Number and Force of the Fleets design'd for any Expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Council of State to the Admiralty; each particular College furnishes their own Proportion, which is known as well as that of the several Provinces, in all Monies that are to be raised. In all which, the Admiral has no other Share or Advantage, besides his bare Salary, and his Proportion in Prizes that are taken. The Captains and Superior Officers of each Squadron are chosen by the several Colleges; the Number of Men appointed for every Ship: After which, each Captain uses his best Diligence and Credit to fill his Number with the best Men he can get, and take the whole Care and Charge of Victualling his own Ship from the Time intended for that Expedition, and signify'd to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain Rate of so much a Man. And by the good or ill Discharge of his Trust, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, Medicines, and all Things necessary for the Health of the Men, each Captain grows into good or ill Credit with the Seamen, and, by their Report, with the Admiralties; upon whose Opinion and Esteem the Fortune of all Sea-Officers depends: So as, in all their Expeditions, there appears rather an Emulation among the particular Captains who shall treat his Seamen best in these Points, and employ the Monies allotted for their Victualling to the best Advantage, than any little Knavish Practices, of filling their own Purfes by keeping their Men's Bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholesome Diet: Upon which, and upon Cleanliness in their Ships, the Health of many People crowded up into so little Room seems chiefly to depend.

The Salaries of all the Great Officers of this State are very small: I have already mention'd that of a Burgomaster's of *Amsterdam* to be about Fifty Pounds *sterling* a Year: That of their Vice-Admiral (for since the last Prince of *Orange's* Death, to the Year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is Five Hundred, and that of the *Penfioner* of *Holland* Two Hundred.

The Greatness of this State seems much to consist in these Orders, how confused fever and of different Pieces they may seem: But more in two main Effects of them, which are, The good Choice of the Officers of chief Trust in the Cities, Provinces, and State: And the great Simplicity and Modesty in the common Port or Living of their chiefest Ministers; without which, the Absoluteness of the Senates in each Town, and the Immensity of Taxes throughout the whole State, would never be endured by the People with any Patience; being both of them greater than in many of those Governments, which are esteem'd more arbitrary among their Neighbours. But in the Assemblies and Debates of their Senates, every Man's Abilities are discovered, as their Dispositions are in the Conduct of their Lives and Domestick Affairs among their Fellow-Citizens. The Observations of these either raises, or suppresses, the Credit of particular Men, both among the People, and the Senates of their Towns; who, to maintain their Authority with less popular Envy or Discontent, give much to the general Opinion of the People in the Choice of their Magistrates: By this means it comes to pass, that, though perhaps the Nation generally be not wise, yet the Government is, because it is compos'd of the wisest of the Nation; which may give it an Advantage over many others, where Ability is of more common Growth, but of less Use to the Publick; if it happens that neither Wisdom nor Honesty are the Qualities, which bring Men to the Management of State-Affairs, as they usually do in this Commonwealth.

Besides, though these People, who are naturally Cold and Heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furnish a pleasant or agreeable Conversation; yet they

they want not plain down-right Sense to understand and do their Business both publick and private, which is a Talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: For the first proceeds from Heat of the Brain, which makes the Spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the Motions of Thought lighter and quicker, and the Range of Imagination much greater than in cold Heads, where their Spirits are more earthy and dull: Thought moves slower and heavier, but thereby the Impressions of it are deeper, and last longer; one Imagination being not so frequently, nor so easily effaced by another, as where new ones are continually arising. This makes duller Men more constant and steady, and quicker Men more inconstant and uncertain; whereas the greatest Ability in Business seems to be the steady Pursuit of some one Thing, till there is an End of it, with perpetual Application and Endeavour not to be diverted by every Representation of new Hopes or Fears of Difficulty or Danger, or of some better Design. The first of these Talents cuts like a Razor, the other like a Hatchet: One has Thinness of Edge, and Fineness of Metal and Temper, but is easily turn'd by any Substance that is hard, and resists: T'other has Toughness and Weight, which makes it cut through, or go deep, where-ever it falls; and therefore one is for Adornment, and t'other for Use.

It may be said further, that the Heat of the Heart commonly goes along with that of the Brain; so that Passions are warmer, where Imaginations are quicker: And there are few Men (unless in case of some evident Natural Defect) but have Sense enough to distinguish in gross between Right and Wrong, between Good and Bad, when represented to them; and consequently have Judgment enough to do their Business, if it be left to itself, and not sway'd nor corrupted by some Humour or Passion, by Anger or Pride, by Love or by Scorn, Ambition or Avarice, Delight or Revenge; so that the Coldness of Passions seems to be the natural Ground of Ability and Honesty among Men, as the Government or Moderation of them the great End of Philosophical and Moral Instructions. These Speculations may perhaps a little lessen the common Wonder, How we should meet with in one Nation so little shew of Parts and of Wit, and so great Evidence of Wisdom and Prudence, as has appear'd in the Conduct and Successes of this State, for near an Hundred Years; which needs no other Testimony, than the mighty Growth and Power it arriv'd to, from so weak and contemptible Seeds and Beginnings.

The other Circumstance I mentioned as an Occasion of their Greatness, was the Simplicity and Modesty of their Magistrates in their way of Living; which is so general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular Air; and so great, that of the two chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral *De Ruiter* and the Pensioner *De Wit* (one generally esteem'd by Foreign Nations as great a Seaman, and the other as great a Statesman, as any of their Age.) I never saw the first in Cloaths better than the commonest Sea-Captain, nor with above one Man following him, nor in a Coach: And in his own House, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, or Entertainment, at all exceeding the Use of every common Merchant and Tradesman in his Town. For the Pensioner *De Wit*, who had the great Influence in the Government, the whole Train and Expence of his Domestic went very equal with other common Deputies or Ministers of the State: His Habit grave and plain, and popular: His Table, what only serv'd Turn for his Family, or a Friend: His Train (besides Commissaries and Clerks kept for him in an Office adjoining to his House, at the publick Charge) was only one Man, who performed all the Menial Service of his House at home; and upon his Visits of Ceremony, putting on a plain Livery-Cloak, attended his Coach abroad: For, upon other Occasions, he was seen usually in the Streets on Foot and alone, like the commonest Burgher of the Town. Nor was this manner of Life affect'd, or us'd only by these particular Men, but was the general Fashion and Mode among all the Magistrates of the State: For I speak not of the Military Officers, who are reckon'd their Servants, and live in a different Garb, though generally modester than in other Countries.

Thus

Thus this stomachful People, who could not endure the least Exercise of Arbitrary Power or Impositions, or the Sight of any Foreign Troops under the *Spanish* Government, have been since inured to all of them, in the highest Degree, under their own popular Magistrates; bridled with hard Laws; terrified with severe Executions; environ'd with Foreign Forces; and oppress'd with the most cruel Hardship and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government. But all this, whilst the Way to Office and Authority lies through those Qualities, which acquire the general Esteem of the People; whilst no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of Laws; whilst Soldiers are confin'd to Frontier-Garrisons (the Guard of Inland, or Trading Towns being left to the Burghers themselves;) and whilst no great Riches are seen to enter by publick Payments into private Purfes, either to raise Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant and luxurious Men; but all publick Monies are applied to the Safety, Greatness, or Honour of the State, and the Magistrates themselves bear an equal Share in all the Burthens they impose.

The Authority of the Princes of Orange.

The Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, though intermitted upon the untimely Death of the last, and Infancy of this present Prince; yet, as it must be ever acknowledg'd to have had a most essential Part in the first Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progress of the State: So has it ever preserv'd a very strong Root, not only in six of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* itself, whose States have, for these last twenty Years, so much endeavour'd to suppress or exclude it.

This began in the Person of Prince *William* of *Nassau*, at the very Birth of the State; and not so much by the Quality of being Governour of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles* the Fifth's and *Philip* the Second's Time; as by the Esteem of so great Wisdom, Goodness and Courage, as excell'd in that Prince, and seems to have been from him deriv'd to his whole Race; being, indeed, the Qualities that naturally acquire Esteem and Authority among the People, in all Governments. Nor has this Nation in particular, since the Time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without some Head, under some Title or other; but always an Head subordinate to their Laws and Customs, and to the Sovereign Power of the State.

In the first Constitution of this Government, after the Revolt from *Spain*, all the Power and Rights of Prince *William* of *Orange*, as Governor of the Provinces, seem to have been carefully reserv'd. But those which remain'd inherent in the Sovereign were devolved upon the Assembly of the States-General, so as in them remain'd the Power of making Peace and War and all Foreign Alliances, and of raising and coining of Monies. In the Prince, the Command of all Land and Sea-Forces, as Captain-General and Admiral, and thereby the Disposition of all Military Commands; the Power of pardoning the Penalty of Crimes; the choosing of Magistrates upon the Nomination of the Towns; for they presented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that Number. Originally the States-General was convoked by the Council of State, where the Prince had the greatest Influence: Nor, since that Change, have the States used to resolve any important Matter without his Advice. Besides all this, as the States-General represented the Sovereignty; so did the Prince of *Orange* the Dignity of this State, by publick Guards, and the Attendance of all Military Officers; by the Application of all Foreign Ministers, and all Pretenders at home; by the Splendor of his Court, and Magnificence of his Expence, supported not only by the Pensions and Rights of his several Charges and Commands, but by a mighty Patrimonial Revenue in Lands and Sovereign Principalities, and Lordships, as well in *France*, *Germany* and *Burgundy*, as in the several Parts of the Seventeen Provinces; so as Prince *Henry* was used to answer some, that would have flatter'd him into the Designs of a more Arbitrary Power, That he had as much as any wise Prince would desire in that State; since he wanted none indeed, besides that of punishing Men, and raising Money; whereas he had rather the Envy of the first should lie upon the Forms of the Government; and he knew the other could

never

never be supported without the Consent of the People, to that degree which was necessary for the Defence of so small a State, against so mighty Princes as their Neighbours.

Upon these Foundations was this State first established, and by these Orders maintain'd, till the Death of the last Prince of *Orange*: When, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* amongst the rest, the Authority of the Princes came to be shar'd among the several Magistracies of the State; Those of the Cities assum'd the last Nomination of their several Magistrates; the States-Provincial, the Disposal of all Military Commands in those Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States-General, the Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, substituted and changed at their Will. No Power remain'd to pardon what was once condemned by Rigor of Law; nor any Person to represent the Port and Dignity of a Sovereign State: Both which could not fail of being sensibly mis'd by the People; since no Man in particular can be secure of offending, or would therefore absolutely despair of Impunity himself, though he would have others do so; and Men are generally pleas'd with the Pomp and Splendor of a Government, not only as it is an Amusement for idle People, but as it is a Mark of the Greatness, Honour and Riches of their Country.

However, these Defects were for near Twenty Years supply'd in some Measure, and this Frame supported by the great Authority and Riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a sort of Dependence from the other Six; and by the great Sufficiency, Integrity and Constancy of their chief Minister, and by the Effect of both in the prosperous Successes of their Affairs: Yet having been a Constitution strained against the current Vein and Humour of the People; it was always evident, that upon the Growth of this young Prince, the great Virtues and Qualities he deriv'd from the Mixture of such Royal and such Princely Blood, could not fail, in time, of raisin'd his Authority to equal, at least, if not to surpass that of his glorious Ancestors.

Because the Curious may desire to know something of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at least in general, and where they differ; it may be observ'd, That the Constitutions of *Gelderland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, agree much with those of *Holland*; the States in each Province being compos'd of Deputies from the Nobles and the Cities; but with these small Differences: In *Gelderland*, all the Nobles, that have certain Fees or Lordships in the Province, have Session, they compose one half of the States, and the Deputies of the Towns the other; and though some certain Persons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own Charge.

In *Zealand*, the Nobility having been extinguish'd in the *Spanish Wars*, and the Prince of *Orange* possessing the Marquisats of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, his Highness alone makes that Part of the States in the Province, by the Quality and Title of First, or Sole, Noble of *Zealand*; and thereby has, by his Deputy, the first Place and Voice in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of Accounts: As Sovereign of *Flushing* and *Terveer*, he likewise creates the Magistrates, and consequently disposes the Voices, not only of the Nobles, but also of two Towns, whereas there are in all but Six, that send their Deputies to the States, and make up the Sovereignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, besides the Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, Eight Delegates of the Clergy have Session, and make a third Member in the States of the Province. These are elected out of the four great Chapters of the Town, the Preferments and Revenues whereof (though anciently Ecclesiastical) yet are now possess'd by Lay-persons, who are most of them Gentlemen of the Province.

The Government of the Province of *Friesland* is wholly different from that of the Four Provinces alerdy mention'd; and is compos'd of Four Members, which are call'd, The Quarter of *Ostergo*, consisting of Eleven Bailages; of *Westergo*, consisting of Nine; and of *Seveawolden*, consisting of Ten. Each Bailage comprehends a certain Number of Villages, Ten, Twelve,

Fifteen, or Twenty, according to their several Extents. The Fourth Member confists of the Towns of the Province, which are Eleven in Number. These Four Members have each of them right of sending their Deputies to the States, that is, Two chosen out of every Baillage, and Two out of every Town. And these represent the Sovereignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude on all Affairs, of what Importance soever, without any Recourte to those who deputed them, or Obligation to know their Intentions, which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are strictly bound to, and either must follow the Instructions they bring with them to the Assembly, or know the Resolution of their Principals before they conclude of any new Affair that arises.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the Towns choose the Deputies which compose the States, but in *Friesland* the Constitution is of quite another Sort. For every Baillage, which is compos'd of a certain Extent of Country, and Number of Villages (as has been said) is govern'd by a Bailly, whom in their Language they call *Greeman*, and this Officer governs his Circuit, with the Assistance of a certain Number of Persons, who are call'd his Assessors, who, together, judge of all Civil Causes, in the first Instance, but with Appeal to the Court of Justice of the Province. When the States are convok'd, every Bailly assembles together all the Persons, of what Quality soever, who possess a certain Quantity of Land within his District, and these Men, by most Voices, name the Two Deputies which each Baillage sends to the Assembly of the States.

This Assembly, as it represents the Sovereignty of the Province, so it disposes of all vacant Charges, chooses the nine Deputies who compose that permanent College which is the Council of State of the Province; and likewise twelve Counsellors (that is, three for every Quarter) who compose the Court of Justice of the Province, and judge of all Civil Causes in the last Resort, but of all Criminal from the first Instance; there being no other Criminal Jurisdiction, but this only, through the Province: Whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no Town which has it not within itself: And several, both Lords and Villages, have the High and Low Justice belonging to them.

In the Province of *Groningue*, which is upon the same Tract of Land, the Elections of the Deputies out of the Country are made as in *Friesland*, by Persons possess'd of set Proportions of Land; but in *Overyffel*, all Nobles, who are qualify'd by having Seignenrial Lands, make a Part of the States.

These Three Provinces, with *Westphalia*, and all those Countries between the *Wezer*, the *Iffel*, and the *Rhine*, were the Seat of the ancient *Frizens*, who, under the Name of *Saxons* (given them from the Weapon they wore, made like a Sithe, with the Edge outwards, and call'd in their Language *Seaxes*) were the fierce Conquerors of our *British* Island, being call'd in upon the Desertion of the *Roman* Forces, and the cruel Incurfions of the *Pills* against a People, whose long Wars, at first with the *Romans* and afterwards Servitude under them, had exhausted all the bravest Blood of their Nation, either in their own, or their Masters, succeeding Quarrels, and depress'd the Hearts and Courages of the rest.

The Bishop of *Munster*, whose Territories lie in this Tract of Land, gave me the first certain Evidences of those being the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, which have since been confirm'd to me by many Things I have observed in reading the Stories of those Times, and by what has been affirm'd to me upon Enquiry of the *Frizens* old Language having still so great Affinity with our old *Englisch*, as to appear easily to have been the same; most of their Words still retaining the same Signification and Sound; very different from the Language of the *Hollanders*. This is the most remarkable in a little Town call'd *Mulcaera*, upon the *Zudder* Sea, in *Friesland*, which is still built after the Fashion of the old *German* Villages, describ'd by *Tacitus*; without any Use or Observation of Lines or Angles; but as if every Man had built in a common Field,

Field, just where he had a mind, so as a Stranger, when he goes in, must have a Guide to find the Way out again.

Upon these Informations and Remarks, and the particular Account afterwards given me of the Constitutions of the Province of *Friesland* so different from the others; I began to make Reflections upon them, as the likeliest Originals of many ancient Constitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may seem to have been introduc'd by the *Saxons* heré, and by their long and absolute Possession of that Part of the Isle, called *England*, to have been so planted and rooted among us, as to have waded safe in a great Measure, through the succeeding Inundations and Conquests of the *Danish* and *Norman* Nations. And, perhaps, there may be much Matter found for the curious Remarks of some diligent and studious Antiquaries, in the Comparisons of the *Pailli* or *Greatman* among the *Frizons*, with our *Sheriff*: Of their *Assizes*, with our *Justices* of the Peace: Of their judging Civil Causes in their District, upon the Refort, but not without Appeal, with the Course of our Quarter-Sessions: Of their chief Judicature, being compos'd of Counsellors of Four several Quarters, with our Four Circuits. Of these being the common Criminal Judicature of the Country: Of the Composition of their States, with our Parliament, at least, our House of Commons: In the Particulars of Two Deputies being chosen from each Town, as with us, and Two from each Baillage, as from each County here: And these last by Voices of all Persons, possess'd of a certain Quantity of Land; and at a Meeting assembled by the *Greatman* to that Purpose: And these Deputies having Power to resolve all Matters without Refort to these that chose 'em, or Knowledge of their Intentions; which are all Circumstances agreeing with our Constitutions, but absolutely differing from those of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the Composition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, used in the other Nations of *Europe*.

To this Original, I suppose, we likewise owe what I have often wonder'd at, that in *England* we neither see nor find upon Record, any Lord or Lordship, that pretends to have the Exercise of Judicature belong to it, either that which is called High or Low Justice, which seems to be a Badge of some ancient Sovereignty: Though we see them very frequent among our Neighbours, both under more arbitrary Monarchies, and under the most free and popular States.

C H A P. III.

Of their S I T U A T I O N.

Holland, Zealand, *Friesland* and *Groninguen* are seated upon the Sea, and make the Strength and Greatness of this State: The other Three, with the conquer'd Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the Outworks or Frontiers, serving chiefly for Safety and Defence of these. No Man can tell the strange and mighty Changes, that may have been made in the Face and Bounds of Maritime Countries, at one time or other, by furious Inundations, upon the unusual Concurrence of Land-Floods, Winds and Tides; and therefore no Man knows, whether the Province of *Holland* may not have been in some past Ages, all Wood, and rough unequal Ground, as some old Traditions go; and level'd to what we see, by the Sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the Land; since recover'd by its Recets, and with the Help of Industry. For it is evident, that the Sea, for some Space of Years, advances continually upon one Coast, retiring from the opposite; and in another Age, quite changes this Course, yielding up what it had seized, and seizing what it had yielded up, without any Reason

to be given of such contrary Motions. But, I suppose, this great Change was made in *Holland*, when the Sea first parted *England* from the Continent, breaking through a Neck of Land between *Dover* and *Calais*; which may be a Tale, but I am sure is no Record. It is certain, on the contrary, that Sixteen Hundred Years ago there was no usual Mention or Memory of any such Changes; and that the Face of all these Coasts, and Nature of the Soil, especially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now; allowing only the Improvements of Riches, Time, and Industry; which appears by the

Description made in *Tacitus*, both of the Limits of the Isle of *Batavia*, and the Nature of the Soil, as well as the Climate, with the very Names and Course of Rivers, still remaining.

'Tis likely, the Changes arriv'd since that Age in these Countries may have been made by Stoppages grown in time with the rolling of Sands upon the Mouths of three great Rivers, which disembogued into the Sea through the Coasts of these Provinces; that is, the *Rhine*, the *Maes*, and the *Scheld*. The ancient *Rhine* divided, where *Skenckesce* now stands, into two Rivers; of which, one kept the Name, till running near *Leyden*, it fell into the Sea at

Catwick; where are still seen, at low Tides, the Foundations of an ancient Roman Castle that commanded the Mouth of this River: But this is wholly stopt up, though a great Canal still preserves the Name of the *Old Rhine*. The *Maes*, running by *Dort* and *Rotterdam*, fell, as it now does, into the Sea at the *Briel*, with mighty Issues of Waters; but the Sands, gather'd for three or four Leagues upon this Coast, make the Haven extream dangerous, without great Skill of Pilots, and Use of Pilot-boats, that come out with every Tide, to welcome and secure the Ships bound for that River: And it is probable, that these Sands, having obstructed the free Course of the River, has at times caus'd or increas'd those Inundations, out of which so many Islands have been recover'd, and of which that Part of the Country is so much compos'd.

The *Scheld* seems to have had its Issue by *Walcherin* in *Zealand*, which was an Island in the Mouth of that River, till the Inundation of that, and the *Maes*, seem to have been joined together, by some great Helps or Irruptions of the Sea, by which the whole Country was overwhelmed, which now makes that Inland-Sea that serves for a common Passage between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*: The Sea, for some Leagues from *Zealand*, lies generally upon such Banks of Sand, as it does upon the Mouth of the *Maes*, though separated by something better Channels than are found in the other.

That which seems likeliest to have been the Occasion of stopping up wholly one of these Rivers, and obstructing the others, is the Course of Westerly Winds (which drive upon this Shore) being so much more constant and violent than the East: For, taking the Seasons and Years, one with another, I suppose, there will be observ'd three Parts of Westerly for one Easterly Wind: Besides, that these generally attend the calm Frosts and fair Weather; and the other the stormy and foul. And I have had Occasion to make Experiment of the Sands rising and sinking before a Haven, by two Fits of these contrary Winds, above four Foot. This, I presume, is likewise the natural Reason of so many deep and commodious Havens found upon all the *English* Side of the Channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: An Advantage seeming to be given us by Nature, and never to be equal'd by any Art or Expence of our Neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient Authors of that, which is now call'd the *Zudder-Sea*; which makes me imagine, That may have been form'd likewise by some great Inundation, breaking in between the *Tessel*-Islands, and others, that lie still in a Line contiguous, and like the broken Remainers of a continu'd Coast. This seems more probable, from the great Shallowness of that Sea, and Flatness of the Sands, upon the whole Extent of it; from the violent

Rage

Rhenus apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior verso cognomento Vabalem accole dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosam flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.

Cum interim flexu Autumni & crebris imbris superfusus annis palustrem humilemque Insulam in faciem Stagni opplevit.

Rage of the Waters breaking in that way, which threaten the Parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchusen*, and brave it over the highest and strongest Duties of the Province, upon every high Tide, and Storm at North-west. As likewise from the Names of *East* and *West Friezland*, which should have been one Continent, till divided by this Sea: For, in the Time of *Tacitus*, no other Distinction was known, but that of greater or lesser *Frizon*s, and that only from the Measure of their Numbers, or Forces; and though they were said to have great Lakes among them, yet that Word seems to import they were of fresh Water, which is made yet plainer by the Word * *Ambiant*, that shews those Lakes to have been inhabited round by these Nations: From all this I should guess, that the more Inland part of the *Zudder Sea* was one of the Lakes there mention'd, between which and the *Tessel* and *Uite* Islands there lay anciently a great Tract of Land (where the Sands are still so shallow, and so continu'd, as seems to make it evident:) But since covered by some great Irruptions of Waters, that joined those of the Sea and the Lake together, and thereby made that great Bay, now call'd the *Zudder-Sea*, by favour whereof the Town of *Amsterdam* has grown to be the most frequent Haven of the World.

Whatever it was, whether Nature or Accident, and upon what Occasion soever it arriv'd, the Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat like the Sea in a Calm, and looks as if after a long Contention between Land and Water, which it should belong to, it had at length been divided between them: For to consider the great Rivers, and the strange Number of Canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almost to every Village, and every Farm-house in the Country; and the Infinity of Sails that are seen every where courting up and down upon them; one would imagine the Water to have shar'd with the Land; and the People that live in Boats, to hold some proportion with those that live in Houses. And this is one great Advantage towards Trade, which is natural to the Situation, and not to be attained in any Country, where there is not the same Level and Softness of Soil, which makes the cutting of Canals so easie Work, as to be attempted almost by every private Man: And one Horse shall draw in a Boat more than fifty can do by Cart, whereas Carriage makes a great part of the Price in all heavy Commodities: And by this easie Way of Travelling, an industrious Man loses no Time from his Business, for he Writes, or Eats, or Sleeps, while he goes; whereas the Time of labouring or industrious Men is the greatest Native Commodity of any Country.

There is, besides, one very great Lake of fresh Water still remaining in the midst of this Province, by the Name of *Hulle Meer*, which might, as they say, be easily drained, and would thereby make a mighty Addition of Land to a Country, where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great Quantity of People, in which they abound, and who make their Greatness and Riches. Much Discourse there has been about such an Attempt, but the City of *Leyden* having no other Way of refreshing their Town, or renewing the Water of their Canals, but from this *Meer*, will never consent to it. On the other Side, *Amsterdam*, will ever oppose the opening and cleansing of the old Channel of the *Rhine*, which, they say, might easily be compassed, and by which the Town of *Leyden* would grow Maritime, and share a great Part of the Trade now engrossed by *Amsterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an Essay already made at the possibility of draining these great Lakes, by one of about two Leagues broad having been made firm Land, within this forty Years: This makes that part of the Country called the *Bemster*, being now the richest Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead Flat, divided with Canals, and the Ways through it distinguish'd with Ranges of Trees, which make the pleafantest Summer Landfcape of any Country I have seen, of that sort.

Another Advantage of their Situation of Trade, is made by those two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Maas*, reaching up, and navigable so mighty a Length, into so rich and populous Countries of the *Higher* and *Lower Germany*; which, as it brings down all the Commodities from those Parts to the

the Magazines of *Holland*, that vent them by their shipping into all Parts of the World, where the Market calls for them; so, with something more Labour and Time, it returns all the Merchandizes of other Parts, in those Countries that are seated upon those Streams. For their commodious Seat, as to the Trade of the *Streights*, or *Baltique*, or any Parts of the Ocean, I see no Advantage they have of most Parts of *England*; and they must certainly yield to many we possess, if we had other equal Circumstances to value them.

The Lowness and Flatness of their Lands makes in a great Measure the Richness of their Soil, that is easily overflow'd every Winter, so as the whole Country, at that Season, seems to lie under Water, which, in Spring, is driven out again by Mills. But that which mends the Earth, spoils the Air, which would be all Fog and Mist, if it were not clear'd by the Sharpness of their Frosts, which never fail with every East Wind for about four Months of the Year, and are much fiercer than in the same Latitude with us, because that Wind comes to them over a mighty Length of dry Continent; but is moistened by the Vapours, or soften'd by the Warmth of the Sea's Motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greatest Disadvantage of Trade they receive from their Situation, though necessary to their Health; because many times their Havens are all shut up for two or three Months with Ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce Sharpness of these Winds makes the Charges of their Weather and Seasons more violent and surprizing, than in any Place I know; so as a warm faint Air turns in a Night to a sharp Frost, with the Wind coming in to the North East: And the contrary with another Change of Wind. The Spring is much shorter, and less agreeable, than with us; the Winter much colder, and some parts of the Summer much hotter; and I have known more than once, the Violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold Fit of an Ague to the Hot, without any good Temper between.

The Flatness of their Land exposes it to the Danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite Charge in the continual Fences and Repairs of their Banks to oppose it; which employ yearly more Men, than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain (as one of their chief Ministers has told me.) They have lately found the common Sea-weed to be the best Material for these Digues, which fasten'd with a thin Mixture of Earth, yields a little to the Force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back: Whether they are thereby the safer against Water, as they say, Houses that shake are against Wind; or whether, as pious Naturalists observe, all Things carry about them that which serves for a Remedy against the Mischiefs they do in the World.

The extream Moisture of the Air, I take to be the Occasion of the great Neatness in their Houses, and Cleanliness in their Towns. For without the Help of those Customs, their Country would not be habitable by such Crowds of People, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot Season, and expose the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diseases; which they hardly escape three Summers together, especially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not so easily renew'd, and for this reason, I suppose, it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neatest cleanliest kept, of all their Towns.

The same Moisture of Air makes all Metals apt to rust, and Wood to mould; which forces them, by continual Pains of rubbing and scouring, to seek a Prevention, or Cure: This makes the Brightness and Cleanness that seems affected in their Houses, and is call'd Natural to them, by People who think no further. So the Deepness of their Soil, and Wetness of Seasons, which would render it unpassable, forces them, not only to Exactness of Paving in their Streets, but to the Expence of so long Causeways between many of their Towns, and in their High-ways. And indeed, most National Customs are the Effect of some unseen, or unobserved natural Causes, or Necessities.

C H A P. VI.

Of their People and Dispositions.

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into these several Classes: The Clowns or Boors (as they call them) who cultivate the Land. The Mariners or Schippers, who supply their Ships and Inland-Boats. The Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns. The *Renteneers*, or Men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Interest of Estates formerly acquir'd in their Families: And the Gentlemen, and Officers of their Armies.

The first are a Race of People diligent rather than laborious; dull and slow of Understanding, and so not dealt with by hasty Words, but manag'd easily by soft and fair; and yielding to plain Reason, if you give them Time to understand it. In the Country and Villages, not too near the great Towns, they seem plain and honest, and content with their own; so that if, in Bounty, you give them a Shilling for what is worth but a Groat, they will take the current Price, and give you the rest again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and sometimes ask, if you are a Fool. They know no other Good, but the Supply of what Nature requires, and the common Increase of Wealth. They feed most upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means, I suppose, neither their Strength nor Vigour seems answerable to the Size or Bulk of their Bodies.

The Mariners are a Plain, but much rougher People; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fish and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors. They are surly and ill-manner'd, which is mistaken for Pride; but, I believe, is learnt, as all Manners are, by the Conversation we use. Now their lying only among one another, or with Winds or Waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any Language or Observance, or to be dealt with, but by Pains and by Patience; these are all the Qualities their Mariners have learnt; their Valour is *Passive* rather than *Active*; and their Language is little more, than what is of necessary use to their Business.

The Merchants and Tradesmen, both the greater and mechanick, living in Towns that are of great Resort, both by Strangers and Passengers of their own, are more *Mercurial* (Wit being sharpen'd by Commerce and Conversation of Cities) though they are not very inventive, which is the Gift of warmer Heads; yet are they great in Imitation, and so far, many times, as goes beyond Originals: Of mighty Industry, and constant Application to the Ends they propose and pursue. They make use of their Skill, and their Wit, to take Advantage of other Mens Ignorance and Folly they deal with; as great Exacters, where the Law is in their own Hands: In other Points, where they deal with Men that understand like themselves, and are under the reach of Justice and Laws, they are the plainest and best Dealers in the World; which seems not to grow so much from a Principle of Conscience, or Morality, as from a Custom or Habit introduced by the Necessity of Trade among them, which depends as much upon common Honesty, as War does upon Discipline; and without which all would break up, Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Soldiers Thieves.

Those Families which live upon their patrimonial Estates in all the great Cities are a People differently bred and manner'd from the Traders, though like them in the Modesty of Garb and Habit, and the Parsimony of Living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Universities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common Studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Country, at least as far as it is so in *France* and *Spain*. For (as much as I understand of those Countries) no Decisions

or Decrees of the Civil Law, nor Constitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the Force or Current of Law among them, as is commonly believ'd, but only the Force of Reasons when alledged before their Courts of Judicature, as far as the Authority of Men esteem'd wise, passes for Reason: But the ancient Customs of those several Countries, and the Ordinances of their Kings and Princes, consented to by the Estates, or in *France* verifi'd by Parliaments, have only the Strength and Authority of Law among them.

Where these Families are rich, their Youths, after the Course of their Studies at home, travel for some Years, as the Sons of our Gentry use to do; but their Journeys are chiefly into *England* and *France*, not much into *Italy*, seldom into *Spain*, nor often into the more Northern Countries, unless in Company of Train of their publick Ministers. The chief End of their Breeding, is, to make them fit for the Service of their Country in the Magistracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of these kind of Men are the Civil Offices of this Government generally composed, being descended of Families who have many times been constantly in the Magistracy of their Native Towns for many Years, and some for several Ages.

Such were most or all of the chief Ministers, and the Persons that composed their chief Councils, in the Time of my Residence among them; and not Men of mean or Mechanick Trades, as it is commonly receiv'd among Foreigners, and makes the Subject of Comical Jests upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants, or Trades in gross, from being often seen in the Offices of their Cities, and sometimes deputed to their States; nor several of their States from turning their Stocks in the Management of some very beneficial Trade by Servants, and Houses maintain'd to that purpose. But the Generality of the States and Magistrates are of the other Sort; their Estates consisting in the Pensions of their publick Charges, in the Rents of Lands, or Interest of Money upon the *Cantores*, or in Actions of the *East-India* Company, or in Shares upon the Adventures of great Trading Merchants.

Nor do these Families, habituated as it were to the Magistracy of their Towns and Provinces, usually arrive at great or excessive Riches; the Salaries of publick Employments and Interest being low, but the Revenue of Lands being yet very much lower, and seldom exceeding the Profit of two in the Hundred. They content themselves with the Honour of being useful to the Publick, with the Esteem of their Cities or their Country, and with the Ease of their Fortunes; which seldom fails, by the Frugality of their Living, grown universal by being (I suppose) at first necessary, but since honourable, among them.

The mighty Growth and Excess of Riches is seen among the Merchants and Traders, whose Application lies wholly that Way, and who are the better content to have so little share in the Government; desiring only Security in what they possess; troubled with no Cares, but those of their Fortunes, and the Management of their Trades, and turning the rest of their Time and Thought to the Divertisement of their Lives. Yet these, when they attain great Wealth, choose to breed up their Sons in the Way, and marry their Daughters into the Families of those others most generally credited in their Towns, and versed in their Magistracies; and thereby introduce their Families into the Way of Government and Honour, which consists not here in Titles, but in publick Employments.

The next Rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who; in the Province of *Holland* (to which I chiefly confine these Observations) are very few, most of the Families having been extinguished in the long Wars with *Spain*. But those that remain, are in a manner all employ'd in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. These are, in their Customs, and Manners, and Way of living, a good deal different from the rest of the People; and having been bred much abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour Courts, than the Popular Air of their own Country. They value themselves more upon their Nobility, than Men do in other Countries, where 'tis more common; and would think themselves utterly dishonoured by

by the Marriage of one that were not of their Rank, though it were to make up the broken Fortune of a Noble Family, by the Wealth of a *Plebeian*. They strive to imitate the *French* in their Mien, their Cloaths, their Way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry or Debauchery; and are, in my Mind, something worse than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making sometimes but ill Copies, whereas they might be good Originals, by refining or improving the Customs and Virtues proper to their own Country and Climate. They are otherwise an Honest, Well-natur'd, Friendly, and Gentlemanly sort of Men, and acquit themselves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Customs and Fashions of the Gentlemen; and so do many Sons of the rich Merchants, who, returning from Travel abroad, have more Designs upon their own Pleasure, and the Vanity of appearing, than upon the Service of their Country: Or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the Army than the State. And all these are generally desirous to see a Court in their Country, that they may value themselves at home, by the Qualities they have learnt abroad; and make a Figure, which agrees better with their own Humour and the Manner of Courts, than with the Customs and Orders that prevail in more Popular Governments.

There are some Customs or Dispositions that seem to run generally through all these Degrees of Men among them; as great Frugality and Order in their Expences. Their common Riches lie in every Man's having more than he spends; or, to say it more properly, in every Man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will: Nor does it enter into Men's Heads among them, that the common Port or Course of Expence should equal the Revenue; and when this happens, they think at least they have liv'd that Year to no Purpose; and the Train of it discredits a Man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal Extravagance does in other Countries. This enables every Man to bear their extream Taxes, and make them less sensible than they would be in other Places: For he that lives upon Two Parts in Five of what he has coming in, if he pays Two more to the State, he does but part with what he should have laid up, and had no present Use for; whereas, he that spends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the Fiftieth Part to the Publick, it goes from him like that which was necessary to buy Bread or Cloaths for himself or his Family.

This makes the Beauty and Strength of their Towns, the Commodiousness of Travelling in their Country by their Canals, Bridges and Causeways; the Pleasantness of their Walks, and their Grafts in and near all their Cities: And, in short, the Beauty, Convenience, and sometimes Magnificence of their Publick Works, to which every Man pays as willingly, and takes as much Pleasure and Vanity in them, as those of other Countries do in the same Circumstances, among the Possessions of their Families, or private Inheritance. What they can spare, besides the necessary Expence of their Domestick, the Publick Payments, and the common Course of still encreasing their Stock, is laid out in the Fabrick, Adornment or Furniture of their Houses: Things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to Health, and to Business, as the constant Excesses and Luxury of Tables; nor perhaps altogether so vain as the extravagant Expences of Cloaths and Attendance; at least, these end wholly in a Man's self, and the Satisfaction of his personal Humour; whereas the other make not only the Riches of a Family, but contribute much towards the publick Beauty and Honour of a Country.

The Order in casting up their Expences, is so great and general, that no Man offers at any Undertaking which he is not prepared for, and Master of his Design, before he begins; so as I have neither observed nor heard of any Building, publick or private, that has not been finished in the Time designed for it. So are their Canals, Causeways and Bridges; so was their Way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*, a Work that might have become the old *Romans*, considering how soon it was dispatch'd. The House at the *Hague*, built purposely

for casting of Cannon, was finished in one Summer, during the Heat of the first *English* War, and look'd rather like a Design of Vanity in their Government, than Necessity or Use. The Stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to Time, without any Limitation in the first Design, either of that, or of Expence; both that the Diligence and the Genius of so many succeeding Magistrates should be employ'd in the Collection of all Things, that could be esteem'd proper to encrease the Beauty or Magnificence of that Structure; and perhaps a little to relieve the Experiment of a current Prediction, That the Trade of that City should begin to fall the same Year the Stadthouse should be finish'd, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity seems to be very National among them, though it be regulated by Orders of the Country, and not usually mov'd by the common Objects of Compassion. But it is seen in the admirable Provisions that are made out of it for all sort of Persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a Government. Among the many and various Hospitals, that are in every Man's Curiosity and Talk that travels their Country, I was affect'd with none more than that of the aged Sea-men at *Enchusen*, which is contriv'd, finish'd and order'd, as if it were done with a kind Intention of some well-natur'd Man, that those, who had pass'd their whole Lives in the Hardships and Incommodities of the Sea, should find a Retreat stor'd with all the Eases and Conveniencies that Old Age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich Man that I ever saw in my Life: For one of these old Sea-men entertaining me a good while with the plain Stories of his Fifty Years Voyages and Adventures, while I was viewing their Hospital, and the Church adjoining; I gave him at parting a Piece of their Coin about the Value of a Crown: He took it smiling, and offer'd it me again; but when I refus'd it, he ask'd me what he should do with Money? for all that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their House. I left him to overcome his Modesty as he could; but a Servant coming after me, saw him give it to a little Girl that open'd the Church-door, as she pass'd by him: Which made me reflect upon the fantastick Calculation of Riches and Poverty that is current in the World, by which a Man that wants a Million, is a Prince; he that wants but a Groat, is a Beggar; and this was a poor Man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, All Appetites and Passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other Countries where I have convers'd. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon Industry and Parsimony, as where it breaks out into Fraud, Rapine and Oppression. But Quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their Drink, Revenge rarely heard of, or Jealousie known. Their Tempers are not airy enough for Joy, or any unusual Strains of pleasant Humour; nor warm enough for Love. This is talk'd of sometimes among the younger Men, but as a Thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a Discourse that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known some among them, that personated Lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at Heart in Love; nor any of the Women, that seem'd at all to care whether they were so or no. Whether it be, that they are such Lovers of their Liberty, as not to bear the Servitude of a Mistress, any more than that of a Master; or, that the Dulness of their Air renders them less susceptible of more refined Passions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general Intention every Man has upon his Business, whatever it is (nothing being so mortal an Enemy of Love, that suffers no Rival, as any Bent of Thought another Way.)

The same Causes may have had the same Effects among their married Women, who have the whole Care and absolute Management of all their Domestic; and live with very general good Fame: A certain sort of Chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as Probity among the Men.

The same Dulness of Air may dispose them to that strange Assiduity and constant Application of their Minds, with that perpetual Study and Labour upon any thing they design and take in Hand. This gives them Patience to pursue

pursue the Quest of Riches by so long Voyages and Adventures to the *Indies*, and by so long Parsimony as that of their whole Lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular Example of this Disposition among them) known one Man that was employed four and twenty Years about the making and perfecting of a Globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a Table. Nor does any Man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great Things in all Kinds, both publick and private, that have been atchieved among them by this one Humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass, nor leaving one Scent to follow another they meet with; which is the Property of the lighter and more ingenious Nations: And the Humour of a Government being usually the same with that of the Persons that compose it, not only in this, but in all other Points; so as, where Men that govern are wise, good, steady and just, the Government will appear so too; and the contrary, where they are otherwise.

The same Qualities in their Air may encline them to the Entertainments and Customs of Drinking, which are so much laid to their Charge, and, for ought I know, may not only be necessary to their Health (as they generally believe it) but to the Vigour and Improvement of their Understandings, in the midst of a thick foggy Air, and so much Coldness of Temper and Complexion. For though the Use or Excess of Drinking may destroy Men's Abilities who live in better Climates, and are of warmer Constitutions; Wine to hot Brains being like Oil to Fire, and making the Spirits, by too much Lightness, evaporate into Smoak, and perfect airy Imaginations; or, by too much Heat, rage into Frenzy, or at least into Humours and Thoughts that have a great Mixture of it; yet on the other side, it may improve Men's Parts and Abilities of cold Complexions, and in dull Air; and may be necessary to thaw and move the frozen or inactive Spirits of the Brain; to rowze sleepy Thought, and refine grosser Imaginations; and perhaps to animate the Spirits of the Heart, as well as enliven those of the Brain: Therefore the old *Germans* seem'd to have some Reason in their Custom, not to execute any great Resolutions which had not been twice debated, and agreed at two several Assemblies, one in an Afternoon, and t'other in a Morning, because, they thought their Counsels might want Vigour when they were sober, as well as Caution when they had drunk.

Yet in *Holland* I have observed very few of their chief Officers or Ministers of State vicious in this kind; or if they drunk much, 'twas only at set Feasts, and rather to acquit themselves, than of Choice or Inclination: And for the Merchants and Traders, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a Morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the Business of the Day is commonly dispatch'd; nay, it hardly enters into their Heads, that 'tis lawful to drink at all before that Time; but they will excuse it, if you come to their House, and tell you how sorry they are you come in a Morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that Time of Day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themselves, but so much as for a Stranger to do it within their Walls.

The Afternoon, or, at least, the Evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, considering how they spend the rest of the Day, in Thought, or in Cares; in Toils, or in Business. For Nature cannot hold out with constant Labour of Body, and as little with constant Bent or Application of Mind: Much Motion of the same Parts of the Brain either wearies and wastes them too fast for Repair, or else (as it were) fires the Wheels, and so ends, either in general Decays of the Body, or Distractions of the Mind: (For these are usually occasion'd by perpetual Motions of Thought about some one Object; whether it be about one's self in Excesses of Pride, or about another in those of Love or of Grief.) Therefore none are so excusable as Men of much Care and Thought, or of great Business, for giving up their Times of Leisure to any Pleasures or Diversions that offend no Laws, nor hurt others or themselves: And this seems the Reason, that, in all Civil Constitutions, not only Honours, but Riches, are annexed

to the Charges of those who govern, and upon whom the publick Cares are meant to be devolv'd; not only, that they may not be distracted from these, by the Cares of their own Domestick or Private Interests; but, that by the Help of Esteem, and of Riches, they may have those Pleasures and Diversions in their Reach, which idle Men neither need nor deserve, but which are necessary for the Refreshment or Repair of Spirits, exhausted with Cares, and with Toil, and which serve to sweeten and preserve those Lives that would otherwise wear out too fast, or grow too uneasie in the Service of the Publick.

The Two Characters that are left by the old *Roman* Writers, of the ancient *Batavi* or *Hollanders*, are, That they were both the bravest among the *German* Nations, and the most obstinate Lovers and Defenders of their Liberty; which made them exempted from all Tribute by the *Romans*, who desir'd only Soldiers of their Nation, to make up some of their Auxiliary Bands, as they did in former Ages of those Nations in *Italy* that were their Friends and Allies. The last Disposition seems to have continu'd constant and national among them, ever since that Time, and never to have more appear'd, than in the Rise and Constitutions of their present State. It does not seem to be so of the first, or that the People in general can be said now to be Valiant; a Quality, of old, so National among them, and which, by the several Wars of the Counts of *Holland* (especially with the *Frisons*) and by the desperate Defences made against the *Spaniards*, by this People, in the Beginnings of their State, should seem to have lasted long, and to have but lately decay'd: That is, since the whole Application of their Natives has been turn'd to Commerce and Trade, and the Vein of their Domestick Lives so much to Parsimony (by Circumstances which will be the Subject of another Chapter;) and since the main of all their Forces, and Body of their Army, has been compos'd, and continually supply'd out of their Neighbour-Nations.

For Soldiers and Merchants are not found, by Experience, to be more incompatible in their Abode, than the Dispositions and Customs seem to be different, that render a People fit for Trade, and for War. The Soldier thinks of a short Life, and a merry. The Trader thinks upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his Fortunes suddenly by his Courage, by Victory and Spoil: The other slower, but surer, by Craft, by Treaty and by Industry. This makes the first franc and generous, and throw away, upon his Pleasures, what has been gotten in one Danger, and may either be lost or repair'd, in the next. The other wary and frugal, and loth to part with in a Day, what he has been labouring for a Year, and has no Hopes to recover, but by the same Spaces of Diligence and Time. One aims only to preserve what he has, as the Fruits of his Father's Pains; or what he shall get, as the Fruit of his own: T'other thinks the Price of a little Blood is more than of a great deal of Sweat; and means to live upon other Men's Labours, and possess in an Hour, what they have been Years in acquiring: This makes one love to live under stanch Orders and Laws; while t'other would have all depend upon Arbitrary Power and Will. The Trader reckons upon growing Richer, and by his Account Better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his Health, and his Life, and so apt to be orderly and temperate in his Diet: While the Soldier is Thoughtless, or Prodigal of both; and having not his Meat ready at Hours, or when he has a Mind to it, eats full and greedily, whenever he gets it; and perhaps Difference of Diet may make greater Difference in Men's natural Courage, than is commonly thought of.

For Courage may proceed, in some Measure, from the Temper of Air, may be form'd by Discipline, and acquir'd by Use, or infus'd by Opinion; but that which is more natural, and so more National in some Countries than in others, seem to arise from the Heat or Strength of Spirits about the Heart, which may a great deal depend upon the Measures and the Substance of the Food Men are us'd to. This made a great Physician among us say, He would make any Man a Coward with six Week's Dieting; and Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* call for the *English* that were newly come over, and had (as

he said) their own Beef in their Bellies, for any bold and desperate Action. This may be one reason, why the Gentry, in all Places of the World, are braver than the Peasantry, whose Hearts are depressed, not only by Slavery, but by short and heartless Food, the Effect of their Poverty. This is a Cause, why the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countries, because by the Plenty and Constitutions of the Kingdom they are so much easier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare so much better and fuller than those of their Rank in any other Nation. Their chief, and indeed constant, Food, being all Flesh: And among all Creatures, both the Birds and the Beasts, we shall find those that feed upon Flesh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon Grass, and upon Plants. I think, there can be pretended but two Exceptions to this Rule, which are the Coek and the Horse; whereas the Courage of the One is noted no where but in *England*, and there only in certain Races: And for the other, all the Courage we commend in them, is, the want of Fear; and they are observed to grow much fiercer, whenever, by Custom or Necessity, they have been us'd to Flesh.

From all this may be inferr'd, That not only the long Disuse of Arms among the Native *Hollanders* (especially at Land) and making use of other Nations chiefly in their Malice: But the Arts of Trade, as well as Peace, and their great Parsimony in Diet, and eating so very little Flesh (which the common People seldom do above once a Week) may have help'd to debase much the ancient Valour of the Nation, at least, in the Occasions of Service at Land. Their Seamen are much better; but not so good as those of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; which, I suppose, comes by these having upon all occasions turn'd so much more to Privateering, and Men of War; and those of *Holland* being generally employ'd in Trading and Merchant-Ships; while their Men of War are mann'd by Mariners of all Nations, who are very numerous among them, but especially those of the *Eastland* Coasts of *Germany*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

'Tis odd, that Veins of Courage should seem to run like Veins of good Earth in a Country, and yet not only those of the Province of *Hainault* among the *Spanisb*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are esteem'd better Soldiers than the rest; but the Burghers of *Valenciennes* among the Towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimmeguen* among those of the *Lower Gelder*, are observ'd to be particularly brave. But there may be Firmness and Constancy of Courage from Tradition, as well as of Belief: Nor methinks should any Man know how to be a Coward, that is brought up with the Opinion, That all his Nation or City have ever been Valiant.

I can say nothing of what is usually laid to their Charge, about their being Cruel, besides what we have so often heard of their barbarous Usage to some of our Men in the *East-Indies*, and what we have so lately seen of their Savage Murder of their *Pensioner de Wit*; a Person that deserv'd another Fate, and a better Return from his Country, after eighteen Years spent in their Ministry, without any Care of his Entertainments or Ease, and a little of his Fortune. A Man of unweary'd Industry, inflexible Constancy, sound, clear, and deep Understanding, with untainted Integrity; so that whenever he was blinded, it was by the Passion he had for that which he esteem'd the Good and Interest of his State. This Testimony is justly due to him from all that practis'd him; and is the more willingly paid, since there can be as little Interest to flatter, as Honour to reproach the Dead. But this Action of that People may be attributed to the Misfortune of their Country; and is so unlike the Appearance of their Customs and Dispositions, living, as I saw them, under the Laws and Orders of a quiet and settled State; and one must confess Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known, that has not been seen in his Rage, as well as his Drink.

They are generally not so long-liv'd, as in better Airs; and begin to decay early, both Men and Women, especially at *Amsterdam*: For, at the *Hague*, (which is their best Air) I have known two considerable Men a good deal above Seventy, and one of them in very good Sense and Health: But this is not so usual as it is in *England*, and in *Spain*. The Diseases of the Climate seem to be chiefly the Gout and the Scurvy; but all hot and dry Summers bring some that are infectious among them, especially into *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*: These are usual Fevers, and lie most in the Head, and either kill suddenly, or languish long before they recover. Plagues are not so frequent, at least not in a Degree to be taken Notice of, for all suppress the Talk of them as much as can, and no Distinction is made in the Registry of the Dead, nor much in the Care and Attendance of the Sick: Whether from a Belief of Predestination, or else a Preference of Trade, which is the Life of the Country, before that of particular Men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the Spleen, but those of the Country seldom or never: Which I take to proceed from their being ever busy, or easily satisfy'd. For this seems to be the Disease of People that are idle, or think themselves but ill entertain'd, and attribute every Fit of dull Humour, or Imagination, to a formal Disease, which they have found this Name for; whereas, such Fits are incident to all Men, at one time or other, from the Fumes of Indigestion, from the common Alterations of some insen-

sible Degrees in Health and Vigor; or from some changes or approaches of change in Wind and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow sensible to other Parts; and are apt to alter the Shapes, or Colours, of whatever is represented to us by our Imaginations, whilst we are so affected. Yet this Effect is not so strong, but that Business,

* *Ubi tempestas & caeli mobilis Humor
Mutare vias; & Jupiter humidus Austris
Desat, evant quae rara modo, & quae densa relaxat;
Vertuntur species animorum, & peccora motus
Nunc alios, alios, dum nebula ventus agebat;
Concipiunt, hinc ille avium concentus in agris.
Et laeta pecudes, & oves gutture corvi.*

Virg. Georg.

or Intention of Thought, commonly either resists, or diverts it: And those who understand the Motions of it, let it pass, and return to themselves. But such as are idle, or know not from whence these Changes arise, and trouble their Heads with Notions or Schemes of general Happiness or Unhappiness in Life, upon every such Fit, begin Reflections on the Condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; and (as all Things are then represented in the worst Colours) they fall into melancholy Apprehensions of one or other, and sometimes of them all: These make deep Impression in their Minds, and are not easily worn out by the natural Returns of good Humour, especially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in some particular Constitutions, and more generally in uncertain Climates, especially if improv'd by Accidents of ill Health, or ill Fortune. But this is a Disease too refin'd for this Country and People, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleas'd, when they are not troubled; are content, because they think little of it; and seek their Happiness in the common Ease and Commodities of Life, or the Increase of Riches; not amusing themselves with the more speculative Contrivance of Passion, or Refinements of Pleasure.

To conclude this Chapter: *Holland* is a Country, where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in request than Honour; where there is more Sense than Wit; more good Nature than good Humour; and more Wealth than Pleasure: Where a Man will choose rather to travel, than to live; shall find more Things to observe than desire; and more Persons to esteem, than to love. But the same Qualities and Dispositions do not value a private Man and a State, nor make a Conversation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely, that some very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and some very extraordinary Gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

C H A P. VI.

Of their R E L I G I O N.

I Intend not here to speak of Religion at all as a Divine, but as a mere Secular Man, when I observe the Occasions that seem to have establish'd it in the Forms, or with the Liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the *United Provinces*. I believe the reform'd Religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, and the many other Countries where it is profess'd, by the Operation of Divine Will and Providence; and by the same, I believe the *Roman Catholick* was continu'd in *France*: Where it seem'd, by the conspiring of so many Accidents in the Beginning of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign, to be so near a Change. And whoever doubts this, seems to question not only the Will, but the Power of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the Honour of a Religion, to have been planted in a Country, by Secular Means, or Civil Revolutions, which have long since succeeded to those Miraculous Operations that made way for Christianity in the World. 'Tis enough, that God Almighty infuses Belief into the Hearts of Men, or else ordains it to grow out of Religious Enquiries and Instructions: and that where-ever the Generality of a Nation come by these Means to be of a Belief, it is by the Force of this Concurrence introduc'd into the Government, and becomes the establish'd Religion of that Country. So was the Reform'd Profession introduc'd into *England*, *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and many Parts of *Germany*. So was the *Roman Catholick* restor'd in *France* and in *Flanders*; where, notwithstanding the great Concussions that were made in the Government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueses*, yet they were never esteem'd, in either of those Countries, to amount further than the Seventh or Eighth Part of the People. And whosoever designs the Change of Religion in a Country or Government, by any other Means than that of a general Conversion of the People, or the greatest part of them, designs all the Mischiefs to a Nation, that use to usher in, or attend the two great Distempers of a State, Civil War, or Tyranny; which are Violence, Oppression, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injustice; and, in short, the miserable Effusion of Human Blood, and the Confusion of all Laws, Orders, and Virtues, among Men.

Such Consequences as these, I doubt, are something more than the disputed Opinions of any Man, or any particular Assembly of Men, can be worth; since the great and general End of all Religion, next to Men's Happiness hereafter, is their Happiness here; as appears by the Commandments of God, being the best and greatest Moral and Civil, as well as Divine Precepts, that have been given to a Nation; and by the Rewards propos'd to the Piety of the *Jews*, throughout the Old Testament, which were the Blessings of this Life, as Health, Length of Age, Number of Children, Plenty, Peace, or Victory.

Now the Way to our future Happiness has been perpetually disputed throughout the World, and must be left at last to the Impressions made upon every Man's Belief and Conscience, either by natural or supernatural Arguments and Means; which Impressions Men may disguise or dissemble, but no Man can resist. For Belief is no more in a Man's Power, than his Stature, or his Feature; and he that tells me, I must change my Opinion for his, because 'tis the truer and the better, without other Arguments, that have to me the Force of Conviction, may as well tell me, I must change my Grey Eyes, for others like his that are Black, because these are lovelier, or more in Esteem. He that tells me, I must inform my self, has Reason, if I do it not: But if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet still differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me study on, and inform my self better, and so to the End of my Life; then

I easily

I easily understand what he means by informing, which is, in short, that I must do it, till I come to be of his Opinion.

If he, that perhaps pursues his Pleasures or Interests, as much, or more, than I do; and allows me to have as good Sense, as he has in all other Matters, tells me, I should be of his Opinion, but that Passion or Interest blinds me; unless he can convince me how, or where this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do my self, who cannot imagine why I should not have as much Care of my Soul, as he has of his.

A Man that tells me, my Opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a Quarrel instead of a Dispute; and calls me Fool, or Mad-man, with a little more Circumstance; though, perhaps, I pass for one as well in my Senses as he, as pertinent in Talk, and as prudent in Life: Yet these are the common Civilities in Religious Arguments, of sufficient and conceited Men, who talk much of right Reason, and mean always their own; and make their private Imagination the Measure of general Truth. But such Language determines all between us, and the Dispute comes to end in three Words at last, which it might as well have ended in at first, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

The other great End of Religion, which is our Happiness here, has been generally agreed on by all Mankind, as appears in the Records of all their Laws, as well as all their Religions, which come to be establish'd by the Concurrence of Men's Customs and Opinions; though in the latter, that Concurrence may have been produced by Divine Impressions or Inspirations. For all agree in Teaching and Commanding, in Planting and Improving, not only those Moral Virtues, which conduce to the Felicity and Tranquillity of every private Man's Life; but also those Manners and Dispositions that tend to the Peace, Order, and Safety of all Civil Societies and Governments among Men. Nor could I ever understand, how those who call themselves, and the World usually calls, *Religious Men*, come to put so great Weight upon those Points of Belief, which Men never have agreed in; and so little upon those of Virtue and Morality, in which they have hardly ever disagreed. Nor, why a State should venture the Subversion of their Peace, and their Order, which are certain Goods, and so universally esteemed, for the Propagation of uncertain or contested Opinions.

One of the great Causes of the first Revolt in the *Low-Countries*, appear'd to be, The Oppression of Men's Consciences, or Persecution in their Liberties, their Estates and their Lives, upon Pretence of Religion. And this at a Time, when there seem'd to be a conspiring Disposition in most Countries of Christendom, to seek the Reformation of some Abuses, grown in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, either by the Rust of Time, by Negligence, or by Human Inventions, Passions and Interests. The rigid Opposition given at *Rome* to this general Humour, was followed by a Defection of mighty Numbers in all those several Countries, who profess'd to reform themselves according to such Rules as they thought were necessary for the Reformation of the Church. These Persons, though they agreed in the main of disowning the Papal Power, and reducing Belief from the Authority of Tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themselves in other Circumstances, especially of Discipline, according to the Persuasions and Impressions of their Leading Doctors in their several Countries. So the Reformed of *France* became universal *Calvinists*; but for those of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great Mixture both of *Calvinists* and *Anabaptists* among them.

The first Persecutions of these Reformed arose in *Germany*, in the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and drove great Numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, especially *Holland* and *Brabant*, where the Privileges of the Cities were greater, and the Emperor's Government was less severe, as among the Subjects of his own Native Countries. This was the Occasion, that in the Year 1566, when, upon the first Insurrection in *Flanders*, those of the Reformed Profession began to form Consistories, and levy Contributions among themselves,

Finant di-
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unt. Plat.
de Rep.

themselves, for Support of their Common Cause; it was resolv'd, upon Consultation, among the Heads of them, that for declining all Differences among themselves, at a time of common Exigence, the publick Profession of their Party should be that of the *Lutherans*, though with Liberty and Indulgence to those of different Opinions. By the Union of *Utrecht*, concluded in 1579, Each of the Provinces was left to order the Matter of Religion, as they thought fit and most conducing to the Welfare of their Province; with this Provision, that every Man should remain free in his Religion, and none be examined or entrapp'd for that Cause, according to the Pacification at *Gant*. But in the Year 1583, it was enacted by general Agreement, that the Evangelical Religion should be only profess'd in all the Seven Provinces: Which came thereby to be the Establish'd Religion of this State.

The Reasons, which seem'd to induce them to this Settlement, were many and of weight: As first, Because by the Persecution arriv'd in *France* (where all the Reformed were *Calvinists*) Multitudes of People had retir'd out of that Kingdom into the *Low-Countries*: And by the great Commerce and continual Intercourse with *England*, where the Reformation agreed much with the *Calvinists* in point of Doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of Discipline, Those Opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the People of these Provinces, so as the Numbers were grown to be greater far in the Cities of This than of any other Profession. Secondly, The Succours and Supplies both of Men and Money, by which the weak Beginnings of this Commonwealth were preserv'd and fortify'd, came chiefly from *England*, from the Protestants of *France* (when their Affairs were successful) and from the *Calvinist* Princes of *Germany*, who lay nearest, and were readiest to relieve them. In the next place, Because those of this Profession seem'd the most contrary and violent against the *Spaniards*, who made themselves Heads of the *Roman Catholics* throughout Christendom; and the Hatred of *Spain*, and their Dominion, was so rooted in the Hearts of this People, that it had Influence upon them in the very Choice of their Religion. And lastly, Because, by this Profession, all Rights and Jurisdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being suppress'd, there was no Ecclesiastical Authority left to rise up and trouble or lessen the Civil Power; and all the Goods and Possessions of Churches and Abbies were seiz'd wholly into the Hands of the State, which made a great Encrease of the publick Revenue, a Thing the most necessary for the Support of their Government.

There might perhaps be added one Reason more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: For, whereas in most, if not all, other Parts of Christendom, the Clergy compos'd one of the three Estates of the Country, and thereby shar'd with the Nobles and Commons in their Influences upon the Government, that Order never made any part of the Estates in *Holland*, nor had any Vote in their Assembly, which consist'd only of the Nobles and the Cities; and this Province bearing always the greatest Sway in the Councils of the Union, was most inclined to the Settlement of that Profession which gave least Pretence of Power or Jurisdiction to the Clergy, and so agreed most with their own ancient Constitutions.

Since this Establishment, as well as before, the great Care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious Inquisition into the Faith or Religious Principles of any peaceable Man, who came to live under the Protection of their Laws, and to suffer no Violence or Oppression upon any Man's Conscience, whose Opinions broke not out into Expressions or Actions of ill Consequence to the State. A free Form of Government either making way for more Freedom in Religion; or else, having newly contend'd so far themselves for Liberty in this Point, they thought it the more unreasonable for them to oppress others. Perhaps while they were so threatened and endangered by Foreign Armies, they thought it more necessary to provide against Discontents within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon Oppression in point either of Religion or Liberty,

Liberty. But in those two Cases, the Flame often proves most violent in a State, the more 'tis shut up, or the longer concealed.

The *Roman Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common Protection of their Laws, making Men (as the States believed) worse Subjects than the rest, by the Acknowledgment of a Foreign and Superior Jurisdiction; for so must all Spiritual Power needs be, as grounded upon greater Hopes and Fears than any Civil, at least, where-ever the Persuasions from Faith are as strong as those from Sense; of which there are so many Testimonies recorded by the Martyrdoms, Penances, or Conscientious Restraints and Severities, suffer'd by infinite Persons in all sorts of Religions.

Besides, this Profession seem'd still a Retainer of the *Spanish* Government, which was then the great Patron of it in the World: Yet, such was the Care of this State to give all Men Ease in this Point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own Souls, in their own Way and Forms; that what was not provided for by the Constitutions of their Government, was so, in a very great degree, by the Connivance of their Officers, who, upon certain constant Payments from every Family, suffer the Exercise of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in their several Jurisdictions, as free and easie, though not so cheap, and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the Reason, that though those of this Profession are very numerous in the Country, among the Peasants, and considerable in the Cities, and not admitted to any publick Charges; yet they seem to be a sound Piece of the State, and fall jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any Disturbance to the Government, nor express'd any Inclinations to a Change, or to any Foreign Power, either upon the former Wars with *Spain*, or the later Invasions of the Bishop of *Munster*.

Of all other Religions, every Man enjoys the free Exercise in his own Chamber, or his own House, unquestioned and unesp'y'd: And if the Followers of any Sect grow so numerous in any Place, that they affect a publick Congregation, and are content to purchase a Place of Assembly, to bear the Charge of a Pastor or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propose their Desire to the Magistrates of the Place where they reside, who inform themselves of their Opinions, and Manners of Worship; and if they find nothing in either, destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the Price that is offer'd for the Purchase of this Liberty, they easily allow it; but with the Condition, that one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free Admission at all their Meetings, shall be both the Observers and Witnesses of all that is Acted or Preached among them, and whose Testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the Prejudice of the State: In which Case, the Laws and Executions are as severe as against any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*: And in the first, almost all Sects, that are known among Christians, have their publick Meeting-places; and some whose Names are almost worn out in all other Parts, as the *Brownists*, *Familists*, and others: The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among them, by being rather the Distinction of a Party in the State, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in comparison of others, but few in Number, though considerable by the Persons, who are of the better Quality, the more learned and intelligent Men, and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptists* are just the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower Ranks of People, *Mechanicks* and *Sea-men*, and abound chiefly in *North Holland*.

The *Calvinists* make the Body of the People, and are possessed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or Pastors, who are maintained by the Publick; but these have neither Lands, nor Tithes, nor any authoriz'd Contributions from the People, but certain Salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: And though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publicly against the Vices, and sometimes the innocent Entertainments, of Persons most considerable in

the Government, as well as of the Vulgar; yet they are never heard to censure or control the publick Actions or Resolutions of the State: They are, in general, throughout the Country, passionate Friends to the Interest of the House of *Orange*; and, during the Intermission of that Authority, found ways of expressing their Affections to the Person and Fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then constituted. They are fierce Enemies of the *Arminian* Party, whose Principles were thought to lead them, in *Bannewell's* Time, towards a Conjunction, or at least Compliance, with the *Spanish* Religion and Government, both which the House of *Orange*, in the whole course of the War, endeavour'd to make irreconcilable with those of the State.

It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the Violence and Sharpness, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, seems to be appeas'd or softened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance; nor how Faction and Ambition are thereby disabled to colour their Interest'd and Seditious Designs with the Pretences of Religion, which has cost the Christian World so much Blood for these last Hundred and Fifty Years. No Man can here complain of Pressure in his Conscience; of being forced to any publick Profession of his private Faith; of being restrain'd from his own manner of Worship in his House, or obliged to any other abroad: And whoever asks more in Point of Religion, without the undisputed Evidence of a particular Mission from Heaven, may be justly suspected, not to ask for God's Sake, but for his own; since pretending to Sovereignty, instead of Liberty, in Opinion, is indeed pretending the same in Authority too, which consists chiefly in Opinion: And what Man, or Party foever, can gain the common and firm Belief, of being most immediately inspired, instructed, or favoured of God, will easily obtain the Prerogative of being most honour'd and obey'd by Men.

But in this Commonwealth, no Man having any reason to complain of oppression in Conscience; and no Man having Hopes, by advancing his Religion, to form a Party, or break in upon the State, the Differences in Opinion make none in Affections, and little in Conversation, where it serves but for Entertainment and Variety. They argue without Interest or Anger; they differ without Enmity or Scorn; and they agree without Confederacy. Men live together, like Citizens of the World, associated by the common Ties of Humanity, and by the Bonds of Peace, and the impartial Protection of indifferent Laws, with equal Encouragement of all Art and Industry, and equal Freedom of Speculation and Enquiry; all Men enjoying their imaginary Excellencies and Acquisitions of Knowledge, with as much Safety as their more real Possessions and Improvements of Fortune. The Power of Religion among them, where it is, lies in every Man's Heart. The Appearance of it is but like a Piece of Humanity, by which every one falls most into the Company or Conversation of those, whose Customs and Humours, whose Talk and Dispositions he likes best: And as in other Places 'tis in every Man's Choice with whom he will Eat or Lodge, with whom go to Market, or to Court; so it seems to be here, with whom he will Pray, or go to Church, or associate in the Service and Worship of God: Nor is any more Notice taken, or more Censure pass'd, for whatever one chooses in these Cases, than in the other.

I believe the Force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintances, spreading so far as they do in small Circuits (such as the Province of *Holland*) may contribute much to make Conversation, and all the Offices of common Life, so easy, among so different Opinions, of which so many several Persons are often in every Man's Eye; and no Man checks or takes Offence at Faces, or Customs, or Ceremonies, he sees every Day, as at those he hears of in Places far distant, and perhaps by partial Relations, and comes to see late in his Life, and after he has long been possess'd by Passion or Prejudice against them. However it is, Religion may possibly do more good in other Places, but it does less hurt here: And where-ever the invisible Effects of it are the greatest and most advantagious, I am sure the visible are so in this Country, by the continual and undisturbed Civil Peace of their Government for so long a

Course of Years; and by so mighty an Increase of their People, wherein will appear to consist chiefly the vast Growth of their Trade and Riches, and consequently the Strength and Greatness of their State.

CH A P. VI.

Of their T R A D E.

TIS evident to those, who have read the most, and travell'd farthest, that no Country can be found either in this present Age, or upon Record of any Story, where so vast a Trade has been manag'd, as in the narrow Compass of the Four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth: Nay, it is generally esteem'd, that they have more Shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the rest of *Europe*. Yet they have no Native Commodities towards the Building, or Rigging of the smallest Vessel; their Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming all from Abroad, as Wool does for cloathing their Men, and Corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own Growth, that is considerable either for their own necessary Use, or for Traffick with their Neighbour, beside Butter, Cheese, and Earthen Wares. For Havens, they have not any good upon their whole Coast: The best are *Helwerstuys*, which has no Trade at all; and *Flussingue*, which has little in comparison of other Towns in *Holland*: But *Amsterdam*, that triumphs in the Spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp* (which before engross'd the greatest Trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*) seems to be the most incommodious Haven they have, being seated upon so shallow Waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it without the Advantage of Tides; nor great ones without unloading. The Entrance of the *Tessel*, and Passage over the *Zudder-Sea*, is more dangerous than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Channels; so that it easily appears, that 'tis not an Haven that draws Trade, but Trade that fills an Haven, and brings it in Vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any Native Commodities, but by Force of Industry; by Improvement and Manufacture of all Foreign Growths; by being the general Magazine of *Europe*, and furnishing all Parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their Sea-men being, as they have properly been call'd, the common Carriers of the World.

Since the Ground of Trade cannot be deduc'd from Havens, or Native Commodities (as may well be concluded from the Survey of *Holland*, which has the least and the worst; and of *Ireland*, which has the most and the best of both) it were not amiss to consider, from what other Source it may be more naturally and certainly deriv'd: For if we talk of Industry, we are still as much to seek, what it is that makes People industrious in one Country, and idle in another. I conceive the true Original and Ground of Trade, to be great multitude of People crowded into small compass of Land, whereby all Things necessary to Life become dear, and all Men, who have Possessions, are induc'd to Parsimony; but those who have none, are forc'd to Industry and Labour, or else to Want. Bodies that are vigorous, fall to Labour; such as are not, supply that Defect by some sort of Inventions or Ingenuity. These Customs arise first from Necessity, but increase by Imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a Country; and where-ever they are so, if it lies upon the Sea, they naturally break out into Trade, both because whatever they want of their own, that is necessary to so many Mens Live, must be supply'd from abroad; and because, by the Multitude of People, and Smallness of Country, Land grows so dear, that the Improvement of Money, that Way, is inconsiderable, and so turns to Sea, where the Greatness of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in *Holland*; where, by the Largeness and Plenty of the Food, and Scarcity of People, all Things necessary to Life are so cheap, that an industrious Man, by two Day's Labour, may gain enough to feed him the rest of the Week; which I take to be a very plain Ground of the Laziness attributed to the People: For Men naturally prefer Ease before Labour, and will not take Pains, if they can live idle; though when, by necessity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a Custom necessary to their Health, and to their very Entertainment: Nor perhaps is the Change harder, from constant Ease to Labour, than from constant Labour to Ease.

This Account of the Original of Trade, agrees with the Experience of all Ages, and with the Constitutions of all Places, where it has most flourish'd in the World, as *Tyre*, *Carthage*, *Athen*, *Syracuse*, *Agrigentum*, *Rhodes*, *Venice*, *Holland*; and will be so obvious to every Man, that knows and considers the Situation, the Extent, and the Nature of all those Countries, that it will need no Enlargement upon the Comparisons.

By these Examples, which are all of Commonwealths, and by the Decay or Dissolution of Trade in the six first, when they came to be conquer'd, or subject'd to Arbitrary Dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something in that Form of Government proper and natural to Trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the Height it arriv'd to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for four or five Descents of the House of *Burgundy*, and two of *Austria*, shews, it may thrive under good Princes and legal Monarchies, as well as under free States. Under Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power it must of necessity decay and dissolve, because this empties a Country of People, whereas the others fill it; this extinguishes Industry, whilst Men are in doubt of enjoying themselves what they get, or leaving it to their Children; the others encourage it, by securing Men of both: One fills a Country with Soldiers, and the other with Merchants; who were never yet known to live well together, because they cannot trust one another: And as Trade cannot live without mutual Trust among private Men; so it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a Confidence both of publick and private Safety, and consequently a Trust in the Government, from an Opinion of its Strength, Wisdom, and Justice; which must be grounded either upon the Personal Virtues and Qualities of a Prince, or else upon the Constitutions and Orders of a State.

It appears to every Man's Eye who hath travell'd *Holland*, and observ'd the Number and Vicinity of their great and populous Towns and Villages, with the prodigious Improvement of almost every Spot of Ground in the Country, and the great Multitudes constantly employ'd in their Shipping abroad and their Boats at home, that no other known Country in the World of the same Extent holds any Proportion with this in Numbers of People; and if that be the great Foundation of Trade, the best Account that can be given of theirs, will be by considering the Causes and Accidents, that have serv'd to force or invite so vast a Confluence of People into their Country. In the first Rank may be placed, the Civil Wars, Calamities, Persecutions, Oppressions, or Discontents, that have been so fatal to most of their Neighbours, for some time before as well as since their State began.

The Persecutions for Matter of Religion, in *Germany* under *Charles* the Fifth, in *France* under *Henry* the Second, and in *England* under Queen *Mary*, forc'd great Numbers of People out of all those Countries, to shelter themselves in the several Towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient Liberties of the Country, and Privileges of the Cities, had been inviolate under so long a Succession of Princes, and gave Protection to these oppressed Strangers, who fill'd their Cities both with People and Trade, and rais'd *Antwerp* to such an Height and Renown, as continu'd till the Duke of *Alva's* Arrival in the *Low-Countries*. The Fright of this Man, and the Orders he brought, and Arms to execute them, began to scatter the Flock of People
that

that for some time had been nested there; so as, in very few Months, above a Hundred Thousand Families remov'd out of the Country. But when the Seven Provinces United, and began to defend themselves with Success, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Countenance of *England* and *France*, and the Persecutions for Religion began to grow sharp in the *Spanish* Provinces, all the Professors of the Reformed Religion, and Haters of the *Spanish* Dominion, retir'd into the strong Cities of this Commonwealth, and gave the same Date to the Growth of Trade there, and the Decay of it at *Amweyp*.

The long Civil Wars, at first of *France*, then of *Germany*, and lastly of *England*, served to encrease the Swarm in this Country, not only by such as were persecuted at home, but great Numbers of peaceable Men, who came here to seek for Quiet in their Lives, and Safety in their Possessions or Trades; like those Birds that, upon the Approach of a rough Winter-season, leave the Countries where they were born and bred, fly away to some kinder and softer Climate, and never return till the Frosts are past, and the Winds are laid at home.

The Invitation these People had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better Countries, seems to have been at first the Strength of their Towns, which by their Maritime Situation, and the low Flatness of their Country, can with their Sluices overflow all the Ground about them at such Distances, as to become inaccessible to any Land-Forces. And this natural Strength has been improv'd, especially at *Amsterdam*, by all the Art and Expence that could any ways contribute towards the Defence of the Place.

Next was the Constitution of their Government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any Power to invade any Man's Person or Property within the Precincts of their Cities. Nor could it be fear'd, that the Senate of any Town should conspire any such Violence; nor, if they did, could they possibly execute it, having no Soldiers in their Pay, and the Burgers only being employ'd in the Defence of their Towns, and Executions of all Civil Justice among them.

These Circumstances gave so great a Credit to the Bank of *Amsterdam*; and that was another Invitation for People to come, and lodge here what Part of their Money they could transport, and knew no Way of securing at home. Nor did those People only lodge Monies here, who came over into the Country; but many more, who never left their own: Though they provided for a Retreat, or against a Storm, and thought no Place so secure as this, nor from whence they might so easily draw their Money into any Parts of the World.

Another Circumstance was, the general Liberty and Ease, not only in Point of Conscience, but all others that serve to the Commodiousness and Quiet of Life; every Man following his own Way, minding his own Business, and little enquiring into other Mens; which, I suppose, happen'd by so great a Concourse of People, of several Nations, different Religions and Customs, as left nothing strange or new; and, by the general Humour, bent all upon Industry, whereas Curiosity is only proper to idle Men.

Besides, it has ever been the great Principle of their State, running through all their Provinces and Cities, even with Emulation, to make their Country the common Refuge of all miserable Men; from whose Protection, hardly any Alliance, Treaties, or Interests, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great Dependence this State had upon *France*, in the Time of *Henry* the Fourth, all the Persons disgraced at that Court or banish'd that Country, made this their common Retreat; nor could the State ever be prevail'd with, by any Instances of the *French* Ambassadors, to refuse them the Use and Liberty of common Life and Air, under the Protection of their Government.

This Firmeness in the State, has been one of the Circumstances that has invited so many unhappy Men out of all their Neighbourhood, and indeed from most Parts of *Europe*, to shelter themselves from the Blows of Justice,

or of Fortune. Nor indeed does any Country seem so proper to be made use of upon such Occasions, not only in respect of Safety, but as a Place that holds so constant and easie Correspondencies with all Parts of the World, and whither any Man may draw whatever Money he has at his Disposal in any other Place; where neither Riches expose Men to Danger, nor Poverty to Contempt: But on the contrary, where Parsimony is honourable, whether it be necessary or no; and he that is forced by his Fortune to live low, may here alone live in Fashion, and upon equal Terms (in Appearance abroad) with the chiefest of their Ministers, and richest of their Merchants: Nor is it easily imagin'd, how great an Effect this Constitution among them may, in Course of Time, have had upon the Encrease both of their People and their Trade.

As the two first Invitations of People into this Country, were the Strength of their Towns, and Nature of their Government; so, two others have grown with the Course of Time, and Progress of their Riches and Power. One is, The Reputation of their Government, arising from the Observation of the Success of their Arms, the Prudence of their Negotiations, the Steadiness of their Counsels, the Constancy of their Peace and Quiet at home, and the Consideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Christendom. From all these, Men grew to a general Opinion of the Wisdom and Conduct of their State; and of its being establish'd upon Foundations, that could not be shaken by any common Accidents, nor consequently in danger of any great or sudden Revolutions; and this is a mighty Inducement to industrious People to come and inhabit a Country, who seek not only Safety under Laws from Justice and Oppression, but likewise under the Strength and good Conduct of a State, from the Violence of Foreign Invasions, or of Civil Commotions.

The other is, The great Beauty of their Country (forced in Time, and by the Improvements of Industry, in spite of Nature) which draws every day such Numbers of curious and idle Persons to see their Provinces, though not to inhabit them, And indeed their Country is a much better Mistress than a Wife; and where few Persons who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none, that have Time and Money to spare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as *England* shews, in the Beauty of the Country, what Nature can arrive at; so does *Holland*, in the Number, Greatness, and Beauty of their Towns, whatever Art can bring to pass. But these and many other Matters of Speculation among them, filling the Observations of all common Travellers, shall make no part of mine, whose Design is rather to discover the Causes of their Trade and Riches, than to relate the Effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a Piece of Wisdom in any Kingdom or State, by the Magnificence of Courts, or of publick Structures; by encouraging Beauty in private Buildings, and the Adornment of Towns with pleasant and regular Plantations of Trees; by the Celebration of some Noble Festivals or Solemnities; by the Institutions of some great Marts or Fairs; and by the Contrivance of any extraordinary and renown'd Spectacles, to invite and occasion, as much and as often as can be, the Concourse of busie or idle People from the neighbouring or remoter Nations, whose very Passage and Intercourse is a great Encrease of Wealth and of Trade, and a secret Incentive of People to inhabit a Country, where Men may meet with equal Advantages, and more Entertainments of Life, than in other Places. Such were the *Olympick* and other Games among the *Grecians*; such the Triumphs, Trophies, and Secular Plays of *Old Rome*, as well as the Spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with such stupendious Effects of Art and Expence, for courting or entertaining the People; such the Jubilees of *New Rome*; the Jufts and Tournaments formerly used in most of the Courts of Christendom; the Festivals of the more celebrated Orders and Knighthood; and in particular Towns, the Carnivals and Fairs; the Kirmishes, which run through all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, and in some of them, with a great deal of Pageantry, as well as Traffick, being equal Baits of Pleasure and of Gain.

Having

Having thus discover'd what has laid the great Foundations of their Trade, by the Multitude of the People, which has planted and habituated Industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of Manufacture; as well as Parsimony, and thereby general Wealth: I shall enumerate very briefly, some other Circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief Advancers and Encouragers of Trade in their Country.

Low Interest and Dearthness of Land, are Effects of the Multitude of People, and Cause of so much Money to lie ready for all Projects, by which Gain may be expected, as the cutting of Canals, making Bridges and Cawseys, levelling Downs, and draining Marshes, besides all new Essays at Foreign Trade, which are propos'd with any Probability of Advantage.

The Use of their Banks, which secures Money, and makes all Payments easy, and Trade quick.

The Sale by Registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and makes all Purchasers safe.

The Severity of Justice, not only against all Thefts, but all Cheats and Counterfeits of any publick Bills (which is Capital among them) and even against all common Beggars, who are dispos'd of either into Work-houses, or Hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The Convoys of Merchant-Fleets into all Parts, even in Time of Peace, but especially into the *Streights*; which give their Trade Security against many unexpected Accidents, and their Nation Credit abroad, and breeds up Seamen for their Ships of War.

The Lowness of their Customs, and easiness of paying them, which, with the Freedom of their Ports, invite both Strangers and Natives to bring Commodities hither, not only as to a Market, but as to a Magazine, where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better Markets.

Order and Exactness in managing their Trade, which brings their Commodities in Cities abroad. This was first introduced in severe Laws and Penalties, but is since grown into Custom. Thus there have been above thirty several Placarts about the manner of curing, pickelling, and barrelling Herrings. Thus all Arms, made at *Urrecht*, are forfeited, if sold without Mark, or marked without Tryal. And I observed in their *Indian* House, that all the Pieces of Scarlet, which are sent in great Quantities to those Parts, are marked with the *English* Arms, and Inscriptions in *English*; by which they maintain the Credit gain'd to that Commodity, by our former Trade to Parts, where 'tis now lost or decay'd.

The Government manag'd either by Men that trade, or whose Families have risen by it, or who have themselves some Interest going in other Men's Traffick, or who are born and bred in Towns, the Soul and Being whereof consists wholly in Trade, which makes sure of all Favour, that, from time to time, grows necessary, and can be given it by the Government.

The Custom of every Town's affecting some particular Commerce or Staple, valuing it self thereupon, and so improving it to the greatest Height; as *Flussingue*, by that of the *West-Indies*; *Middleburgh*, of *French* Wines; *Terveer*, by the *Scotch* Staple; *Dort*, by the *English* Staple and *Rhenish* Wines; *Rotterdam*, by the *English* and *Scotch* Trade at large, and by *French* Wines; *Leyden*, by the Manufacture of all sorts of Stuffs, Silk, Hair, Gold and Silver; *Haerlem*, by Linnen, Mixt-Stuffs, and Flowers; *Delf*, by Beer and *Dutch*-Purcelane; *Surdam*, by the Built of Ships; *Enchbysen* and *Mazlandstuyts*, by Herring-fishing; *Friezland*, by the *Greenland* Trade; and *Amsterdam* by that of the *East-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*.

The great Application of the whole Province to the Fishing-Trade, upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible Number of Ships and Sea-men, and supplies most of the Southern Parts of *Europe* with a rich and necessary Commodity.

The last, I shall mention, is, the mighty Advance they have made towards engrossing the whole Commerce of the *East-Indies*, by their Successes against the *Portugueses*, and by their many Wars and Victories against the Natives, whereby they have forced them to Treaties of Commerce, exclusive to all
other

other Nations, and to the Admission of Forts to be built upon Streights and Passes, that command the Entrances into the Traffick of such Places. This has been atchieved by the Multitude of their People and Mariners, that has been able to furnish every Year so many great Ships for such Voyages, and to supply the Loss of so many Lives, as the Changes of Climate have cost, before they learnt the Method of living in them: But the Vastness of the Stock that has been turn'd wholly to that Trade; and by the Conduct and Application of the *East-India* Company, who had managed it like a Commonwealth, rather than Trade, and thereby rais'd a State in the *Indies*, govern'd indeed by the Orders of the Company, but otherwise appearing to those Nations like a Sovereign State, making War and Peace with their greatest Kings, and able to bring to Sea forty or fifty Men of War, and thirty thousand Men at Land, by the modestest Computations. The Stock of this Trade, besides what it turns to in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Streights*, and *Germany*, makes them so great Masters in the Trade of the Northern Parts of *Europe*, as *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Pomerania*, and all the *Baltick*; where the Spices, that are an *Indian* Drug, and *European* Luxury, command all the Commodities of those Countries, which are so necessary to Life, as their Corn; and to Navigation, as Hemp, Pitch, Masts, Planks, and Iron.

Thus the Trade of this Country is discover'd to be no Effect of common Contrivances, of natural Dispositions or Situation, or of trivial Accidents; but of a great Concurrence of Circumstances, a long Course of Time, Force of Orders and Method, which never before met in the World to such a Degree, or with so prodigious a Success, and perhaps never will again. Having grown, (to sum up all) from the Situation of their Country, extended upon the Sea, divided by two such Rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, with the Vicinity of the *Ems*, *Weser*, and *Elbe*; from the Confluence of People out of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, invited by the Strength of their Towns, and by the Constitutions and Credit of their Government; by the Liberty of Conscience, and Security of Life and Goods (subjected only to constant Laws;) from general Industry and Parsimony, occasion'd by the Multitude of People, and Smallness of Country; from Cheapness and Easiness of Carriage by Convenience of Canals; from low Use, and Dearness of Land, which turn Money to Trade; the Institution of Banks; Sale by Registry; Care of Convoys; Smallness of Customs; Freedom of Ports; Order in Trade; Interest of Persons in the Government; particular Traffick affected to particular Places; Application to the Fishery; and Acquisitions in the *East-Indies*.

It is no constant Rule, that Trade makes Riches; for there may be a Trade that impoverishes a Nation: As it is not going often to Market, that enriches the Country-man; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater Value than he sells, he grows the poorer, the oftner he goes: But the only and certain Scale of Riches, arising from Trade in a Nation, is the Proportion of what is exported for the Consumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true Ground of this Proportion lies in the general Industry and Parsimony of a People, or in the contrary of both. Industry encreases the Native Commodity, either in the Product of the Soil, or the Manufactures of the Country, which raises the Stock for Exportation. Parsimony lessens the Consumption of their own, as well as of Foreign Commodities; and not only abates the Importation by the last, but encreases the Exportation by the first; for, of all Native Commodities, the less is consumed in a Country, the more is exported abroad; there being no Commodity, but, at one Price or other, will find a Market, which they will be Masters of, who can afford it cheapest: Such are always the most industrious and parsimonious People, who can thrive by Prices, upon which the Lazy and Expensive cannot live.

The vulgar Mistake, That Importation of Foreign Wares, if purchased abroad with Native Commodities, and not with Money, does not make a Nation poorer, is but what every Man, that gives himself Leisure to think, must immediately rectify, by finding out, that upon the End of an Account between a Nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the Exportation wants in Value, to balance that of the Importation, must of necessity be made up with ready Money.

By this we find out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*, as of their Trade by the Circumstances already rehear'd. For never any Country traded so much, and consumed so little: They buy infinitely, but 'tis to sell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. They are the great Masters of the *Indian* Spices, and of the *Perſian* Silks; but wear plain Woollen, and feed upon their own Fish and Roots. Nay, they sell the finest of their own Cloth to *France*, and buy coarse out of *England* for their own Wear. They send abroad the best of their own Butter, into all Parts, and buy the cheapest out of *Ireland*, or the North of *England*, for their own Use. In short, they furnish infinite Luxury, which they never practise; and traffick in Pleasures, which they never taste.

The Gentlemen and Officers of the Army change their Cloaths and their Modes like their Neighbours. But among the whole Body of the Civil Magistrates, the Merchants, the rich Traders, and Citizens in general, the Fashions continue still the same; and others, as constant among the Sea-men and Boors: So that Men leave off their Cloaths, only because they are worn out, and not because they are out of Fashion.

Their great Foreign Consumption is *French* Wine and Brandy; but that may be allow'd them, as the only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary Poverty, who would otherwise seem poor and wretched in their real Wealth. Besides, what they spend in Wine, they save in Corn to make other Drinks, which is bought from Foreign Parts. And upon a Pressure of their Affairs, we see now for two Years together, they have deny'd themselves even this Comfort, among all their Sorrows, and made up in passive Fortitude, whatever they wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going constantly out, either in Commodity; or in the Labour of Sea-faring-men; and little coming in to be consumed at home; the rest returns in Coin, and fills the Country to that degree, that more Silver is seen in *Holland*, among the common Hands and Purſes, than Brass either in *Spain* or in *France*; though one be so rich in the best Native Commodities, and the other drain all the Treasuries of the *West-Indies*.

By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, that some of our Maxims are not so certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. As first, That Example and Encouragement of Excess and Luxury, if employ'd in the Consumption of Native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade: It may be so to that which impoverishes, but is not to that which enriches a Country; and is indeed less prejudicial, if it lie in Native, than in Foreign Wares. But the Custom or Humour of Luxury and Expence, cannot stop at certain Bounds: What begins in Native will proceed in Foreign Commodities: And though the Example arise among idle Persons, yet the Imitation will run into all Degrees, even of those Men by whose Industry the Nation subsists. And besides, the more of our own we spend, the less we shall have to send abroad; and so it will come to pass, that while we drive a vast Trade, yet, by buying much more than we sell, we shall come to be poor: Whereas when we drove a very small Traffick abroad, yet by selling so much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our Neighbours. This appear'd in *Edward* the Third's Time, when we maintain'd so mighty Wars in *France*, and carry'd our victorious Arms into the Heart of *Spain*: Whereas, in the 28th Year of that King's Reign, the Value and Custom of all our Exported Commodities amounted to two hundred ninety four thousand, one hundred and eighty four Pounds, seventeen Shillings and two pence. And that of Imported, but to thirty eight thousand, nine hundred and seventy Pounds, three Shillings and six pence. So, as there must have enter'd that Year into the Kingdom in Coin, or Bullion (or else have grown a Debt to the Nation) two hundred fifty five thousand two hundred and fourteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and eight pence. And yet we then carry'd out our Wools unwrought, and brought in a great Part of our Cloths from *Flanders*.

Another common Maxim is, That if, by any Foreign Invasion or Servitude, the State, and consequently the Trade of *Holland*, should be ruin'd,

the

the last would of course fall to our share in *England*. Which is no consequence: For it would certainly break into several Pieces, and shift, either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Haus Towns*, or any other Parts, according as the most of those Circumstances should any where concur to invite it (and the like to such) as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*, by so mighty a Confluence of People, and so general a Vein of Industry and Parsimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their Growth in Trade and Riches by other ways than such as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A Third is, That if that State were reduced to great Extremities, so as to become a Province to some greater Power, they would choose our Subjection rather than any other; or those, at least, that are the Maritime, and the richest of the Provinces. But it will be more reasonably concluded, from all the former Discourses, That though they may be divided by absolute Conquests, they will never divide themselves by Consent, but all fall one way, and, by common Agreement, make the best Terms they can for their Country, as a Province, if not as a State: And before they come to such an Extremity, they will first seek to be admitted, as a *Belgic-Circle*, in the Empire (which they were of old;) and thereby receive the Protection of that mighty Body, which (as far as great and smaller things may be compar'd) seems the likest their own State in its main Constitutions, but especially in the Freedom or Sovereignty of the Imperial Cities. And this I have often heard their Ministers speak of, as their last Refuge, in case of being threaten'd by too strong and fatal a Conjunction.

And if this should happen, the Trade of the Provinces would rather be preserv'd or increas'd, than any way broken or destroyed by such an Alteration of their State, because the Liberties of the Country would continue what they are, and the Security would be greater than now it is.

The last I will mention, is of another Vein: That if the Prince of *Orange* were made Sovereign of their Country, though by Foreign Arms, he would be a great Prince, because this now appears to be so great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, those Provinces would soon become a very mean Country. For such a Power must be maintain'd by Force, as it would be acquir'd, and as indeed all absolute Dominion must be in those Provinces. This would raise general Discontents; and those perpetual Seditions among the Towns, which would change the Orders of the Country, endanger the Property of private Men, and shake the Credits and Safety of the Government. Whenever this should happen, the People would scatter, Industry would faint, Banks would dissolve, and Trade would decay to such a Degree, as probably, in course of Time, their very Diques would be no longer maintained by the Defences of a weak People against so furious an Invader; but the Sea would break in upon their Land, and leave their chiefest Cities to be Fisher-Towns, as they were of old.

Without any such great Revolutions, I am of Opinion, That Trade has, for some Years ago, pass'd its Meridian, and begun sensibly to decay among them: Whereof there seem to be several Causes; as first, The general Application, that so many other Nations have made to it, within these two or three and twenty Years. For since the Peace of *Munster*, which restored the Quiet of Christendom in 1648, not only *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England*, have more particularly, than ever before, busied the Thoughts and Counsels of their several Governments, as well as the Humours of their People, about the Matters of Trade.

Nor has this happened without good Degrees of Success; though Kingdoms of such Extent, that have other and Nobler Foundations of Greatness, cannot raise Trade to such a Pitch as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a Man, who has a fair and plentiful Estate, can fall to Labour and Industry, like one that has nothing else to trust for the Support of his Life. But however, all these Nations have come of late to share largely with them; and there seem to be grown too many Traders for

Trade in the World, so as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous Village, the first Grocer, or Mercer, that sets up among them, grows presently rich, having all the Custom; till another, encouraged by his Success, comes to set up by him, and share in his Gains; at length so many fall to the Trade, that nothing is got by it; and some must give over, or all must break.

Not many Ages past, *Venice* and *Florence* possess'd all the Trade of *Europe*; the last by the Manufactures; but the first by their Shipping: And the whole Trade of *Persia* and the *Indies*, whose Commodities were brought (those by Land, and these by the *Arabian Sea*) to *Egypt*, from whence they were fetch'd by the *Venetian* Fleets, and dispersed into most of the Parts of *Europe*: And in those Times we find the whole Trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florantines*, and *Lombards*. The *Easterlings*, who were the Inhabitants of the *Hans* Towns, as *Dantzic*, *Lubeick*, *Hamburg*, and others upon that Coast, fell next into Trade, and manag'd all that of these Northern Parts for many Yeas, and brought it first down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The first Navigation of the *Portugueses* to the *East-Indies* broke the Greatness of the *Venetian* Trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*: And the Revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of *Antwerp* to *Holland*. But in all this Time, the other and greater Nations of *Europe* concern'd themselves little in it; their Trade was War; their Counsels and Enterprizes were busied in the Quarrels of the *Holy Land*, or in those between the Popes and the Emperors (both of the same Forge, engaging all Christian Princes, and ending in the Greatness of the Ecclesiastical State throughout Christendom:) Sometimes in the mighty Wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain*: The more general, between *Christians* and *Turks*; or more particular Quarrels between lesser and neighbouring Princes. In short, the Kingdoms and Principalities were in the World like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a Country; the Free-States and Cities, like the Merchants and Traders: These at first despis'd by the others; the others serv'd and revers'd by them; till by the various Course of Events in the World, some of these came to grow Rich and Powerful by Industry and Parsimony; and some of the others, poor by War and by Luxury: Which made the Traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a Fancy of falling to Trade. By this short Account it will appear no Wonder, either that particular Places grew so rich, and so mighty, while they alone enjoy'd almost the general Trade of the World; nor why not only the Trade in *Holland*, but the Advantage of it in general, should seem to be lessen'd by so many that share it.

Another Cause of its Decay in that State, may be, that, by the mighty Progress of their *East-India* Company, the Commodities of that Country are grown more than these Parts of the World can take off; and consequently, the Rates of them must needs be lessen'd, while the Charge is increas'd by the great Wars, the Armies, and Forts, necessary to maintain or extend the Acquisitions of that Company in the *Indies*. For, instead of five or six *East-India* Ships, which used to make the Fleets of the Year, they are now risen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one Year to the *United Provinces*.) This is the Reason why the particular Persons of that Company in *Holland*, make not so great Advantage of the same Stock, as those of ours do in *England*; though their Company be very much richer, and drives a far greater Trade than ours, which is exhausted by no Charge of Armies, or Forts, or Ships of War: And this is the Reason that the *Dutch* are forced to keep so long and so much of those Commodities in their Magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the Markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring so much less from the *Indies*, than they were able to do, if there were Vent enough here: As I remember, one of their Sea-men, newly landed out of their *East-India* Fleet, in the Year 69, upon Discourse in a Boat between *Delf* and *Lyden*, said, he had seen, before he came away,

three

three Heaps of Nutmegs burnt at a Time, each of which was more than a small Church could hold, which he pointed at in a Village that was in sight.

Another Cause may be, the great Cheapness of Corn, which has been for these Dozen Years, or more, general in all these Parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great Influence upon the Trade of *Holland*. For a great Vent of *Indian* Commodities (at least the Spices which are the Gross of them) used to be made into the Northern Parts of *Europe*, in Exchange for Corn, while it was taken off at good Rates by the Markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which Countries it has of late Years gone so low, as to discourage the Import of so great Quantities, as used to come from *Poland* and *Prussia*, and other Parts of the North. Now the less Value those Nations receive for Corn, the less they are able to give for Spice, which is a great Loss to the *Dutch* on both Sides, lessening the Vent of their *Indian* Ware in the Northern, and the Traffick of Corn in the Southern Parts. The Cause of this great Cheapness of Corn seems to be, not so much a Course of plentiful and seasonable Years, as the general Peace that has been in *Europe* since the Year 59 or 60; by which so many Men and so much Land have been turned to Husbandry, that were before employ'd in the Wars, or lay wasted by them in all the Frontier-Provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the Peace of *Munster*; and in *England*, during the Actions or Consequences of a Civil War: And Plenty grows not to a Height, but by the Succession of several peaceful as well as seasonable Years.

The last Clause I mention, is the mighty Enlargement of the City of *Amsterdam*, by that which is called the *New Town*; the Extent whereof is so spacious, and the Buildings of so much greater Beauty and Cost than the Old, that it must have employ'd a vast Proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade. Besides there seems to have been growing on for these later Years, a greater View of Luxury and Expence among many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever formerly known: Which was observed and complained of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by some of the wisest of their Ministers, while I resided among them, who designed some Regulations by Sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations of their Trade would soon be undermined, if the habitual Industry, Parsimony, and Simplicity of their People, came to be over-run by Luxury, Idleness, and Excess. However it happen'd, I found it agreed by all the most diligent and circumspect Enquiries I could make, that in the Years 69 and 70 there was hardly any Foreign Trade among them, besides that of the *Indies*, by which the Traders made the Returns of their Money, without Loss; and none, by which the common Gain was above two or three in the Hundred. So, as it seems to be with Trade, as with the Sea (its Element) that has a certain Pitch, above which it never rises in the highest Tides; and begins to ebb, as soon as ever it ceases to flow; and ever loses Ground in one Place, proportionable to what it gains in another.

C H A P. VII.

Of their FORCES and REVENUES.

THE Strength and Forces of a Kingdom, or State, were measured, in former Ages, by the Numbers of Native and Warlike Subjects, which they could draw into the Field, upon any War with their Neighbours. National Quarrels were decided by National Armies, not by Stipendiary Forces (raised with Money, or maintained by constant Pay.) In the several Kingdoms and Principalities of *Europe*, the Bodies of their Armies were composed, as they are still in *Poland*, of the Nobility and Gentry, who

who were bound to attend their Princes to the Wars, with certain Numbers of armed Men, according to the Tenure and Extent of the several Lordships and Lands they held in the Crown: Where these were not proportionable to the Occasion, the rest were made up of Subjects drawn together by Love of their Prince, or their Country: By Desire of Conquest and Spoils, or Necessity of Defence: Held together by Allegiance or Religion; and spirited by Honour, Revenge, or Avarice (not of what they could get from their Leaders, but from their Enemies.) A Battle or two, fairly fought, decided a War; and a War ended the Quarrel of an Age, and either lost or gain'd the Cause or Country contended for: Till the Change of Times and Accidents brought it to a new Decision; till the Virtues and Vices of Princes made them stronger or weaker, either in the Love and Obedience of their People, or in such Orders and Customs as render'd their Subjects more or less Warlike or Effeminate. Standing-Forces, or Guards in constant Pay, were no where us'd by lawful Princes in their Native or Hereditary Countries, but only by Conquerors in subdued Provinces, or Usurpers at home; and were a Defence only against Subjects, not against Enemies.

These Orders seem first to have been changed in *Europe* by the Two States of *Venice* and *Holland*: Both of them small in Territories at Land, and those extended in Frontier upon powerful Neighbours; both of them weak in number of Native Subjects; and those less warlike at Land, by turning so much to Traffick, and to Sea: But both of them mighty in Riches and Trade; which made them endeavour to balance their Neighbour's Strength in Native Subjects, by Foreign Stipendiary Bands; and to defend their Frontiers by the Arts of Fortification, and Strength of Places, which might draw out a War into Length by Sieges, when they durst not venture it upon a Battle; and so make it many Times determine by force of Money, rather than of Arms. This forced those Princes, who frontier'd upon these States, to the same Provisions; which have been increas'd by the perpetual Course of Wars, upon the Continent of *Europe*, ever since the Rise of this State, until the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and so, ready for sudden Inroads or Invasions.

The Force therefore of these Provinces is to be measur'd, not by the Number or Dispositions of their Subjects, but by the Strength of their Shipping, and Standing-Troops, which they constantly maintain, even in Time of Peace; and by the Numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for Support of a War: By their constant Revenue to maintain the first; and by the temporary Charge, they have been able to furnish, for Supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their Frontier Towns (which is a common Theme) or the Forces necessary for the Garrisons of them; nor the Nature and Variety of their Taxes and Impositions, though I have an exact List of them by me, expressing the several Kinds, Rates, and Proportions, upon every Province and Town: But this would swell a Discourse, with a great deal of tedious Matter, and to little purpose. I shall therefore be content only to observe, what I have informed my self of their Forces and Revenues in general, from Persons among them, the best able to give that Account.

The ordinary Revenue of this State consists, either in what is levied in the conquered Towns and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*; which is wholly administer'd by the Council of State: Or else the ordinary Fonds which the Seven Provinces provide every Year according to their several Proportions, upon the Petition of the Council of State, and Computation of the Charge of the ensuing Year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Guilders a Year; every Million making about Ninety Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, intrinsic Value.

The chief Fonds out of which this arises, is, the Excise and the Customs: The first is great, and so general, that I have heard it observ'd at *Amsterdam*, That when in a Tavern, a certain Dish of Fish is eaten with the usual Sawce,

above

above thirty several Exercifes are paid, for what is neceffary to that fmall Service. The laft are low and eafie, and apply'd particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this Revenue is fupply'd the Charge of the whole Milice, of all publick Officers of the State, and Ambassadors, or Minifters abroad, and the Intereft of about thirteen Millions owing by the States-General.

The Standing-Forces in the Year Seventy upon fo general a Peace, and after all Reformatiions, were twenty fix thoufand two hundred Men, in ten Regiments of Horfe, confifting of fifty Troops; and nineteen of Foot, confifting of three hundred and eighty Companies. The conftant Charge of thefe Forces flood them in fix Millions one hundred and nineteen thoufand Gilders a Year.

Their Admiralties, in time of Peace, maintain between thirty and forty Men of War, employ'd in the feveral Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten Ships to attend the *Algerines* and other *Cofairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and fome always lying ready in their Havens for any fudden Accidents or Occafions of the State. The common Expence of the Admiralties in this Equipage, and the Built of Ships, is about fix Millions a Year.

Befides the Debt of the Generality, the Province of *Holland* owes about fixty five Millions, for which they pay Intereft at four in the hundred; but with fo great Eafe and Exactnefs both in Principal and Intereft, that no Man ever demands it twice; they might take up whatever Money they defired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his Money, takes it for a great deal of Favour; and when they pay off any part of the Principal, thofe it belongs to receive it with Tears, not knowing how to difpofe of it to Intereft, with fuch Safety and Eafe. And the common Revenue of particular Men lies much in the Cantores, either of the Generality, or the feveral Provinces, which are the Regiftries of thefe publick Debts.

Of the feveral Impofts and Excifes, thofe that are upon certrin and immovable Poffeffions (as Houfes and Lands) are collected by the Magiftrates of the feveral Places, and by them paid in to the Receivers, becaufe both the Number and Value of them are conftant, and eafily known. Thofe which arife out of uncertain Confumptions, are all fet out to Farm, and to him that bids moft, fome every three Months, fome every fix, and fome yearly.

The Collection, Receipt and Diftribution of all publick Moneys, are made, without any Fee to Officers, who receive certain conftant Salaries from the State, which they dare not encrease by any private Practices, or Extortions: So, whoever has a Bill of any publick Debt, has fo much ready Money in his Coffers, being paid certainly at call, without Charge or Trouble; and affigned over in any Payment, like the beft Bill of Exchange.

The extraordinary Revenue is, when upon fome great Occafions, or Wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary Contributions: As fometimes the hundredth Penny of the Eftates of all the Inhabitants; Pole, or Chimney-money; or any other Subfides, and Payments, according as they can agree, and the Occafions require; which have fometimes reach'd fo far, as even to an Imposition upon every Man that travels in the common Ways of their Country, by Boat, or in a Coach; in Waggon, or on Horfeback.

By all thefe means, in the firft Year of the *Englifh* War, in 1665, there were raifed in the Provinces, forty Millions, of which twenty two in the Province of *Holland*. And upon the Bifhop of *Munfter's* invading them, at the fame time by Land, they had in the Year 66, above threefcore thoufand Land-men in Pay; and a Fleet of above an hundred Men of War at Sea.

The Greatnefs of this Nation, at that Time, feems juftly to have rais'd the Glory of ours; which, during the Years 65 and 66, maintained a War, not only againft this powerful State, but againft the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, in Conjunction with them: And all, at a time, when this Kingdom was forced to ftruggle at home with the calamitous Effects of a raging Plague, that, in three Months of the firft Year, fwept away incredible Numbers of People; and of a prodigious Fire, that, in three Days of the fecond, laid in Afhes that

that Ancient and Famous City of *LONDON* (the Heart and Center of our Commerce and Riches) consuming the greatest Part of its Buildings, and an immense Proportion of its Wealth. Yet, in the midst of these fatal Accidents, those two Summers were renowned with three Battles of the mightiest Fleets that ever met upon the Ocean; whereof two were determined by entire and unquestioned Victories, and Pursuit of our Enemies into their very Havens. The third having begun by the unfortunate Division of our Fleet, with the odds of ninety of their Ships against fifty of ours; and, in spite of such Disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for three Days together (wherein we were every Morning the Aggressors) ended at last by the equal and mutual Weakness and Weariness of both Sides, the Maims of Ships and Tackling, with Want of Powder and Ammunition: Having left undecided the greatest Action that will perhaps appear upon Record of any Story. And in this Battle, *Monsieur de Wit* confels'd to me, That we gain'd more Honour to our Nation, and to the invincible Courage of our Sea-men, than by the other two Victories. That he was sure, their Men could never have been brought on the two following Days, after the Disadvantages of the first; and he believ'd no other Nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge, how we came to fail of a glorious Peace in the six Months next succeeding, after the Fortune of our last Victory, and with the Honour of the War: But as any rough Hand can break a Bone, whereas much Art and Care are required to set it again, and restore it to its first Strength and Proportion: So 'tis an easie part in a Minister of State, to engage a War; but 'tis given to few to know the Times, and find the Ways of making Peace. Yet when after the sensible Events of an unfortunate Negligence, an indifferent Treaty was concluded at *Breda* in 67; within six Months following, by an Alliance with this State in *January*, 1668 (which was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Applause among them) His Majesty became the unquestioned Arbitrer of all the Affairs of Christendom; made a Peace between the two Great Crowns, at *Aix-la-Capelle*, which was avowed by all the World to be perfectly his own; and was received with equal Applause of Christian Princes abroad, and of his Subjects at home; and for three Years succeeding, by the unshaken Alliance and Dependence of the United States, His Majesty remained Absolute Master of the Peace of Christendom, and in a Posture of giving Bounds to the greatest, as well as Protection to the weakest, of his Neighbours.

C H A P. VIII.

The Causes of their FALL, in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State, in the Course and Progress of its Greatness for so many Years past, has shined like a Comet; so in the Revolutions of this last Summer, it seem'd to fall like a Meteor, and has equally amazed the World by the one and the other: When we consider such a Power and Wealth, as was related in the last Chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the Space of one Month: So many Frontier Towns, renowned in the Sieges and Actions of the *Spanish* Wars, enter'd like open Villages by the *French* Troops, without Defence or almost Denial: Most of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with so few: Their great Rivers, that were esteem'd an invincible Security to the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, pass'd with as much Ease, and as small Resistances, as little Fords: And in short, the very Hearts of a Nation so valiant of old against *Rome*, so obstinate against *Spain*, now subdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their Danger appear'd: We may justly have our Recourse to the secret and fixed Periods of all Human Greatness, for the Account of such a Revolution:

Or rather, to the unsearchable Decrees, and irreflexible Force of Divine Providence; though it seems not more impious to question it, than to measure it by our Scale; or reduce the Issues and Motions of that Eternal Will and Power, to a Conformity with what is esteemed just, or wise, or good, by the usual Consent, or the narrow Comprehension of poor mortal Men.

But, as in the Search and Consideration even of Things natural and common, our Talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; so we may be allow'd to enquire and reason upon all Things, while we do not pretend to Certainty, or call that undeniable Truth, which is every Day deny'd by ten thousand; nor those Opinions unreasonable, which we know to be held by such, as we allow to be reasonable Men; I shall therefore set down such Circumstances, as to me seem most evidently to have conspired in their Revolution; leaving the Causes less discernible to the Search of more discerning Persons.

And first, I take their vast Trade, which was an Occasion of their Greatness, to have been one likewise of their Fall, by having wholly diverted the Genius of their Native Subjects, and Inhabitants, from Arms, to Traffick and the Arts of Peace; leaving the whole Fortune of their late Wars, to be managed by Foreign and Mercenary Troops; which much abated the Courage of their Nation (as was observed in another Chapter) and made the Burghers of so little Moment towards the Defence of their Towns; whereas in the famous Sieges of *Haellem*, *Alcmer*, and *Leyden*, they had made such brave and fierce Defences, as broke the Heart of the *Spanish* Armies, and the Fortune of their Affairs.

Next was the Peace of *Munster*, which had left them now, for above twenty Years, too secure of all Invasions, or Enemies at Land; and so turn'd their whole Application to the Strength of their Forces at Sea; which have been since exercised with two *English* Wars in that Time, and enlivened with the small yearly Expeditions into the *Streights* against the *Algerines*, and other *Corsairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was, their too great Parsimony, in reforming so many of their best Foreign Officers and Troops, upon the Peace of *Munster*; whose Valour and Conduct had been so great Occasions of inducing *Spain* to the Counsels and Conclusions of that Treaty.

But the greatest of all others, that concurr'd to weaken, and indeed break, the Strength of their Land Milice, was the Alteration of their State, which happen'd to be the *Perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, upon the Death of the last Prince of *Orange*, for Exclusion of the Power of Stadtholders in their Province, or at least the Separation of it from the Charge of Captain-General. Since that Time, the main Design and Application of those Provinces has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old Officers, both Native and Foreign, who had been formerly sworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were still thought affectionate to the Interest of that Family; and to fill the Commands of their Army, with the Sons, or Kinsmen, of Burgomasters, and other Officers or Deputies in the State, whom they esteemed sure to the Constitutions of their Popular Government, and good enough for an Age, where they saw no Appearance of Enemy at Land to attack 'em.

But the Humour of Kindness to the young Prince, both in the People and Army, was not to be dissolved or dispersed by any Medicines or Operations, either of Rigour or Artifice; but grew up insensibly with the Age of the Prince, ever presaging some Resolution in the State, when he should come to the Years of aspiring, and managing the general Affections of the People; being a Prince, who joined to the great Qualities of his Royal Blood, the popular Virtues of his Country; Silent and Thoughtful; given to Hear, and to Enquire; of a sound and steady Understanding; much Firmness in what he once resolves, or once denies; great Industry and Application to his Business, little to his Pleasures; Piety in the Religion of his Country, but with Charity to others; Temperance unusual to his Youth, and to the Climate; frugal in the common Management of his Fortune, and yet magnificent upon Occasion; of great Spirit and Heart, aspiring to the Glory of Military Actions,

with strong Ambition to grow Great, but rather by the Service, than the Servitude of his Country. In short, A Prince of many Virtues, without any appearing Mixture of Vice.

In the *English* War, begun the Year sixty-five, the States disbanded all the *English* Troops that were then left in their Service, dispersing the Officers and Soldiers of our Nation, who staid with them, into other Companies or Regiments of their own. After the *French* Invasion of *Flanders*, and the strict Alliance between *England* and *Holland* in sixty-eight, they did the same by all the *French* that were remaining in their Service. So as the several Bodies of these two Nations, which had ever the greatest Part in the Honour and Fortune of their Wars, were now wholly dissolv'd, and their standing Milice, compos'd in a manner all of their own Natives, enervated by the long Uses and Arts of Traffick and of Peace.

But they were too great a Match for any of the smaller Princes their Neighbours in *Germany*; and too secure of any Danger from *Spain*, by the Knowledge of their Forces, as well as Dispositions; and being strictly allied both with *England* and *Sweden*, in two several Defensive Leagues, and in one common Triple Alliance, they could not foresee any Danger from *France*, who, they thought, would never have the Courage or Force to enter the Lists with so mighty Confederates; and who were sure of a Conjunction, whenever they pleased, both with the Emperor and *Spain*.

Besides, they knew that *France* could not attack them, without passing through *Flanders* or *Germany*: They were sure *Spain* would not suffer it through the first, if they were backward in opposing it, as foreseeing the inevitable Loss of *Flanders*, upon that of *Holland*: And they could hardly believe the Passage should be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the express Will and Intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common Interests of the Empire: So that they hop'd the War would, at least, open in their Neighbours Provinces, for whose Defence they resolv'd to employ the whole Force of their State. And would have made a mighty Resistance, if the Quarrel had begun at any other Door but their own.

They could not imagine a Conjunction between *England* and *France*, for the Ruin of their State; for, being acquainted with our Constitutions, they did not foresee how we should find our Interest in it, and measured all States, by that which they esteem'd to be their Interest: Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of *Europe* would suffer such an Addition to be made to the Power of *France*, as a Conquest of *Holland*.

Besides these publick Considerations, there were others particular to the Factions among them: And some of their Ministers were neither forward nor supple enough to endeavour the early breaking or diverting such Conjunctions as threaten'd them; because they were not without Hopes, they might end in renewing their broken Measures with *France*; which those of the Commonwealth Party were more inclin'd to, by foreseeing the Influence that their Alliances with *England* must needs have in time, towards the restoring of the Prince of *Orange's* Authority: And they thought at the worst, that whenever a Pinch came, they could not fail of a safe Bargain, in one Market or other, having so vast a Treasure ready to employ upon any good Occasion.

These Considerations made them commit three fatal Oversights in their Foreign Negotiations: For they made an Alliance with *England*, without engaging a Confidence and Friendship: They broke their Measures with *France*, without closing new ones with *Spain*: And they reckon'd upon the Assurances of *Sweden*, and their Neighbour-Princes of *Germany*, without making them sure by Subsidiary Advances, before a War began.

Lastly, the Prince of *Orange* was approaching the two and twentieth Year of his Age, which the States of *Holland* had, since their Alliance with his Majesty in 1668, ever pretended should be the Time of advancing him to the Charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their Forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this Period, which

was like to make a new Figure in their Government; the more desirous some of their Ministers seem'd, either to decline or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident upon the former Promises, or, at least, Intimations of *Holland*, and the concurring Dispositions of the other six Provinces to his Advancement: And his Party, spirited by their Hopes, and the great Qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for Action and for Enterprize) resolv'd to bring this Point to a sudden Decision; so, as this strong Disease, that had been so long working in the very Bowels of the State, seem'd just upon its Crisis; when a Conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious Invasion by Land and Sea, at the same Time, by a Royal Fleet of above fourscore Ships; and an Army of as many thousand Men.

When the States saw this Cloud ready to break upon them (after a long Belief that it would blow over) they began, not only to provide Shelter at home, with their usual Vigour; but to look out for it abroad (tho' both too late.) Of the Princes that were their Allies, or concern'd in their Danger, such as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to share in a Danger they were not enough prepar'd for; most were content to see the Pride of this State humbled; some the Injuries they had received from them, reveng'd; many would have them mortify'd, that would not have them destroy'd; and so all resolv'd to leave them to weather the Storm, as they could, for one *Campania*; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their Ruin, considering the Greatness of their Riches, Number of their Force, and Strength of their Places.

The State, in the mean time, had increas'd their Troops to seventy thousand Men, and had begun to repair the Fortifications of their Frontier Towns: But so great a Length of their Country lay open to the *French* Invasion, by the Territories of *Coleu* and *Liege*; and to the Bishop of *Munster* (their inveterate Enemy) by *Wistphalia*, that they knew not where to expect or provide against the first Danger: And while they divided their Forces and Endeavours towards the securing of so many Garrisons, they provided for none to any Purpose but *Maeſtricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the Towns of the *Rhine*, and the Heart of their Provinces.

Besides, those Ministers who had still the Direction of Affairs, bent their chief Application to the Strength and Order of their Fleet, rather than of their Army: Whether more peck'd at *England* than *France*, upon the War and Manner of entering into it; or, believing that a Victory at Sea would be the Way to a Peace with this Crown; or, hoping their Towns would not fall so fast, but that, before three or four were lost, the Business at Sea would be decided; or perhaps content, that some ill Successes should attend the Prince of *Orange* at his first Entrance upon the Command of their Armies, and thereby contribute to their Designs of restraining his Authority, while they were forced to leave him the Name of Captain General. This, indeed, was not likely to fail, considering the ill Constitution of their old Army, the hasty Levies of their new, and the Height of the Factions now broken out in the State; which left both the Towns and the Troops in Suspence, under whose Banners they fought, and by whose Orders they were to be govern'd, the Prince's or the State's.

There happen'd, at the same Time, an Accident unusual to their Climate, which was a mighty Drowth in the Beginning of the Summer, that left their Waters fordable in Places, where they us'd to be navigable for Boats of greatest Burthens. And this gave them more Trouble and Distraction in the Defence, as it did their Enemies more Facility in the Passage of those great Rivers, which were esteem'd no small Security of their Country.

And in this Posture were the Affairs of this Commonwealth, when the War broke out, with those fatal Events, that must needs attend any Kingdom, or State, where the Violence of a Foreign Invasion happens to meet with the distracted Estate of a Domestick Sedition or Discontent, which, like ill Humours in a Body, make any small Wound dangerous, and a great one

mortal. They were still a great Body, but without their usual Soul; they were a State, but it was of the *Dis-united Provinces*. Their Towns were without Order; their Burghers without Obedience; their Soldiers without Discipline; and all without Heart: Whereas, in all Sieges, the Hearts of Men defend the Walls, and not Walls the Men: And, indeed, it was the Name of *England*, joining in the War against them, that broke their Hearts, and contributed more to the Loss of so many Towns, and so much Country, than the Armies of *Munster*, or of *France*. So that, upon all Circumstances consider'd, it seems easier to give an Account, what it was that lost them so much, than what sav'd them the rest.

No Man at Play sees a very great Game, either in his own or another's Hand, unexpectedly lost, but he is apt to consider, whether it could have been saved, and how it ought to have been play'd. The same Enquiry will be natural upon the Fall of this State, and very difficult to resolve.

After the mighty Growth of the *French*, and Decay of the *Spanish* Power, which drew on the Invasion of *Flanders* in 1667, this State had a very hard Game to play; either they must see *Flanders* wholly lost, and *France* grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an Ally, but dreaded as a Neighbour:) Or else, they must join with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to share with the Lion: Or, they must join with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* against *France*, that is, with their old Enemy, against their old Friend: Or lastly, They must join with *England* for the Defence of *Flanders*; neither breaking with *France*, nor closing with *Spain*; and frame an Arbitrage, but of something a rough Nature; rather prescribing than mediating a Peace, and threatening a War upon that Crown that refus'd it.

They chose the last, and wisely, as all Men thought; but though this Alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and so the Fruit came to fall, and the Root to wither upon the first Change of Seasons, in such a manner, and to such a degree, as we have lately seen. Whether they could have prevented a Conjunction of *England* with *France*, shall be no part of my Subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell, Secrets of State; and intend these, not for the Observations of an Ambassador, but of a private Man as I am, and such as any Gentleman might easily have made, who had resided above two Years, as I did, in *Holland*; and had been, as I was, a little inclin'd to observe. I shall only say, that the Conjunction of *England* with *France* was to this State, like one of those Diseases, which the Physicians say, are hard to discern, while they are easie to cure; but when once they come to be plainly discover'd, they are past Remedy.

But, as *Holland* had ever defended it self against *Spain*, by *England* and *France*; so it ought to have done against *France*, by *England* and *Spain*, and provided early against their own Danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their confederate League with *England* and *Sweden*, into a strict Defensive Alliance with *Spain*, as a Principal in the League. And by agreeing with that Crown, to furnish between them some constant Subsidiary Payments to *Sweden*, for the Support of their standing Forces, even in Time of Peace. This was the Desire of *Spain*, the Interest of all that meant to secure the Peace of Christendom; and the Opinion of some of the *Dutch* Ministers, though not of the Chiefest, till it was too late: And the Omission of this, was the greatest Fault ever committed in their Politicks; and proceeded in a great measure from their ancient Animosity to *Spain*; which, as it was the Beginning; so, by this Effect, it almost prov'd the End of their State.

When the War began in the midst of the Conjunctions related, 'tis hard to say what could have defended them: But as Men in a Town, threaten'd with a mighty Siege, abandon their Suburbs, and slight those Out-works which are either weak of themselves, or not well defensible for want of Men; and resolve only to make good those Posts which they are able fully to Man, and easily to relieve; because the Loss of every small Out-work does not only weaken the Number, but sink the Courage of the Garrison within:

So this State, which came to be in a manner besieged by the mighty and numerous Armies of *France* and of *Munster*, ought, in my Opinion, to have

left themselves but three Out-works to maintain; (I mean, three Posts standing without the Lines, that enclosed the main Body of their Provinces:) These should have been *Maastricht*, *Wesel* and *Coeverden*. They should have slighted all the rest of their Places, that lay without these upon the *Rhine*, or in *Overyffel*; and drawn the Men into these Towns, so as to have left them rather like Camps than Garrisons; that is, eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse in *Maastricht*, as many in *Wesel*, and half the Number in *Coeverden*, if the Place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortified a Camp, with something a greater Number, upon the next Pass into *Biezeland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the rest of their Horse (which were, I suppose, about five thousand) with at least fifteen thousand Foot, they should have form'd a great standing Camp, within their Rivers, somewhere near *Arnhem*; fortified it with Cannon, and all the Art that could be; furnish'd it with the greatest Care, and Plenty of Provisions. The remainder of their Infantry would have been enough for the rest of their Garrisons; of which the Towns upon the *Yffel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Daventer*, and *Swoll*, would have been in a manner flank'd (though at some distance) by the strong Garrisons of *Wesel* and *Coeverden*; and breasted by the main Camp.

It, with this Disposition of their Forces, they had provided well for the Strength and Defence of *Skinkscence*, *Nimneguen* and *Grave* (which would likewise have lain within all the Cover of these Out-Posts:) They might, for ought I know, have expected the War without losing the Heart and Steadiness of their Counsels, and not without a Probability of making a Defence worthy the former Greatness and Achievements of their State.

For a Siege of *Maastricht* or *Wesel* (so garrison'd and resolutely defended) might not only have amus'd, but endanger'd, the *French* Armies; as *Coeverden* might have done that of *Munster*.

The Resistance of one of these Towns would have encreas'd the Strength of all the rest: For the Fortune of Battles, and Sieges, turns upon the Hearts of Men, as they are more or less capable of general Confidences or Fears, which are very much rais'd by Accidents and Opinions. It would not have been within any common Rules, to march so far into the Country, as to attack the *Barfe* or *Breda*, *Nimneguen*, or *Grave*, leaving such Camps behind, as those at *Wesel* and *Maastricht*, and having so much a greater before them, as that about *Arnhem*. If any of these three Posts had been lost, yet it could not have happen'd without good Conditions, and so retiring the Men to strengthen either the more inward Garrisons, or the main Camp, which would have lain ready to defend the Passes of their Rivers. And if, at the worst, they had fail'd in this, yet the *French* Army must afterwards, either have attacked a fortified Camp of twenty thousand Men, or left such an Army behind them, when they march'd towards *Utrecht*, and into the Heart of the Provinces; both of which would have been Attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterpris'd with Success upon any Invasion.

There seems at least some appearance of Order and Conduct in this Scheme of Defence; whereas there was none in theirs: But perhaps the greatness of the Tempest from abroad, and of the Factions at home, either broke the Heart, or distracted the Course of their Counsels. And besides, such old Sea-men in so strong a Ship, that had weather'd so many Storms without Loss, could not but think it hard, to throw over-board so much of their Lading before this began. After all, I know very well, that nothing is so hard, as to give wise Counsel before Events; and nothing so easie, as, after them, to make wise Reflections. Many things seem true in Reason, and prove false in Experience: Many that are weakly consulted, are executed with Success. Therefore, to conclude, we must all acknowledge, that Wisdom and Happiness dwell with God alone; and, among Mortal Men (both of their Persons and their States) those are the wisest, that commit the fewest Follies; and those the happiest, that meet with the fewest Misfortunes.

MISCELLANEA.

THE
FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

- I. *A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France and Flanders; with their Relation to England, in the Year 1671.*
- II. *An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*
- III. *An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland.*
- IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in October, 1673.*
- V. *Upon the Excesses of Grief.*
- VI. *An Essay upon the Cure of the GOUT, by Moxa.*



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S U R V E Y

O F T H E

Constitutions and Interests of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, and FLANDERS; with their Relation to ENGLAND in the Year 1671, and then given to one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embassy at the HAGUE.

THE Decay and Dissolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding usually from outward Blows and Accidents, as well as inward Distempers or Infirmities, it seems equally necessary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Constitutions, Forces, and Conjunctions among their Neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours and Interests of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdom take a just Measure of its Safety by its own Riches or Strength at home, without casting up at the same time what Invasions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That so advantageous a Situation as that of His Majesty's Dominions in these Islands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any Foreign Considerations less important to us, than to any other Nation; because the Numbers and Native Courage of our Men, with the Strength of our Shipping, have so many Ages past (and still, for ought we yet know) made us a Match for the greatest of our Neighbours at Land, and an Over-match for the strongest of them at Sea: Whereas, whoever hurts us without our own Arms, must be able to master us in both these Elements. Yet in regard there are the Names of several Conquests remaining still upon Record (though all of them the meer Effects of our own Divisions or Invitations;) when Trade is grown the Design of all Nations in *Europe*, that are possess'd of any Maritime Provinces, as being the only unexhausted Mine, and out of whose Treasures all Greatness at Sea naturally arises: When instead of a King of *France* surrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own Possessions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; instead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who served for no more, than like the smaller Weights to make the Balance sometimes a little even in the greater Scales of the *English*, *French*, and *German* Powers: We now behold in *France* the greatest Land Forces that perhaps have ever been known under the Command of any Christian Prince; and in the *United Provinces*, the greatest Numbers both of Ships and Mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the World; and which have hitherto been only awed by the Strength of our

Oak, the Art of our Ship-wrights, and chiefly by the invincible Hearts of our Seamen: When the Prospect of these two Powers brings us to consider, that any firm Conjunction of them, either by Confederacy or the Submission of *Holland*, will prove the nearest Approach that was ever made to our Ruin and Servitude: It may perhaps import us in this Calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raising abroad, and by the best Perspectives we can find, to discover from what Coast they break, what Course they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their Danger, and whether the Shelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be only a Strain of Generosity and Humanity, or the best Provision we can make hereafter for our own Safety.

Those Countries in whose Actions or Interests we have at any time concerned our selves, have been the *Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two several Bodies usually distinguish'd by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good Wishes towards their Defence against the *Turk*: Nor with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Interest of Traffick; unless sometimes some short Negotiation that served the present Turn to stop the aspiring Growth of either the *French* or *Spanish* Greatness, in those as well as nearer Parts.

THE Foreign Interests of the Empire are the Defence of the Eastern Parts against the *Turk*, and the Preservation of the Western Circles against the Growth of *France*. The Domestick are the limited Constitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the several Free Princes and States of the Empire among themselves. The two last have raised no Dust since the Peace of *Munster*; which seems chiefly occasion'd by the *Swede's* coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the Share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. These give him an immediate Entrance into the Heart of *Germany*, where the Native Poverty of his own Country makes him consider'd as still upon the Wing, and ready to stop at the first Quarry he can meet with upon any Divisions in the Empire; so as there seems a general Resolution not to furnish him with such Occasions. Their Defence against the *Turk* will be provided and pursued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unless those Princes of the Western Circles should at the same time be busied in some nearer Danger from *France*. But if the Grand Visier be so great a Man as he is reputed in Politicks, as well as Arms, he will never consent by an Invasion of *Hungary*, to make way for the Advance of the *French* Progress into the Empire, which a Conquest of the *Low-Countries* would make easie and obvious: And so great Accessions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spanish* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himself, and greater than I suppose he desires to see any in *Christendom*. So that it seems not improbable, that the present Peace between the *Emperor* and the *Turk* may last longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Desires of those who are most concerned in it.

In the Preservation of the Western Circles (especially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) against the Progress of the *French* Greatness, the Dispositions, if not Interests, of the several Members of the Empire, seem much more divided. The Emperor himself is firm in resolving it, because he has nothing to fear so much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their common Pretensions to *Spain*, after the young King's Death, and a Jealousie of the Empire itself after a further Course of Success: But he will be faint in any Execution of such a Counsel, unless spirited by the unanimous Decrees of a general Diet; from his own Dispositions, which are thought rather Generous and Just, than Ambitious and Enterprising; from the Influence of the *Jesuits* in that Court, who are observed to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spanish* in the last Age; from the Fear of the *Turks*, who

who are still like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; and from a Jealousie of *Sweden* joining absolutely with *France*, which might share a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the Interests of the Emperor in this Point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the Liberty of the Empire; foresees, that if it should fall into the *French* Hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the several Officers of his Court, as they were in the unlimited Greatness of some Ancient Emperors. Besides, his Distance from *France*, though it does not instruct him to think wiser than other Princes, yet it helps him to speak more boldly what he thinks upon these Conjectures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Land-grave of *Hesse*, and at least two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Dispositions and Judgments upon the same Interests; but will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whose ill Talent will be still suspected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the Differences in *Prussia*; and to *Lunenburgh* upon the late Disappointment at *Bremen*.

The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the same Inclinations; but lying at the Mercy of *France*, in so near and so imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Measures wherein they may not see their own Safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater Reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Bishop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon Reminders of the Ancient Leagues with *France*, or Quarrels with the House of *Austria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*: But as a wise Prince will be found generally in the true Interests of the Empire as far as the Seat of his Country will give him leave, which in a War will be so much exposed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been esteemed wholly in the *French* Interests since the Treaty of *Munster*; but by what Ties or Motives, has not fallen under my Observation, in regard of the Distance of his Country, and small Commerce out of the Limits of the Empire.

The Elector of *Cologne* is a Person of much natural Goodness and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymistry have shared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and intirely devolved upon the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, a Man busie, and always in Motion or Intrigue: But for the rest, whether upon future Ambition, or present Advantages, esteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Interests; so as whatever Use can be made by *France* of that Elector's Name or Country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the Devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his Person and Mein, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and should be so in his Disposition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his Country: Having never shewed any Ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which Design help to inspire him with great Compliance towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill Offices in that Point. But the failing of it, was thought to have something disoblig'd him from *France* (upon whose Assistance he reckoned) and has sunk him in a Debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Bishop of *Munster* is made only considerable by his Situation, which lies the fittest of all others to invade *Holland*: And by the Dispositions of this Man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raise a Name in the World: An old implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their Intelligence with his chief Town of *Munster*: Their Usurpation (as he pretends) of *Boekloe*, and some other small Places in his Country: Their Protection of the Countess of *Bentheim*: and the Hopes of sharing *Overyssel* or *Friezland*, if ever their Spoils come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince soever is Enemy to them, and will furnish him with Men or Money enough to appear in the Head of an Army against them.

The general Interest that the several Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the Esteem of His Majesty's Power, and the Veneration of His Name; which is so great amongst them, that most of them are resolv'd in the present Conjunction of Affairs in *Christendom*, to understand perfectly His Language, before they speak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is esteem'd steady and wise, as their People warlike and numerous. The Digestion of their Counsels is made in a Senate consisting of Forty Counsellors, who are generally the greatest Men of the Kingdom, in Office, Estates, or Abilities; and who have most of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are so in the present Militia; which makes their Counsels generally warlike and ambitious, tho' something tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turn'd them, for some Years since their last King's Death, rather to make Advantages by the Name and Reputation of their Alliances, than by the Appearance of their Arms. But if their King grows a Man, and of Martial Thoughts, as may be presag'd from so great a Father, we may see great Actions and Revolutions grow again out of this Northern Climate. For the Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous Successes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this last Age, inspire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies and Courages of their common Men, as well as the Prudence and Conduct of their great Officers, seem to have fram'd them for great Undertakings. Besides, their Application of late Years to Trade has much increas'd their Shipping and Seamen (which they found to be their weak Side in their last Attempt.) All these in time may make way for their great Design, which is, the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by the Conquest of *Denmark*. This was, about the Year 59, wrested out of their Hands by the *Dutch* Assistance, and can hardly escape them, if ever that Commonwealth should be broken. And if they arrive once at this Point, there will grow a Power in that rough Climate which both at Land and Sea may equal most others that are now in *Christendom*; by being Masters of such numbers of strong and valiant Men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furnish the World.

They have a nearer Prospect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the Addition whereof to the Bishoprick already in their Possession, they design to lay a great Foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer Parts of *Germany*.

Their next Interest seems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare: And then will bring them to a share in the Game: And those often go away with the greatest, who brings in least when the Stake begins. The Neglects of *France* since the Peace of *Munster*, and the late Courtship of *Spain*, seem to have left them open for the fairest Offer from either of those Crowns: But rather inclin'd to *Spain*, which has still the surest Fonds of Treasure (if they could fall into good Method, or Direction) and to whom they are more necessary than to *France*, which has out-grown almost all Measures with their Neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* something in shew, but more at heart; as lying cross to their three Designs; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquisition of *Bremen*, and a War in the *Upper* or *Lower Germany*. And they are so wise a State as to be found commonly in their Interest; which for these Reasons, is either an absolute breaking, or a great weakening of that Commonwealth. Besides, they esteem'd themselves at least neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Triple Alliance, wherein they expected constant Subsidies in the Time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the Defence of all those Provinces against the threatening Power of *France*.

An old friendship to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long Conjunction of Interests, besides the Necessity of keeping well with one of the greatest Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectur'd) persuade them to follow

follow his Majesty's Measures the closest and furthest of any State in *Europe*. This gave them the first Design of entering into the Triple Alliance, and into the Commerce with *Spain* in the Year 68, and their Resolution of keeping pace with his Majesty in both these Points, as well as the Consequences of them, which they will do, unless the present Scene should wholly change, and open new Counsels and Interests not yet thought of in the World.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* seems less considerable than their Neighbourhood, from a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People, and in their Government itself; as well as a great Inequality of Number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the last Change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary, has made it seem hitherto of less Force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by Force or Address in an old Constitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Customs of the People, though they may in time prove an Increase of Strength and Greatness (when fallen into Method, and grown easie by Use;) yet for many Years they must needs weaken it, by the Divisions and Distractions of Men's Minds, and Discontents of their Humours; and so turn the Counsels upon Designs within, desisting from any without; and Advantages upon Enemies, must give Way to those upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old Frame of Government, and erecting a new, seems like cutting down an old Oak (because the Fruit decays, and the Branches grow thin) and planting a young one in the Room. 'Tis true the Son or Grandson (if it prospers) may enjoy the Shade and the Masse; but the Planter, besides the Pleasure of Imagination, has no other Benefit to recompense the Pains of Setting and Digging, the Care of Watering and Pruning, the Fears of every Storm and every Drought; and it is well, if he escapes a Blow from the Fall of the old Trees, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The Change in *Denmark* was the safer, by having to deal with a soft easie People, and with Nobles grown to have small Power or Interest amongst them, and of whom many were gain'd by the Crown. Besides, that nothing seem'd to concern Property in the Change of Successive for Elective. And the Example of all Christian Crowns (besides that of *Poland*) made way for it: And yet it is certain that *Denmark* has continued ever since weak and uninspired, bent only upon Safety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown.) So as their great Interest is their Defence against *Sweden*: And for the rest, a general Peace, by which Traffick encreasing they may come in for a Share, and see their Customs grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upon their Support from *Holland*, till seeing them fall into closer Measures with *Us* and *Sweden*, upon the Triple Alliance, they have tacked some Points nearer *France*; and the rather, because of the Unkindness grown in the last *Dutch* War, between us and them. Yet they have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever used them insolently, if not scornfully, in the whole Course of their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the Differences between them about the Payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and resolute in the Defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* shall have Strength and Heart enough to attack it; which seems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's Time look'd upon as both the Terror and Defence of *Christendom*: No Monarchy having ever grasped at so great an Empire there, and at the same time pursued an open War against so great a Power as the *Turks*. This Greatness was grown up by the Union of the Houses of *Castile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*: By the Accession or Conquest

quest of *Portugal*: By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines bled fresh, as they did many Years after their first Opening:) By the Number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raised and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles* the Fifth: But chiefly by the uninterrupted Succession of Three Great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Philip*; which can never fail of raising a small Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a small. But whoever measures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fancy a Man of Fourscore by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'tis like a great old Tree, which has lost its Branches and Leaves, *Et trunco non frondibus efficit unbram*. Though no Man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not spring, that with a little Shelter at first, and good Seasons, may in time prove a mighty Tree; for there seems still to remain Strength and Sap in the Root to furnish a fair Growth, though not in proportion to the first. These Decays have been occasioned by so long a War with *Holland* (supported by all the Neighbours, who envied or fear'd the Greatness of *Spain*;) By the exhausting in a great degree of their *Indian* Mines: By that of their Natives to furnish the *Indian* Conquests, and secure all their Provinces both in *Italy* and *Flanders*: But most of all, by two Successions (which we may at least call) of unactive Princes, and the Want of any great Ministry to repair either them or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unless this Crown out-grow its present Weakness, by some great Spirits rising up at the Head of the Monarchy, who shall digest their Counsels, reform the vast and impertinent Profusions of their Treasures, by suppressing all unnecessary Pensions and Expences, and restore the Vigour of their Nation by Martial Designs and Examples; we may reckon the Interest of *Spain* to lie wholly in the Preservation and Defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from *Us*. That of *Sicily* seems more remote, because both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, and will not so generally alarm or unite the Christian Princes, as the Invasion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is so near concerned. The Jealousie of their *Indies* had been much nearer them since our Possession of *Jamaica*; and akes at Heart upon every Fit which the desperate Sallies of our Privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair Weather in those Seas, by opening to us some Advantages of Trade there, and by a Conjunction of Interests in *Europe*, which they think the Greatness of *France* makes as necessary to us, as to them.

Their Quarrel to *France* by a Course of almost continual Wars ever since *Charles* the Fifth's Time, by the late Pretensions to *France*, set on Foot by *France* since the Death of their last King, and pursued by the late Invasion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been against all Faith, as well as Right) seems to be grown wholly incurable, though dissembled by the Sense of their own Weakness, which makes them rather willing to deceive themselves with a Peace that they know must fail them, than break out into a War they fear must ruin them, without the Assistance of their Neighbours. And this they hope some Breach of the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* Side, or other Accidents, may at one time or other engage for them. And though as they stand single, their present Interest is but bare Defence, and wearing out their King's Minority without further Losses; yet a greater Interest, and far more at Heart, is a War with *France* in Conjunction with the Triple Alliance, or at least with *Us* and *Holland*. For though the Peace holds yet while *France* continues so great Forces and Designs on Foot, the Preservation of *Flanders* will cost *Spain* 200 m Pounds a Year, besides the Revenues of the Country. And what is left them in those Provinces, remains so lockt and interwoven with the last *French* Conquests, that upon the first Breach of a War it is all indangered; and indeed cannot be any ways secured, but by a strong Diversion, which may employ the greatest Part of the *French* Forces in some other Places. These Regards, and that of being hardly used (as they conceive) by *Us* and *Holland*, in the Peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit so much of their

their Country to *France*, and of their Money to *Sweden*, have raised up a Party in their Council, that would make and secure the best Peace they can with *France*, by a Cession of *Flanders* to that Crown in exchange for other Provinces towards *Spain*, and of some other Pretensions. But this will not be carried in a Minority of their King; at least without greater Fears of a sudden Invasion from *France*, and greater Despairs of Help from Us. Because whenever they quit *Flanders*, they must be content to shut themselves up within their Mountains, and signifie nothing more in the Affairs of *Europe*. Nor could they perhaps long to be safe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to sustain all the Forces of *France*, without the great Diversion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are Masters of the Field, they march in four or five Days up into the very Isle of *France*.

To compass these two Interests either of Defence or a War in Confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this Aim, by the fear of venturing their Money before the Game begins. They reckon themselves sure of *Holland* as far as their Defence, but know, they will never be brought to begin a War with *France*. And the old Rancours between *Spain* and *Dutch* are not yet enough worn out of the Dispositions of the People or the Governments, to make room for such an absolute Turn. Their great Hope is in *England*, where their Inclination carries them as well as their Interest. Besides, they think our old as well as fresh Quarrels with *France*, and the Jealousie of their present Growth, will temper us for their Turn at one time or other, so that their Measures will ever be fair with Us; but no more towards preserving their Peace, because they think our Interest as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us so far, without other Motives. Though to head a War against *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our Paces, there is no Advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make in Trade, nor Money they could spare from their own Necessities (in the share of the Quarrel) which they would not willingly furnish us with, and trust to the Events of a War how uncertain soever.

THE State of *Holland*, in point both of Riches and Strength, is the most prodigious Growth that has been seen in the World, if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which Time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent Exercise; and that Government could not be said to stand upon its own Legs, leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to support them against *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State so narrow in Compass of Land, and so weak in Native Subjects, that the Strength of their Armies has ever been made up of Foreign Troops. But since that Time, what with the Benefit of their Situation, and Orders of their Government, the Conduct of their Ministers (driving on steddly and publick Interest) the Art, Industry, and Parsimony of their People; all conspiring to drive almost the Trade of the whole World into their Circle (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Foreign Wars;) they have grown so considerable in the World, that for many Years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without Advantage: And in the last War with Us and *Munster*, were able at the same time to bring above an hundred Men of War to Sea, and maintain threecore and ten thousand Men at Land. Besides, the Establishment or Conquests of their Companies in the *East-Indies*, have in a manner erected another subordinate Commonwealth in those Parts; where upon occasion they have armed five and forty Men of War, and thirty thousand Land-Men, by the modestest Computations. Yet the Frame of this State (as of most great Machines made for Rest and not for Motion) is absolutely incapable of making any considerable Enlargements or Conquests upon their Neighbours: Which is evident to all that know their Constitutions: But needs no other

Argument besides their want of Native Subjects to manage any such Attempts; What Men they can spare being drawn so wholly into their Trade, and their *East-Indies*, that they cannot so much as furnish a Colony for *Savinam*, proportioned to the Safety and Plantation of that Place: And no Nation ever made and held a Conquest by Mercenary Arms. So that the Wounds and Fears they can give their Neighbours, consists in point of Trade; In Injuries or Infolences at Sea; In falling with great Weight into a Balance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives; and in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a Quality natural to Men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late Years from the great Successes of theirs under the present Ministry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no wise State will ever begin a War, unless it be upon Designs of Conquests, or Necessity of Defence; for all other Wars serve only to exhaust Forces and Treasure, and end in untoward Peace, patch'd up out of Weakness or Weariness of the Parties; therefore the *Hollanders*, unless invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they esteem now the same Case, if it comes from *France*) can have no Interest to offer at a War; but find their greatest in continuing their Course of Traffick uninterrupted, and enjoying the Advantages which in that Point their Industry and Address will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for these Ends they will endeavour to preserve the Peace now in Being, and bandy by Leagues and Negotiations against any from whom they shall fear a Breach of it.

They will ever seek to preserve themselves by an Alliance with *England* against *France*, and by that of *France* against *England*, as they did formerly by both against *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctions which may serve to balance in some Measure the two lesser Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But because they believe that good Arms are as necessary to keep Peace as to make War, they will always be Great in their Preparations of that kind, especially at Sea; by which they may, in all Cases, advance or secure their Trade, and upon a War with *France* make up that way the Weakness of their Land Forces, which a long Rust of Peace, and a Swarm of Officers, preferred by the Magistrates in favour of their Relations, has brought to be very disproportioned in Force to what they are in Number. They esteem themselves secure from *Spain* and their *German* Neighbours (upon what has been said of the present Condition of those Princes:) And from *Us*, not so much upon our late Treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common Interest, which they think a Nation can never run over, and believe is the opposing any farther Progress of the *French* Greatness. Their only Danger they apprehend is from *France*, and that not immediately to themselves, but to *Flanders*, where any Flame would soon search them, and consume them, if not quench'd in Time. But in regard of the Weakness of *Spain*, the slow Motions of the *Empire*, the different Paces among the Princes of it, and the Distance of *Sweden*; they esteem the Peace of *Christendom* to depend wholly upon his Majesty, as well as the Safety of *Flanders*, in case of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take Wing, while they see such a Naval Power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coasts; and so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majesty declares, united by the same Jealousies or Dangers. And if they should open a War, they foresee the Consumption which *France* must fall into by the Stop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations.) And the Head that may be made against their Forces in the Field it self, by a Body of *English* Infantry (so much renowned abroad.) So as though their first Interest be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any Safety; yet when that fails, their next is to open a War in favour of *Spain*, and in Conjunction with us. And the greatest they have in the World, is to preserve and increase their Alliance with us; which will make them follow our Measures absolutely in all the present Conjunctions.

THE Crown of *France*, consider'd in the Extent of Country, in the Number of People, in the Riches of Commodities, in the Revenues of the King, the Greatness of the Land Forces now on Foot, and the Growth of those at Sea (within these two Years past,) the Number and Bravery of their Officers, the Conduct of their Ministers, and chiefly in the Genius of their present King; a Prince of great aspiring Thoughts, unwearied Application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the Institution and Preservation of Order and Discipline: In the main, a Manager of his Treasure, and yet bountiful from his own Motions, where-ever he intends the Marks of Favour, and discerns particular Merit: To this in the Flower of his Age, at the Head of all his Armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his Attempts at home or abroad: I say, consider'd in all these Circumstances, *France* may appear to be designed for greater Achievements and Empires, than have been seen in *Christianity* since that of *Charlemaign*.

The present Greatness of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the Fortune it has had of two great Ministers (*Richlieu* and *Marzavine*) succeeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, and this present Prince; so as during the Course of one unactive Life, and of a long Minority, that Crown gain'd a great deal of Ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it, which is the common Fate of Kingdoms upon those Occasions.

The latter Greatness of this Crown began in the Time of *Lewis* the Eleventh, by the Spoils of the House of *Burgundy*, and the Divisions of the Princes, which gave that King the Heart of attempting to bring the Government (as he call'd it) *hors de Page*; being before controuled by their Princes, and restrained by their States; and in point of Revenue, kept within the Bounds of the King's Demesnes, and the Subjects voluntary Contributions.

'Tis not here necessary to observe, by what Difficulties and Dangers to the Crown, this Design of *Lewis* was pursued by many succeeding Kings, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and upon every slackening of either Strength or Care, rolling a great way back, often to the very Bottom of the Hill, and sometimes with the Destruction of those that forced it on, till the Time of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great Minister most to be admired, that finding the Regency shaken by the Factions of so many great ones within, and awed by the Terror of the *Spanish* Greatness without, he durst resolve to look them both in the Face, and begin a War, by the Course of which for so many Years (being pursued by *Marzavine* till the Year 60) the Crown of *France* grew to be powerfully armed: The Peasants were accustomed to Payments (which could have seem'd necessary only by a War, and which none but a successful one could have help'd to digest) and grew heartless as they grew poor. The Princes were sometimes satisfied with Commands of the Army, sometimes mortified and suppress'd by the Absoluteness or Addresses of the Ministry: The most boiling Blood of the Nobility and Gentry was let out in so long a War, or wasted with Age and Exercise: At last it ended at the *Pirenees* in a Peace, and a Match so advantageous to *France*, as the Reputation of them contributed much to the Authority of the young King, who was bred up in the Councils, and served by the tired Instruments of the former Ministry: But most of all advantaged by his own Personal Qualities, fit to make him obey'd, grew absolute Master of the Factions of the Great Men, as well as the Purfes of his People. In the Beginning of his Minority, the two Disputes with the Pope about the Outrage of the *Corfi*, and with the King of *Spain*, about the Encounter at *London*, between the Count *D'Estrades*, and the Baron *de Batteville* (Embassadors from those Crowns) both carried so high, and both ended so honourably, and to the very Will of *France*, were enough to give a young Prince the Humour and Appetite of trying yet further what there was that could oppose him. The Invasion and casie Succes

cess in *Flanders*, sed his Glory, and increas'd the Reputation of his Power; till this Career was interrupted by the Peace at first, then the Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Triple Alliance (contracted purposely to secure it;) since which Time the Counsels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation; of which no Man can yet see the Success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain Height where the Flights of Power and Ambition use to end, one might imagine, that the Interest of *France* were but to conserve its present Greatness, so feared by its Neighbours, and so glorious in the World: But besides that the Motions and Desires of human Minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for *France* (from Respects within) to have some War or other in Pursuit abroad, which may amuse the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their Condition at home, hard and uneasy to all but such as are in Charge, or in Pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the Term usually given it) because no Condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *Païsan* of *France* thinks of no more than his coarse Bread and his Onions, his Canvas Cloaths and Wooden Shoes; labours contentedly on Working-days, and dances or plays merrily on Holy-days: He may, for ought I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very Ease, or whose Cares of growing still richer and richer, waste his Life in Toils at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less in all kind in his Riches, than t'other in his Poverty.

But to leave Strains of Philosophy, which are ill managed with Discourses of Interest: The common People of *France* are as little considerable in the Government, as the Children; so that the Nobles and the Soldiers may in a manner be esteemed the Nation; whose Interest and Hopes carry them all to War: And whatever is the general Humour and Bent of a Nation, ought ever to be much considered by a State, which can hardly miscarry in the Pursuit of it. Besides, the personal Dispositions of the King, active and aspiring, and many Circumstances in the Government (fitter for Persons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the Knowledge of;) the continual Increase of their Forces in Time of Peace, and their fresh Invasion of *Lorraine*, are enough to persuade most Men, that the Design of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a Prospect of succeeding to Purpose; for their Counsels are too wise to venture much upon the Hopes of little Gains. What the Aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common Fears or the Schemes of Men too ingeniously Politick; nor perhaps can any one tell any more, than a Man, that leaps into the Water in Strength and Vigour, and with Pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopt by Currents or Accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unless discouraged by the same Alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present Interest of *France*, is one way or other to break the Confidence or the Force of that Triple Alliance, which alone seems to bound their Prospect, which way soever they look: And if once laid open, they have the World and their Fortunes before them; which is enough for a Crown that has so much Force, and so much Conduct to manage them. Having little Hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* Side, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our Measures in it, we may be sure of all Address, and all the Courtship that can any way be infused. And in short, all sorts of Endeavours and Applications that can be used, to break in on ours. Which seems to be the present Game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they see an End of this.

Flanders cannot be considered distinct from *Spain* in the Government, but may in the Inclinations of the People, which must ever have a great Influence upon it. They are the best Subjects in the World, but may have some reason to be weary of being the Theatre of almost perpetual Wars; and where those two mighty Crowns have fought so many Battles, and seem to have still so many more to fight, if the Neighbour-assistances fall in to balance their Powers, now so unequally matched. Therefore the Interest of the Inhabitants of those *Spanish* Provinces seems to be, either that the present Peace should be kept inviolate by the Strength and Reputation of the present Alliances; or else, that a War, when it opens should have a sudden Issue, which might be expected, either from the *French* Conquest, or a Proposition of Exchange. They are naturally averse from the *French* Government, as they are inclined to the *Spanish*; but have so little Kindness for the *Hollanders*, or Esteem of their Land Forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be favored by their Assistances. So as the Reputation of His Majesty's Protection and Alliance, is all that can inspire them with the Hopes of a lasting Peace, or the Courage to defend themselves by a War.

FROM the Survey of all these several Interests, and Forces, and Dispositions that compose the present State of all our Neighbours, it may be naturally and unquestionably concluded, That a Continuance of the present Measures, the Opening of new ones, or an absolute Revolution of all, depends wholly upon those His Majesty shall take or pursue in this great Conjunction, wherein he seems to be generally allowed for the sole Arbitrer of the Affairs of *Christendom*.

OUR Interest abroad must lye in one of these Points.

Either to preserve our present Alliances, and thereby the Peace of *Christendom* as it now stands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Invasion of *Holland*, with an Assurance of our Neutrality.

Or else to join with *France* upon the Advantages they can offer us, for the Ruin of the *Dutch*.

Upon the first is to be considered, Whether with a longer Peace, the Power of *France* and *Holland*, with so great Revenues, and such Application as is seen in their Governments, will not increase every Year out of Proportion to what ours will do; the Revenues of *France*, arising originally from the Vent of their Native Commodities, and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the second, Whether *France* will ever resolve upon the Invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute Defence, without our share in the War; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World, and thereby to grow vastly both in Strength and Treasures, whilst both these Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the Jealousie of such a Design in Us, would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before a War, or soon after it begins, to close up some Measures between them to our Disadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the last War, to the Disadvantage of *France*.

Upon the last, Whether by the Ruin of *Holland*, we can reap as great Advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some Equality in our Power.) And to gain a fair Prospect of this, it must be considered, Whether *Holland*, upon its Fall, would grow an Accession to the *French* or to Us; or live under the Prince of *Orange* as a Sovereign Prince, with our Support or Protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of these last; or to see us grow absolute Masters of the Sea, by the Fall or Subjection of *Holland*, any more than by their Conjunction and Alliance. Whether

we could be able to defend the Maritime Provinces, either in our own Subjection, or in that of the Prince, whilst *France* remained possess'd of all the Outworks of that State (which are their Inland Provinces, their Towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*.) Whether we could on the other side hinder the Accession of *Holland* to *France*, either as Subjects in a Maritime Province (with great Privileges and Immunities for Continuance and Encouragement of Trade) or as an Inferiour and Dependant Ally under their Protection. Whether in either of these Cases our Government would have Credit enough in *Holland* to invite their Shipping and Traders to come over and settle in *England*, and so leave those Provinces destitute of both. Whether it be possible to preserve *Flanders* after the Loss of *Holland*; or upon the Conquest of those Countries by *France*, for us to preserve our Peace or good Intelligence with that King; or upon a War to defend our selves, either by our own Forces, or the Alliances of our Neighbours.

But though these Arguments may deserve the most serious Deliberations of Ministers at Home; yet I know they lie out of the Compass of my Duty, and are improper for the Representations of a Man, the Course of whose Employments and Thoughts for so long a Time has lain wholly Abroad.



A N
E S S A Y
U P O N T H E
O R I G I N A L and N A T U R E
O F
G O V E R N M E N T .

Written in the YEAR 1672.

THE Nature of Man seems to be the same in all Times and Places; but varied like their Statures, Complexions and Features, by the Force and Influence of the several Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them, by a different Mixture of the Humours and Operation of the Air, a different and unequal Course of Imaginations and Passions, and consequently of Discourses and Actions.

These Differences incline Men to several Customs, Educations, Opinions, and Laws, which form and govern the several Nations of the World, where they are not interrupted by the Violence of some Force from without, or some Faction within, which like a great Blow, or a great Disease, may either change or destroy the Frame of a Body; though if it lives to recover Strength and Vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural Constitution, or something near it.

(I speak not of those Changes and Revolutions of State, of Institutions of Government that are made by the more immediate and evident Operation of Divine Will and Providence, being the Themes of Divines, and not of Common Men; and the Subjects of our Faith, not of Reason.)

This may be the Cause that the same Countries have generally in all times been used to Forms of Government much of a sort; the same Nature ever continuing under the same Climate, and making Returns into its old Channel, though sometimes led out of it by Persuasions, and sometimes beaten out by Force.

Thus the more Northern and Southern Nations (Extremes, as they say, still agreeing) have ever lived under single and arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muscovy* on the one Side, and of *Africk* and *India* on the other: While those under the more temperate Climates, especially in *Europe*, have ever been used to more moderate Governments, running anciently much into Common-wealths, and of later Ages into Principalities bounded by Laws, which differ less in Nature than in Name.

For though the old Distinctions run otherwise, there seem to be but two general kinds of Government in the World; the one exercised according to the Arbitrary Commands and Will of some single Person; and the other according

ording to certain Orders or Laws introduced by Agreement or Custom, and not to be changed without the Consent of many.

But under each of these may fall many more particular kinds, than can be reduced to the common Heads of Government received in the Schools. For those of the first sort differ according to the Dispositions and Humours of him that Rules, and of them that Obey: As Fevers do according to the Temper of the Persons, and Accidents of the Seasons. And those of the other sort differ according to the Quality or Number of the Persons upon whom is devolved the Authority of Making, or Power of Executing Laws.

Nor will any Man, that understands the State of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular Names of Government that have been yet invented.

The great Scenes of Action, and Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, were all divided into small Common-wealths, till swallowed up and made Provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Germany*. These were before composed of many small Governments, among which the Cities were generally under Common-wealths, and the Countries under several Princes, who were Generals in their Wars, but in Peace lived without Armies or Guards, or any Instruments of Arbitrary Power; and were only chief of their Councils, and of those Assemblies by whose Consultations and Authority, the great Affairs and Actions among them were resolved and enterprized.

Through all these Regions, some of the smaller States, but especially those of the Cities, fell often under Tyrannies, which spring naturally out of Popular Governments. While the meaner sort of the People, oppress'd or ill protected by the Richer, and Greater, give themselves up to the Conduct of some one Man in chief Credit among them; and submit all to his Will and Discretion; either running easily from one Extreme to another, or contented to see those they hated and feared before, now in equal Condition with themselves: Or because a Multitude is incapable of framing Orders, though capable of conserving them: Or that every Man comes to find by Experience, that Confusion and popular Tumults have worse Effects upon common Safety than the rankest Tyranny. For it is easier to please the Humour, and either appease or resist the Fury of one single Man, than of a Multitude. And taking each of them in their Extreams, the Rage of a Tyrant may be like that of Fire, which consumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one House after another; whereas the Rage of People is like that of the Sea, which once breaking Bounds, overflows a Country with that Suddenness and Violence, as leaves no Hopes either of flying or resisting, till with the Change of Tides or Winds it returns of it self.

The Force and Variety of Accidents is so great, that it will not perhaps bear Reasoning, or Enquiry how it comes about, that single Arbitrary Dominion seems to have been natural to *Asia* and *Africk*, and the other sort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a Common-wealth in *Africk*, and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*; yet the first was not Native of that Soil (being a Colony of the *Tyrrians*, as there were some other small ones of the *Grecians* upon the same Coasts) and the King of *Macedon* governed by Laws, and the Consent as well as Councils of the Nobles. Not like the Kings of *Persia*, by Humour and Will; as appears by the Event of their Quarrel, while so few Subjects conquered so many Slaves.

Yet one Reason may be, That *Sicily*, *Greece* and *Italy* (which were the Regions of Common-wealths) were planted thick with rich and populous Cities (occasioned by their being so far encompassed with the Sea.) And the Vein of all rich Cities ever inclines to that kind of Government. Whether it be, that where many grow rich, many grow to Power, and are harder to be subjected: Or where Men grow to great Possessions, they grow more intent upon Safety, and therefore desire to be governed by Laws and Magistrates of their own Choice, fearing all Armed and Arbitrary Power: Or that the small Compass of Cities makes the Ease and Convenience of Assemblies

and

and Councils : Or that Conversation sharpens Mens Wits, and makes too many Reasoners in Matters of Government.

The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast *Campania's*, such as are extended through *Asia* and *Africk*, where there are few Cities besides what grow by the Residence of the Kings or their Governours. The People are poorer, and having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the Designs of Power or Violence. The assembling of Persons deputed from People at great distances one from another, is Trouble to them that are sent, and Charge to them that send. And where Ambition and Avarice have made no Entrance, the Desire of Leisure is much more Natural, than of Business and Care : Besides, Men conversing all their Lives with the Woods and the Fields, and the Herds, more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire ; use their Senses a great deal more than their Reasons ; examine not the Nature or the Tenure of Power and Authority ; find only they are fit to Obey, because they are not fit to Govern : And so come to submit to the Will of him they found in Power, as they do to the Will of Heaven ; and consider all Changes of Conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seasons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be said further, That in the more intemperate Climates, the Spirits, either exhald by Heat, or compress'd by Cold, are render'd faint and sluggish ; and by that reason the Men grow tamer, and fitter for Servitude. That in more temperate Regions the Spirits are stronger, and more active, whereby Men become bolder in the Defence or Recovery of their Liberties.

But all Government is a Restraint upon Liberty ; and under all, the Dominion is equally Absolute, where it is in the last Resort.

So that when Men seem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the Change of those that Rule, or for the Forms of Government they have formerly been used to ; and (being grown weary of the present) now begin to regret ; though when they enjoyed them it was not without some Prefure and Complaint. Nor can it be in the other Case, that when vast Numbers of Men submit their Lives and Fortunes absolutely to the Will of one, it should be want of Heart, but must be Force of Custom, or Opinion, the true Ground and Foundation of all Government, and that which subjects Power to Authority. *For Power arising from Strength, is always in those that are governed, who are many : But Authority arising from Opinion, is in those that govern, who are few.*

This Distinction is plain in the Forms of the old *Roman State*, where Laws were made, and Resolutions taken, *Authoritate Senatus*, and *Jussu Populi*. The Senate were Authors of all Counsels in the State ; and what was by them consulted and agreed, was propos'd to the People : By whom it was enacted, or commanded, because in them was the Power to make it be obeyed. But the great Opinion which the People had at first of the Persons of the Senators, and afterwards of their Families (which were called *Patricians*) gain'd ease Assent to what was thus propos'd ; the Authority of Persons adding great Weight to the Reason of the Things. And this went so far, that tho' the Choice of all Magistrates was wholly in the People, yet for a long Course of Years they chose none but *Patricians* into the great Offices of State, either Civil or Military. But when the People began to lose the general Opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at least so far as to believe some among themselves were as able, and fit as these, to advise the State, and lead their Armies ; they then pretended to share with the Senate in the Magistracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the Offices of chiefest Power and Dignity. And hereupon began those Seditions which so long distemper'd, and at length ruin'd that State.

Authority arises from the Opinion of Wisdom, Goodness, and Valour in the Persons who possess it.

Wisdom, as that which makes Men judge what are the best Ends, and what the best Means to attain them; and gives a Man Advantage among the Weak and the Ignorant; as Sight among the Blind, which is that of Counsel and Direction: This gives Authority to Age among the Younger, till these begin at certain Years to change their Opinion of the Old, and of themselves. This gives it more absolute to a Pilot at Sea, whom all the Passengers suffer to steer them as he pleases.

Goodness, is that which makes Men prefer their Duty and their Promise, before their Passions, or their Interest; and is properly the Object of Trust: In our Language, it goes rather by the Name of Honesty; though what we call an Honest Man, the *Romans* called a Good Man: And Honesty in their Language, as well as in *French*, rather signifies a Composition of those Qualities which generally acquire Honour and Esteem to those who possess them.

Valour, as it gives Awe, and promises Protection to those who want either Heart or Strength to defend themselves: This makes the Authority of Men among Women; and that of a Master-Buck in a numerour Herd, though perhaps not strong enough for any two of them; but the Impression of single Fear holds when they are all together, by the Ignorance of Uniting.

Eloquence, as it passes for a Mark of Wisdom; Beauty of Goodness, and Nobility of Valour (which was its Original) have likewise ever some Effect upon the Opinion of the People; but a very great one when they are really joined with the Qualities they promise or resemble.

There is yet another Source from which usually springs greater Authority than from all the rest; which is the Opinion of Divine Favour, or Designation of the Persons, or of the Races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens ever derive themselves, or their Ancestors, from some God; passing thereby for Heroes, that is, Persons issued from the Mixture of Divine and Humane Race, and of a middle Nature between Gods and Men: Others joined the Mitre to the Crown, and thereby the Reverence of Divine, to the Respect of Civil Power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Persia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperors of *Arabia*; derive themselves by several Branches from their great Prophet *Mahomet*: The *Tacas* in *Peru* from the Sun: And the *Ottoman* Race to be adored among the *Turks*, as designed by Heaven for perpetual Empire. And the Sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loyfel* says) is the Sign of their Sovereign Priesthood, as well as Kingdom; and in the Right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant Benefices of the Church.

Piety, as it is thought a Way to the Favour of GOD; and Fortune, as it looks like the Effect either of that, or at least of Prudence and Courage, beget Authority. As likewise Splendor of living in great Palaces, with numerous Attendance, much Obedervance, and rich Habits differing from common Men: Both as it seems to be the Reward of those Virtues already named, or the Effect of Fortune; or as it is a Mark of being obeyed by many.

From all these Authority arises, but is by nothing so much strengthened and confirmed as by Custom. For no Man easily distrusts the Persons, or disputes the Things which he, and all Men that he knows of, have been always bred up to observe and believe; or if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce Opinions wherein he knows none or few of his Mind, and thinks all others will defend those already received: So as no Man nor Party can offer at the Change of a Government established, without first gaining new Authority by the Steps already traced out; and in some degree debasing the old, by Appearance or Impressions of contrary Qualities in those who before enjoyed it. This induces a general Change of Opinion concerning the Person or Party like to be obeyed or followed by the greatest or strongest part of the People: According to which, the Power or Weakness of each

is to be measured. So as in effect all Government may be esteemed to grow strong or weak, as the general Opinion of these Qualities in those that govern is seen to lessen or increase.

And Power must be allow'd to follow Authority in all Civil Bodies; as in Natural, the Motion of the Body follow those of the Mind; great Numbers ever acting and pursuing what the few (whom they trust) begin or advise.

FROM this Principle, and from the Discovery of some natural Authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer Original of all Governments among Men, than from any Contracts: Tho' these be given us by the great Writers concerning Politicks and Laws. Some of them lay for their Foundation, That Men are sociable Creatures, and naturally disposed to live in Numbers and Troops together. Others, that they are naturally Creatures of Prey, and in a State of War one upon another; so as to avoid Confusion in the first Case, and Violence in the other, they found out the Necessity of agreeing upon some Orders and Rules, by which every Man gives up his common Right for some particular Possession, and his Power to hurt and spoil others for the Privilege of not being hurt or spoiled himself. And the Agreement upon such Orders, by mutual Contract, with the Consent to execute them by common Strength and Endeavours, they make to be the Rise of all Civil Governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some Creatures sociable, and others live and range more alone, or in smaller Companies; but I suppose those Creatures, whose natural and necessary Food is easie and plentiful, as Grass, or Plants, or Fruits (the common Product of the Earth) are the Sociable Creatures, because wherever they go, they usually find what they want, and enough for them all, without Industry or Contention, And those live more alone, whose Food (and therefore Prey) is upon other sensitive Creatures, and so not attained without Pursuit and Violence, and seldom in such Quantities at once, as to satisfy the Hunger of great Numbers together. Yet this does not hold so far, but that Ravens are seen in Flocks where a Carriou lies, and Wolves in Herds to run down a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all; quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when 'tis ended, they scatter to seek out new Encounters. Besides, those called Sociable quarrel in Hunger and in Lust, as well as the others; and the Bull and the Ram appear then as much in Fury and War, as the Lion and the Bear. So that if Mankind must be ranged to one of these sorts, I know not well to which it will be: And considering the great Differences of Customs and Dispositions in several Men, and even in the same Men at several Times, I very much doubt they must be divided into several Forms. Nor do I know, if Men are like Sheep, why they need any Government: Or, if they are like Wolves, how they can suffer it. Nor have I read where the Orders of any State have been agreed on by mutual Contract among great Numbers of Men, meeting together in that natural State of War, where every Man takes himself to have equal right to every Thing. But often, where such Orders have been invented by the Wisdom, and received by the Authority of some one Man, under the Name of a Law-giver; and where this has not happened, the Original of Government lies as undiscovered in Story, as that of Time: All Nations appearing, upon the first Records that are left us, under the Authority of Kings, or Princes, or some other Magistrates.

Besides, this Principle of Contract as the Original of Government, seems calculated for the Account given by some of the old Poets, of the Original of Man; whom they raise out of the Ground by great Numbers at a Time, in perfect Stature and Strength. Whereas if we deduce the several Races of Mankind in the several Parts of the World from Generation, we must imagine the first Numbers of them who in any Place agree upon any Civil Con-

stitutions, to assemble not as so many single Heads, but as so many Heads of Families, whom they represent, in the framing any Compact or common Accord; and consequently, as Persons who have already an Authority over such Numbers as their Families are composed of.

For if we consider a Man multiplying his Kind by the Birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even necessary Food for them, till they are able to do it for themselves (which happens much later to the Generations of Men, and makes a much longer Dependence of Children upon Parents, than we can observe among any other Creatures :) If we consider not only the Cares, but the Industry he is forced to, for the necessary Sustentance of his helpless Brood, either in gathering the Natural Fruits, or raising those which are purchased with Labour and Toil: If he be forced for Supply of this Stock to catch the tamer Creatures, and hunt the wilder, sometimes to exercise his Courage in defending his little Family, and fighting with the strong and savage Beast (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild:) If we suppose him disposing with Discretion and Order whatever he gets among his Children, according to each of their Hunger or Need, sometimes laying up for To-morrow, what was more than enough for To-day; at other times pinching himself, rather than suffering any of them should want: And as each of them grows up, and able to share in the common Support, teaching him both by Lesson and Example, what he is now to do as the Son of this Family, and what hereafter as the Father of another; instructing them all, what Qualities are good, and what are ill, for their Health and Life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally esteemed Virtue or Vice among Men) cherishing and encouraging Dispositions to the good; disavouring and punishing those to the ill. And lastly, Among the various Accidents of Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no Relief; and having Recourse to a higher and a greater Nature, whenever he finds the Frailty of his own: We must needs conclude, that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great Opinion of his Wisdom, his Goodness, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they see constant Plenty in the Family, they believe well of his Fortune too.

And from all this must naturally arise a great paternal Authority, which disposes his Children (at least till the Age when they grow Fathers themselves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he advises, and obey what he commands.

Thus the Father, by a natural Right as well as Authority, becomes a Governour in this little State; and if his Life be long, and his Generations many (as well as those of his Children) he grows the Governour or King of a Nation, and is indeed a *Pater Patrie*, as the best Kings are, and as all should be; and as those which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar Compellation of the King in *France*, is by the Name of *Sire*, which in their ancient Language is nothing else but Father, and denotes the Prince to be the Father of the Nation. For a Nation properly signifies a great Number of Families, derived from the same Blood, born in the same Country, and living under the same Government and Civil Constitutions: As *Pavia* does the Land of our Father; and so the *Dutch* by Expressions of Dearness, instead of our Country, say our *Father-land*. With such Nations we find in Scripture all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territories, were planted of old. With such the many several Provinces of *Greece* and *Italy* when they began first to appear upon the Records of Ancient Story or Tradition. And with such was the main Land of *Gaul* inhabited in the Time of *Cæsar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *British* Nation; the *Scepts* among the *Isib*: And such the infinite Variety and Numbers of Nations in *Africk* and *America* upon the first Discoveries, distinguish'd by their several Names, and living under their several Kings or Princes, till they came to be swallowed up by greater Empires.

These seem to have been the Natural and Original Governments of the World, springing from a tacit Deference of many to the Authority of one single Person. Under him (if the Father of the Family or Nation) the Elder of his Children comes to acquire a Degree of Authority among the younger by the same Means the Father did among them; and to share with him in the Consultation and Conduct of their common Affairs. And this, together with an Opinion of Wisdom from Experience, may have brought in the Authority of the Elders, so often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged Men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other Places, in some degree, both civil and barbarous. For the Names of Lord, *Seignior*, *Signeur*, *Señor*, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* Languages, seem to have at first imported only elder Men, who thereby were grown into Authority among the several Governments and Nations, which seated themselves in those Countries upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire.

This perhaps brought in Vogue that which is called the Authority of the Ancients in Matters of Opinion, though by a mistaken Sense: For I suppose Authority may be reasonably allowed to the Opinion of Ancient Men in the present Age; but I know not why it should be so to those of Men in general that lived in Ages long since past; nor why one Age of the World should be wiser than another; or if it be, why it should not be rather the latter than the former; as having the same Advantage of the general Experience of the World, that an old Man has of the more particular Experiments of Life.

THUS a Family seems to become a little Kingdom, and a Kingdom to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Paternal Jurisdiction in its Successions, and with the Help of Accidents, may have branched out into the several Heads of Government commonly received in the Schools. For a Family governed with Order, will fall naturally to the several Trades of Husbandry, which are Tillage, Gardening and Pasturage (the Product whereof was the Original Riches.) For the managing of these and their Increase, and the Assistance of one Man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred Children (since it is not easily told how far Generations may extend, with the Arbitrary Choice and Numbers of Women, practised anciently in most Countries) the Use of Servants comes to be necessary. These are gained by Victory and Captives, or by Fugitives out of some worse governed Family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and so sell their Liberty to be assured of what is necessary to Life. Or else by the debased Nature of some of the Children who seem born to Drudgery, or who are content to increase their Pains that they may lessen their Cares; and upon such Terms become Servants to some of their Brothers, whom they most esteem or choose soonest to live with.

The Family thus increased, is still under the Father's common, though not equal Care; that what is due to the Servants by Contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the Portions of the Children; and that whatever they acquire by their Industry or Integrity (beyond what the Masters expect, or exact from them by the Conditions of their Servitude) should be as much their Property, as any Divisions of Land or of Stock that are made to the Sons; and the Possession as secure, unless forfeited by any Demerit or Offence against the Customs of the Family, which grow with Time to be the Orders of this little State.

Now the Father of a Family or Nation, that uses his Servants like Children in point of Justice and Care; and advises with his Children in what concerns the Commonwealth, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all, is what I suppose the Schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by Harshness of Nature, Willfulness of Humour, Intemperance of Passions, and Arbitrariness of Commands, uses his Children like Servants, is what they mean by

by a Tyrant. And whereas the first thought himself safe in the Love and Obedience of his Children; the other knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be safe among his Children, but by putting Arms into the Hands of such of his Servants as he thinks most at his Will; which is the Original of Guards. For against a Foreign Enemy, and for Defence of evident Interest, all that can bear Arms in a Nation are Soldiers. Their Cause is common Safety; their Pay is Honour; and when they have purchased these, they return to their Homes, and former Conditions of peaceable Lives. Such were all the Armies of *Greece* and of *Rome*, in the first Ages of their States. Such were their *Genus d'Ordonnance* in *France*, and the Trainbands in *England*; but standing Troops, and in constant Pay, are properly Servants armed, who use the Lance and the Sword, as other Servants do the Sickle or the Bill, at the Command and Will of those who entertain them. And therefore Martial Law is of all other the most absolute, and not like the Government of a Father, but a Master.

And this brings in another sort of Power, distinct from that already described, which follows Authority, and consists in the willing Obedience of the People: But this in the Command of Soldiers, who as Servants are bound to execute the Will and Orders of those that lead them. And as Authority follows the Qualities before-mentioned, so this Power follows Riches, or the Opinion of it; a Multitude of Servants being his that is able to maintain them. And these kind of Forces come to be used by good Princes only upon Necessity of providing for their Defence against great and armed Neighbours or Enemies; but by ill ones, as a Support of decayed Authority, or as they lose the Force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and so grow to set up an Interest of those that Govern, different from that of those that are Governed, which ought ever to be the same.

Yet this seems a much weaker Principle of Government than the other; for the Number of Soldiers can never be great in Proportion to that of People, no more than the Number of those that are idle in a Country, to that of those that live by Labour or Industry: So as if the People come to unite by any strong Passion, or general Interest, or under the wise Conduct of any Authority well rooted in their Minds, they are Masters of Armies. Besides, the Humour of the People runs insensibly among the very Soldiers, so as it seems much alike to keep off by Guards, a general Infection, or an universal Sedition: For the Dilemper in both kinds is contagious, and seizes upon the Defenders themselves. Besides, common Pay is a faint Principle of Courage and Action, in comparison of Religion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge, or Necessity; which make every Soldier have the Quarrel as much at Heart as their Leaders, and seem to have spirited all the great Actions and Revolutions of the World. And lastly, without the Force of Authority, this Power of Soldiers grows pernicious to their Master, who becomes their Servant, and is in danger of their Mutinies, as much as any Government can be of the Seditions of a People.

If the Father of our Family govern it with Prudence, Goodness, and Success; and his eldest Son appear Heir to the Virtues and Worth of his Father; he succeeds in the Government by a Natural Right, and by the Strength of an Authority both derived from his Father, and acquired by his own personal Qualities; but if either the eldest Son, by Qualities degenerate and ill, happen to lose all Trust and Opinion (and thereby Authority) in the Family; or else to die before his Time, and leave a Child in his Room; when the Father comes to fail, then the Children fall into Councils of Election, and either prefer the eldest of the Sons then living, or perhaps one later, and so remoter in Birth, according as He may have acquired Authority by those Qualities which naturally produce it, and promise the best Conduct and Protection to the common Affairs of the Family.

Where the Father comes to lose his Authority, many of the elder, or wiser, or braver of the Sons increase in theirs by the same degree; and when both these arrive at a certain Height, the Nature of the Government is ready for a Change; and
upon

upon the Father's Death, or general Defection of the Family, they succeed in his Authority, whilst the Humour of the whole Body runs against the Succession or Election of any single Person, which they are grown weary of by so late an Example, and thus comes in what they call an *Aristocracy*. But Authority contracting it self (as it seems naturally to do till it ends in a Point or single Person) this Government falls sometimes into the Hands of a Few, who establish it in their Families; and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the Authority come to be lost in either of these Forms, while the Children of the Family grow into the Manners and Qualities, and perhaps into the Condition and Poverty of Servants; and while many of the Servants by Industry and Virtue arrive at Riches and Esteem, then the Nature of the Government inclines to a *Democracy* or popular State, which is nearest Confusion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unless upheld or directed by the Authority of one, or of some few in the State; though perhaps without Titles or Marks of any extraordinary Office or Dignity.

Governments founded upon Contract, may have succeeded those founded upon Authority: But the first of them should rather seem to have been agreed between Princes and Subjects, than between Men of equal Rank and Power. For the Original of Subjection was, I suppose, when one Nation warring against another (for Things necessary to Life, or for Women, or for Extent of Land) overcame their Enemies; if they only won a Battle, and put their Enemies to Flight, those they took Prisoners became their Slaves, and continued so in their Generations, unless enfranchized by their Masters: But if by great Slaughter or frequent Victories they subdued the very Courages of their Enemies, while great Numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquish'd Nation became subject to the Conquerors by Agreement, and upon certain Conditions of Safety and Protection; and perhaps equal Enjoyment of Liberties and Customs, with the common Natives under the other Government: If by such frequent Successes and Additions, a Nation extended it self over vast Tracts of Land and Numbers of People, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient Name of Kingdom, or modern of Empire.

After such a Victory, the chiefest of the conquering Nations become Rich and Great upon the Divisions of Lands, Spoils, and of Slaves: By all which they grow into Power, are Lords in their own Lands, and over those that inhabit them, with certain Rights or Jurisdictions, and upon certain Homages reserved to the Prince: The Custom of employing these great Persons in all great Offices and Councils grows to pass for a Right; as all Custom does with Length and Force of Time.

The Prince that governs according to the Conditions of Subjection at first agreed upon (of which Use is the Authentick Record) and according to the Ancient Customs, which are the Original Laws (and by which the Right of Succession in the Crown, as well as private Inheritance and common Justice, is directed and establish'd) is called a Lawful Sovereign: He that breaks and violates these ancient Constitutions (especially that of Succession) is termed an Ufurper.

A Free Nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby enter'd into any Conditions of Subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were subdued by the *Goths* and *Vandals*; and as the *Turks* seem to be at this Time; who having been called from *Seythia* to assist the *Grecian* Empire against that of the *Savacens*, made themselves Masters of both.

In Countries safer from Foreign Invasions either by Seas or Rivers, by Mountains and Passes, or great Tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited Lands, People lived generally in scattered Dwellings, or small Villages: But, where Invasion is easie, and Passage open, and bordering Nations are Great and Valiant; Men crowd together, and seek their Safety from Number better united, and from Walls and other Fortifications, the Use whereof is to make the Few a Match for the Many, so as they may fight or treat on equal

Terms.

Terms. And this is the Original of Cities; but the Greatness and Riches of them encrease according to the Commodiousness of their Situation, in fertile Countries, or upon Rivers and Havens; which surpasses the greatest Fertility of any Soil, in furnishing plenty of all Things necessary to Life or Luxury.

When Families meet together, surround themselves by Walls, fall into Order and Laws (either invented by the Wisdom of some one, or some few Men; and from the Evidence of their publick Utility received by all; or else introduced by Experience and Time) and these Cities preserve themselves in the Enjoyment of their Possessions, and Observance of their Institutions, against all Invasions; and never are forced to submit to the Will of any Conqueror, or Condition of any absolute Subjection; they are called free Cities; and of such there were many of old, in *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their Original from some one Founder or Law-giver: And are many now in *Germany* subject to no Laws but their own, and those of the Empire, which is an Union of many Sovereign Powers, by whose general Consent in their Diets all its Constitutions are framed and established.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their Original, but free Cities, though sometimes by Force of Orders and Discipline, or of a numerous and valiant People, they have extended themselves into mighty Dominions: And often by Situation and Trade grow to vast Riches, and thereby to great Power by Force of Mercenary Arms. And these seem to be the more Artificial, as those of a single Person the more Natural Governments; being forced to supply the Want of Authority by wise Inventions, Orders and Institutions.

For Authority can never be so great in Many as in One, because the Opinion of those Qualities which acquire it, cannot be equal in several Persons.

These Governments seem to be introduced either by the Wisdom and Moderation of some one Law-giver, who has Authority enough with the People to be followed and observed in all his Orders and Advices; and yet prefers that which he esteems publick Utility, before any Interest or Greatness of his own (such were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuse*;) or else by the Confluence of many Families out of some Countries exposed to some fierce or barbarous Invasions, into Places fortified by Nature, and secure from the Fury and Misery of such Conquests. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and several small Islands upon the Coasts of *Ionia*; and such was *Venice*, founded upon the Inundation of the barbarous Nations over *Italy*: Or lastly, by the Suppression and Extinction of some Tyranny, which being thrown off by the violent Indignation of an oppressed People, makes way for a Popular Government, or at least some Form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and detested: Such were *Rome* upon the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*; and the *United Provinces* upon their Revolt from *Spain*. Yet are none of these Forms to be raised or upheld without the Influence of Authority, acquired by the Force of Opinion of those Virtues above mentioned, which concurr'd in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among those of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Arguments or Comparisons of the several Forms of Government that have been, or are in the World; wherein that Cause seems commonly the better, that has the better Advocate, or is advantaged by fresher Experience, and Impressions of Good and Evil from any of the Forms among those that judge: They have all their Heights and their Falls, their strong and weak Sides; are capable of great Perfections, and subject to great Corruptions; and though the Preference seems already decided in what has been said of a single Person being the original and natural Government; and that it is capable of the greatest Authority (which is the Foundation of all Ease, Safety, and Order in the Governments of the World) yet it may perhaps be the most reasonably concluded, That those Forms are best, which have been longest receiv'd and authorized in a Nation by Custom and Use; and into which

the

the Humours and Manners of the People run with the most general and strongest Current.

Or else, that those are the best Governments, where the best Men govern; and that the Difference is not so great in the Forms of Magistracy, as in the Persons of Magistrates; which may be the Sense of what was said of old (taking wise and good Men to be meant by Philosophers) that the best Governments were those, where Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings.

THE Safety and Firmness of any Frame of Government, may be best judged by the Rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all Figures the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown by any Concussions or Accidents from the Earth or Air; and it grows still so much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and sharper the top.

The Ground upon which all Government stands, is the Consent of the People, or the greatest or strongest Part of them; whether this proceed from Reflections upon what is past, by the Reverence of an Authority under which they, and their Ancestors have for many Ages been born and bred; or from Sense of what is present, by the Ease, Plenty, and Safety they enjoy; or from Opinions of what is to come, by the Fear they have from the present Government, or Hopes from another. Now that Government which by any of these, or all these Ways, takes in the Consent of the greatest Number of the People, and consequently their Desires and Resolutions to support it, may justly be said to have the broadest Bottom, and to stand upon the largest Compass of Ground; and if it terminate in the Authority of one single Person, it may likewise be said to have the narrowest Top, and so to make the Figure of the firmest sort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a Government which by alienating the Affections, losing the Opinions, and crossing the Interests of the People, leaves out of its Compass the greatest Part of their Consent; may justly be said in the same degree it thus loses Ground, to narrow its Bottom; and if this be done to serve the Ambition, humour the Passion, satisfy the Appetites, or advance the Power and Interests not only of one Man, but of two, or more, or many that come to share in the Government: By this means the Top may be justly said to grow broader, as the Bottom narrower by the other. Now by the same degrees that either of these happen, the Stability of the Figure is by the same lessened and impaired; so as at certain degrees it begins to grow subject to Accidents of Wind, and of Weather; and at certain others, it is sure to fall of it self, or by the least Shake that happens, to the Ground.

By these Measures it will appear, That a Monarchy where the Prince governs by the Affections, and according to the Opinions and Interests of his People, or the Bulk of them (that is, by many degrees the greatest or strongest Part of them) makes of all others the safest and firmest Government: And on the contrary, a Popular State which is not founded in the general Humours and Interest of the People, but only of the Persons who share in the Government, or depend upon it, is of all others the most uncertain, unstable and subject to the most frequent and easy Changes.

That a Monarchy the less it takes in of the People's Opinions and Interests, and the more it takes in of the Passions and Interest of particular Men (besides those of the Prince, and contrary to those of the People) the more unstable it grows, and the more endangered by every Storm in the Air, or every Shake of the Earth: And a Common-wealth, the more it takes in of the general Humour and Bent of the People, and the more it spires up to a Head by the Authority of some one Person founded upon the Love and Esteem of the People; the firmer it stands, and less subject to Danger or Change by any Concussions of Earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reversed may stand for a while upon its Point, if balanced by admirable Skill, and held up by perpetual Care, and there be a

Calm in the Air about it: Nay, if the Point be very hard and strong, and the Calm very yielding and soft; it may pierce into the Ground with time, so as to grow the firmer the longer it stands: But this last can never happen, if either the Top of the Figure be weak or soft, or if the Soil be hard and rough; and at the best it is subject to be overthrown; if not by its own Weight, yet whenever any Foreign Weight shall chance to fall upon any Part of it; and the first must overturn whenever there happens any Unequality in the Balance, or any Negligence in the Hands that set it up; and even without either of those, whenever there arrives any Violence to shake it, either from the Winds abroad, or those in the Bowels of the Earth where it stands.

I will not pretend from this Scheme to preface, or judge of the future Events that may attend any Governments; which is the Business of those that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other Designs than that alone of discovering and clearing Truth: But I think any Man may deduce from it the Causes of the several Revolutions that we find upon Record to have happened in the Governments of the World. Except such as have been brought about by the irresistible Force and Conquests of some Nations over others whom they very much surmounted in Strength, Courage, and Numbers: Yet the brave, long, and almost incredible Defences that have still been made by those Governments, which were rooted in the general Affections, Esteem, and Interests of the Nation; make it seem probable, that almost all the Conquests we read of have been made way for, or in some measure facilitated, if not assisted, by the Weakness of the conquered Governments, grown from the Disesteem, Dissatisfaction, or Indifferency of the People; or from those vicious and effeminate Constitutions of Body and Mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt Air of a weak or loose, a vicious or a factious State: And such can never be strong in the Hearts of the People; nor consequently firm upon that which is the true Bottom of all Governments in the World.

Thus the small *Athenian* State resisted with Success the vast Power and Forces of the *Persians* in the Time of *Miltiades* and *Themistocles*: *Rome*, those of the *Gauls* in the Time of *Camillus*; and the vast Armies collected from *Africk*, *Spain*, and the greatest Part of *Italy* in the *Carthaginian* Wars (under the Conduct of several great Captains; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*;) The little Principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole Power of the *Turks* in three several Invasions under their Prince *Castriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg*;) The Kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the Wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many Ages: The State of *Venice*, by those of the *Turks*: The *Switzers*, by the Powers of the Emperors; and the *Hollanders* by that of *Spain*: Because in all these Wars the People were both united and spirited by the common Love of their Country, their Liberty or Religion; or by the more particular Esteem and Love of their Princes and Leaders.

In the Conquest of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Persians* by *Alexander*; or the great *Asian* and *Egyptian* Kings by the *Roman* State, and of all the *Roman* Provinces by the several Northern (or, as they were usually called, barbarous) Nations; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors*; the *Gauls* by the *Franks*; and of our ancient *Britains* by the *Saxons*: It is easy and obvious to observe that the Resistances were rendered faint and weak; either by the soft and effeminate Dispositions of the People grown up under the Easiness or Examples of vicious or luxurious Princes, whom they neither honour nor willingly obey; or else by the common Hatred and Disdain of their present Servitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their Way; or lastly, by the distracted Factions of a discontented Nation, who agreed in no one common Design or Defence; nor under any Authority grounded upon the general Love or Esteem of the People.

Of Instability and Changes of Government arrived by narrowing their Bottoms, which are the Consent or Concurrence of the People's Affections and Interests, all Stories and Ages afford continual Example. From hence proceed

ed the frequent Tumults, Seditions, and Alterations in the Commonwealths of *Athens* and *Rome*, as often as either by the Charms of Orators, or the Sway of Men grown to unusual Power and Riches, the Governments were engaged in Councils or Actions contrary to the general Interests of the People. Hence the several violent Changes that have arrived in the Races or Persons of the Princes of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*: Nor has the Force hereof appeared any where more visible than in *France*, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and a constant Succession of Minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private Passions, Humours, and Interests of a few Persons in sole Confidence with the King, contrary to those more publick and current of the People; till he came to lose at first all Esteem, afterwards Obedience, and at last his Life in the Troubles given him by the League.

That Government was in the same manner exposed to the Dominion of succeeding Favourites, during the Regency of the Queen-Mother in the Minority of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, which occasioned perpetual Commotions in that State, and Changes of the Ministry; and would certainly have produced those in the Government too; if *Richieu*, having gained the absolute Ascendant in that Court, had not engaged in the Designs at first of a War upon the *Hugonots*, and, after that was ended, upon *Spain*; in both which he fell in with the current Humour and Dispositions of the People; which with the prosperous Successes of both those Enterprizes, helped to bear up him and the Government, against all the Hatred and continual Practices of the great Ones in the Kingdom.

But the two freshest Examples may be drawn from the Revolutions of *England* in the Year Sixty, and of *Holland* in Seventy Two. In the first, The usurped Powers that had either designed no Root, or at least drawn none but only in the Affections and Interests of those that were engaged with the Government; thought themselves secure in the Strength of an unsoiled Army of above Sixty Thousand Men, and in a Revenue proportionable, raised by the Awe of their Forces, though with the Mock-Forms of Legal Supplies by pretended Parliaments: Yet we saw them forced to give way to the Bent and current Humour of the People, in favour of their Ancient and Lawful Government; and this mighty Army of a sudden lost their Heart and their Strength, abandon what they had so long called their Cause and their Interest, and content themselves to be moulded again in the Mass of the People; and by conspiring with the general Humour of the Nation, make way for the King's Glorious Restauration without a Drop of Blood drawn in the End of a Quarrel, the Beginning and Course whereof had been so fatal to the Kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the Constitution of their Government had continued Twenty Years in the Hands of their Popular Magistrates, after the Exclusion or Intermision of the Authority of the House of *Orange*, upon the Death of the last Prince, and Infancy of this. The chief Direction of their Affairs had for Eighteen Years lain constantly in the Hands of their Pensioner *de Witt*, a Minister of the greatest Authority and Sufficiency, the greatest Application and Industry that was ever known in their State. In the Course of his Ministry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the Civil Charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army, out of the Hands of Persons affectionate to the House of *Orange*, into those esteemed sure and fast to the Interests of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for so long a Course of Years with the perpetual Successes of their Affairs, by the Growth of their Trade, Riches and Power at Home, and the Considerations of their Neighbours Abroad: Yet the general Humour of Kindness in the People to their old Form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, so as to raise the Prospect of some unavoidable Revolutions among them for several Years before it arrived. And we have seen it grow to that Height

in this present Year, upon the Prince's coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the Time assigned him by their Constitutions for his entering upon the publick Charges of their *Milice*) that though it had found them in Peace, it must have occasioned some violent Sedition in their State : But meeting with the Conjuncture of a Foreign Invasion, it broke out into so furious a Rage of the People, and such general Tumults through the whole Country, as ended in the Blood of their chief Ministers; in the displacing all that were suspected to be of their Party throughout the Government; in the full Restitution of the Prince's Authority, to the highest Point any of his Ancestors ever enjoyed : But withal, in such a Distraction of their Councils and their Actions, as made way for the easie Successes of the *French* Invasion; for the Loss of almost Five of their Provinces in Two Month's Time, and for the general Presages of utter Ruin to their State.



AN
E S S A Y
 UPON THE
Advancement of TRADE
 IN
I R E L A N D.

*Written to the Earl of ESSEX, Lord Lieutenant of that
 Kingdom.*

Dublin, July 22, 1673.

MY LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into Discourse t'other Day, and gave your Excellency the Occasion of desiring me to digest into some Method, and upon Paper, the Means and Ways I esteem'd most proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This I know very well, that you did it in a manner and with Expressions too obliging to be refused, and out of a Design so publick and generous, as ought not to be discouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordship in this Point, how ill soever I do it, than excuse my self, tho' never so well; which were much easier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Country. That I have pass'd only one short Period of my Life here, and the greatest Part thereof wholly out of Business and publick Thoughts: That I have since been Ten Years absent from it; and am now here upon no other Occasion than of a short Visit to some of my Friends: Which are all Circumstances that make me a very improper Subject for such a Command. But I suppose the Vein I have had of running into Speculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a Stranger; and the too partial Favour your Lordship has express'd to another Discourse of this Nature, have cost me this present Service; and you have thought fit to punish me for one Folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confessor, that prescribed a Drunkard the Penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordship shall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excus'd; which is all I pretend to upon this Occasion.

Before I enter upon the Considerations of Trade, which are more general, and may be more lasting in this Kingdom, I will observe to your Lordship some particular Circumstances in the Constitution and Government, which have

have been hitherto, and may be long the great Discouragements of Trade and Riches here; and some others in the present Conjunction, which are absolutely mortal to it; that so you may not expect to find Remedies where indeed there are none; nor suffer Men, like busy ignorant Physicians, to apply such as are contrary to the Disease, because they cannot find such as are proper for it.

The true and natural Ground of Trade and Riches, is Number of People, in proportion to the Compass of Ground they inhabit. This makes all Things necessary to Life dear, and that forces Men to Industry and Parsimony. These Customs which grow first from Necessity, come with Time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are so, that Place must grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not disturbed by some Accidents or Revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either scattered or destroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the Temper of the Climate, favourable to Generation, to Health, and long Life. Or else by the Circumstances of Safety and Ease under the Government, the Credit whereof invites Men over to it, when they cannot be either safe or ease at Home. When Things are once in Motion, Trade begets Trade, as Fire does Fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So Men run still to a Crowd where they see it in the Streets, or the Fields, though it be only to do as others do, to see or to be entertained.

The Want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the Want of People; and this is not grown from any ill Qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of so many Wars and Rebellions, so great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at several Intervals of Time succeeded the first Conquest of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's Time, until the Year 1653. Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, those of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the last; which helped to drain the current Stream of Generation in the Country.

The Discredit which is grown upon the Constitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by so frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many Ages have invested it, has been the great Discouragement to other Nations to transplant themselves hither, and prevailed further than all the Invitations which the Cheapness and Plenty of the Country has made them. So that had it not been for the Numbers of the *British*, which the Necessity of the late Wars at first drew over, and of such who either as Adventures or Soldiers seated themselves here upon Account of the Satisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the last War and Plague been left in a manner desolate.

Besides, the Subordinacy of the Government changing Hands so often, makes an Unsteadiness in the Pursuit of the publick Interests of the Kingdom, gives way to the Emulations of the different Factions, and draws the Favour or Countenance of the Government sometimes to one Party or Interest, sometimes to another: This makes different Motions in Men's Minds, raising Hopes and Fears, and Opinions of Uncertainty in their Possessions; and thereby in the Peace of the Country.

This Subordinacy in the Government, and Emulation of Parties, with the Want sometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the Weakness of his Credit and Support at Court) occasions the perpetual Agencies or Journeys into *England* of all Persons that have any considerable Pretences in *Ireland*, and Money to pursue them; which end many times in long Abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though they have no Money to support them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Besides, the young Gentlemen go of course for their Breeding there; some seek their Health, and others their Entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: By these means the Country loses the Expence of many of the richest Persons or Families at Home, and mighty Sums of Money must needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great Stock of rich Native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

These Circumstances so prejudicial to the Encrease of Trade and Riches in a Country, seem Natural, or at least have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native Fertility of the Soil and Seas in so many rich Commodities improved by Multitude of People and Industry, with the Advantage of so many excellent Havens, and a Situation so commodious for all sorts of Foreign Trade, must needs have render'd this Kingdom one of the richest in *Europe*, and made a mighty Encrease both of Strength and Revenue to the Crown of *England*; whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak Side, and to have cost us more Blood and Treasure than 'tis worth.

Since my late Arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but I doubt very just Complaint concerning the Scarcity of Money; which occasioned many airy Propositions for the Remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the Coins here. This was chiefly grounded upon the Experience made, as they say, about the Duke of *Ormond's* coming first over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raised three Pence in the Piece, and a mighty Plenty of Money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a Year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken Account, and to have depended wholly upon other Circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the Money to which it is by some great Men attributed. For first, there was about that Time a general Peace and Serenity, which had newly succeeded a general Trouble and Cloud throughout all His Majesty's Kingdoms; then after two Years Attendance in *England*, upon the Settlement of *Ireland* (there on the Forge) by all Persons and Parties here that were considerably interested in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main Settlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond's* Hands to pass here into an Act; all Persons came over in a Shoal, either to attend their own Concernments in the Main, or more particularly to make their Court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majesty had at that Time in a manner wholly devolved the Care and Disposition of all Affairs in this Kingdom. This made a sudden and mighty Stop of that Issue of Money which had for two Years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at Home. Nor is the very Expence of the Duke of *Ormond's* own great Patrimonial Estate, with that of several other Families that came over at that Time, of small Consideration in the Stock of this Kingdom. Besides, there was a great Sum of Money in ready Coin brought over out of *England* at the same Time, towards the Arrears of the Army; which are all Circumstances that must needs have made a mighty Change in the Course of ready Money here. All the Effect that I conceive was made by crying up the Pieces of Eight, was to bring in much more of that Species instead of other current here (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that Sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worse Alloy) and to carry away much *English* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty Loss to the Kingdom in the intrinsic Value of their Money.

The Circumstances at this Time seem to be just the Reverse of what they were then: The Nation's engaged in a War the most Fatal to Trade of any that could arise: The Settlement of *Ireland* shaken at the Court, and falling into new Disquisitions (whether in Truth, or in common Opinion, is all a Case :) This draws continual Agencies, and Journeys of People concerned, into *England*, to watch the Motions of the main Wheel there. Besides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* since the Duke of *Ormond's* Time have had little in their Disposition here, and only executed the Resolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general Affairs; which has drawn thither the Attendance of all private Pretenders. The great Estates of this Kingdom have been four or five Years constantly spent in *England*. Money, instead of coming over hither for Pay of the Army, has, since the War began, been transmitted thither for Pay of those Forces that were called from hence. And lastly,

This

This War has had a more particular and mortal Influence upon the Trade of this Country, than upon any other of his Majesty's Kingdoms.

For by the Act against Transportation of Cattle into *England*, the Trade of this Country, which ran wholly thither before, was turned very much into Foreign Parts; but by this War the last is stopped, and the other not being opened, there is in a manner no Vent for any Commodity but of Wool. This Necessity has forced the Kingdom to go on still with their Foreign Trade; but that has been with such mighty Losses by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers plying about the Coasts, and the want of *English* Frigates to secure them, that the Stock of the Kingdom must be extremely diminished. Yet by the Continuance of the same Expence and Luxury in point of Living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what must supply it, though little Commodities go either there or Abroad to make any considerable Balance: By all which it must happen, that with another Year's Continuance of the War there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any Circulation further than the Receipts of the Customs of Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a Conjunction, the Crying up of any Species of Money will but increase the want of it in general; for while there goes not out Commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no Degree of Gains by Exportation will make amends for the Venture; what should Money come in for, unless it be to carry out other Money as it did before, and leave the Stock that remains equal indeed in Denomination, but lower in the intrinsic Value than it was before? In short, while this War lasts, and our Seas are ill guarded, all that can be done towards preserving the small Remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, First, to introduce, as far as can be, a View of Parsimony throughout the Country in all Things that are not perfectly the Native Growths and Manufactures: Then by Severity and Steadiness of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in some Credit the present Peace and Settlement: And lastly, to force Men to a Degree of Industry, by suffering none to hope that they shall be able to live by Rapine or Fraud. For in some Diseases of a Civil as well as a Natural Body, all that can be done is to fast and to rest, to watch and to prevent Accidents, to trust to Methods rather than Medicines or Remedies; and with Patience to expect till the Humours being spent, and the *Crisis* past, Way may be made for the Natural Returns of Health and of Strength.

This being premised as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the present Conjunction; I shall proceed to such Observations as occur concerning the Ways of advancing the common and standing Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a County arises from the native Growths of the Soil or Seas; the Manufactures, the Commodiousness of Ports, and the Store of Shipping which belong to it. The Improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, must be considered in the Survey of all these Particulars, the Defects to which at present they are subject, and the Increases they are capable of receiving either from the Course of Time, the Change of Customs, or the Conduct and Application of the Government.

The Native Commodities or common easie Manufactures which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and consequently furnish both the Stock of Foreign Commodities consumed in the Country, and that likewise of current Money, by which all Trade is turned, are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattle, Fish, Iron; and by the Improvement of these, either in the Quantity, the Credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* seems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one Thing must be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the Nature of its Government, so in the very Improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be considered not only in its own proper Interest, but likewise in its Relation to *England*, to which it is subordinate, and upon whose Weal in the main that of this Kingdom depends,

period, and therefore a Regard must be had of those Points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main Branches of the Trade of *England*; in which Cases the Encouragement of such Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the Interest of Trade in *England*, upon the Wealth and Vigour whereof the Strength, Riches and Glory of his Majesty's Crowns seem chiefly to depend. But on the other side, some such Branches of Trade ought not wholly to be suppress'd, but rather so far admitted as may serve the general Consumption of this Kingdom, lest by too great an Importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it self, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in such a degree, as not to leave a Stock sufficient for turning the Trade at Home: The Effect hereof would be general Discontents among the People, Complaints, or at least ill Impressions of the Government; which in a Country composed of three several Nations different to a great degree in Language, Customs and Religion, as well as Interests (both of Property and Dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it self. Since a Sore in the Leg may affect the whole Body, and in time grow as difficult to cure as if it were in the Head; especially where Humours abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* seems not to be capable of any Encrease, nor to suffer under any Defect, the Country being generally full stockt with Sheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little subject to other Rots than of Hunger; and all the considerable Flocks being of *English* Breed, and the Staple of Wool generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leicestershire*, the Improvement of this Commodity by Manufactures in this Kingdom would give so great a Damp to the Trade of *England* (of which Cloths, Stuffs and Stockings make so mighty a Part) that it seems not fit to be encouraged here, at least no further than to such a Quantity of one or two Summer-stuffs, *Wish* Freeze, and Cloth from Six Shillings to fourteen, as may supply in some measure the ordinary Consumption of the Kingdom. That which seems most necessary in this Branch, is the careful and severe Execution of the Statutes provided to forbid the Exportation of Wool to any other Parts but to *England*; which is the more to be watched and feared, since thereby the present Riches of this Kingdom would be mightily increased, and great Advantages might be made by the Connivance of Governours; whereas on the other side, this would prove a most sensible Decay, if not Destruction of Manufactures both here and in *England* it self.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper to this Country, but made in no great Quantities in any Parts besides the North, nor any where into Linen to any great degree, or of Sorts fit for the better Uses at home, or Exportation abroad; though of all others, this ought most to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly designed by the Earl of *Strafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, answerable to the Care used in Choice of Seed and Exercise of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not so for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little Toil or Application, and so the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Besides, no Women are apter to spin it well than the *Wish*, who labouring little in any kind with their Hands, have their Fingers more supple and soft than other Women of the poorer Condition among Us; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linen, so as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to those Parts upon this Occasion, into the Hands of His Majesty's Subjects of *Ireland*, without crossing any Interest of Trade in *England*. For besides what has been said of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the Frequency of Brooks, and also of Winds in the Country.

Much Care was spent upon this Design in an Act of Parliament pass'd the last Session, and something may have been advanced by it; but the too great Rigour impos'd upon the sowing of certain Quantities of Flax, has caus'd (and perhaps justly) a general Neglect in the Execution, and common Guilt

has made the Penalties impracticable; so as the main Effect has been spoiled by too much Diligence, and the Child killed with Kindness. For the Money applied by that Act to the Encouragement of making fine Linen, and broad (which I think is twenty Pounds every Year in each County) though the Inflation was good, yet it has not reached the End, by encouraging any considerable Application that Way; so that sometimes one Share of that Money is paid to a single Pretender at the Sizes or Sessions, and sometimes a Share is saved, for want of any Pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by some Amendments to the last Act in another Session, whereby the Necessity of sowing Flax may be so limited, as to be made easily practicable, and so may be forced by the Severity of levying the Penalties enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties, no Person ought to carry the first, second, or third Prize, without producing two Pieces of Linen of each sort (whereas one only now is necessary.) And severe Defences may be made against weaving any Linen under a certain Breadth, such as may be of better Use to the poorest People, and in the coarsest Linen, than the narrow *Irish* Cloth, and may bear some Price Abroad, when ever more comes to be made than is consumed at Home. But after all these or such like Provisions, there are but two Things which can make any extraordinary Advance in this Branch of Trade, and those are: First, An increase of People in the Country to such a degree, as may make things necessary to Life dear, and thereby force general Industry from each Member of a Family (Women as well as Men) and in as many sorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to turn the Vein this Way. The second is a particular Application in the Government. And this must be made either by some Governour upon his own private Account, who has a great Stock that he is content to turn that Way, and is invited by the Gain, or else by the Honour of bringing to pass a Work of so much publick Utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which Circumstances I suppose concurr'd both in the Earl of *Stratford's* Design;) and whenever they meet again, can have no better Copy to follow in all Particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his Time. Or else by a considerable Sum of Money being laid aside, either out of His Majesty's present Revenue, or some future Subsidy to be granted for this Occasion: And this either to be employed in setting up of some great Linen Manufacture in some certain Place, and to be managed by some certain Hands both for making all sorts of fine Cloths, and of those for Sails too. The Benefit or Loss of such a Trade accruing to the Government, until it comes to take Root in the Nation. Or else, if this seem too great an Undertaking for the Humour of our Age, then such a Sum of Money to lye ready in Hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate Prices all such Pieces of Cloth as shall be brought in by any Persons at certain Times to the chief Town of each County; and all such Pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the Stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the Use of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Cloaths are) in part of their Pay: And all finer Pieces to be sold, and the Money still applied to the Increase or constant Supply of the main Stock. The Effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, so uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn so much of their Industry this Way, as would serve to furnish a great Part of that Money, which is most absolutely necessary for Payment of Taxes, Rents, or Subsistence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, arise all from one sort of Cattle, and are subject to the same general Defects, and capable of the same common Improvements.

The three first are certain Commodities, and yield the readiest Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, because they never fail of a Price abroad. Beef is a Drug, finding no constant Vent Abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at Home: For the Consumption of the Kingdom holds no Proportion with the Product that is usually made of Cattle in it; so that in many

ny Parts at this Time an Ox may be brought in the Country-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow sold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it cost. The Defects of these Commodities lie either in the Age and Feeding of the Cattle that are killed, or in the Manufacture, and making them up for Exportation abroad.

Until the Transportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickest Trade of ready Money here was driven by the Sale of young Bulls, which for four or five Summer-Months of the Year were carried over in very great Numbers, and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that sort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than served the Consumption within; and few Oxen for Draught, which was all performed by rascally small Horses; so as the Cattle generally sold either for Slaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at best four Years old, and those such as had never been either handled or wintered at Hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long Grass of the lower Lands in the Winter. The Effect hereof was very pernicious to this Kingdom in what concerned all these Commodities; the Hides were small, thin and lank; the Tallow much less in Quantity, and of quicker Consumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that discredited by the Housewifery of the *Irish*, in making it up; most of what was sent coming from their Hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, because the Breed of their Cattle was not fit for the *English* Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for Foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almost sunk: For the Flesh being young, and only Grass-fed (and that on a sudden by the Sweetness of the Summer's Pasture, after the Cattle being almost starved in the Winter) was thin, light and moist, and not of a Substance to endure the Salt, or be preserved by it, for long Voyages, or a slow Consumption. Besides, either the Unskilfulness, or Carelessness, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the Undervalue and Discredit of these Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increased the Weight, by which that Commodity is sold when it comes in Quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrel, than in the middle, which would be sometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, sometimes with Stones. The Beef would be so ill chosen, or so ill cured, as to stink many times before it came so far as *Holland*, or at least not prove a Commodity that would defray the first Charge of the Merchant before it was ship'd. Nay, I have known Merchants there fain to throw away great Quantities, after having lain long in their Hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly stop'd the Transportation of Cattle; the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, because Wool gave ready Money for the *English* Markets, and by stealth for those Abroad. The Breeders of *English* Cattle turn'd much to Dairy, or else by keeping their Cattle to six and seven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-Trade abroad; and some of the Merchants fell into Care and Exactness in barrelling them up; and hereby the Improvements of this Trade were grown so sensible in the Course of a few Years, than in the Year 1669 some Merchants in *Holland* assured me, that they had received Parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which sold current, and very near the *English*; and of Butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richest Soil of the two. 'Tis most evident, that if the *Dutch* War had not broken out so soon after the Improvements of all these Trades (forced at first by Necessity, and growing afterwards habitual by Use) a few Years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great Gainer, instead of losing by the Act against Transportation of their Cattle: But the War gave a sudden Damp to this and all other Trade, which is sunk to nothing by the Continuance of it,

However, having marked the Defects that were even in Time of Peace, it may not be useless to set down the Remedies, though little practicable while the War lasts. For that great one of killing Cattle young, and Grass only-fed, I know none so effectual as introducing a general Custom of using Oxen for all sorts of Draught, which would be perhaps the greatest Improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great Slaughter would be made of full-grown, large and well-wintered Cattle, which would double the Income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raise their Credit in all foreign Markets; every Man would be forced to provide Winter-Fodder for his Team (whereas common Garrans shift upon Grass the Year round;) and this would force Men to the enclosing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the Race of Garrans would decrease, and so make room for the Countries maintaining the greater Number of Cattle, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by Accident or Age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or useful Thing is to be achieved without Difficulties; and therefore what may be raised against this Proposal, ought not to discourage the attempting it. First, the Statutes against that barbarous Custom of Plowing by the Tail ought to be renewed, and upon absolute Forfeitures instead of Penalties; the constant and easie Compositions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this was wholly disused, the Harnefs for Horses being dearer than for Oxen, the *Irish* would turn their Draught to the last, where-ever they have hitherto used the Plowing by the Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horse should be used for Draught; this would not only enlarge the Breed of Horses, but make way for the Use of Oxen, because they would be cheaper kept than large good Horses, which could not be wintered like Garrans, without Housing or Fodder. And lastly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horse of Draught throughout the Kingdom; which besides the main Use here intended, would increase the King's Revenue, by one of the easiest Ways that is any where in use.

For the Miscarriages mentioned in the making up of those several Commodities for Foreign Markets, they must likewise be remedied by severe Laws, or else the Improvements of the Commodities themselves will not serve to bring them in Credit, upon which all Trade turns. First, the Ports out of which such Commodities shall be ship'd may be restrained to a certain Number, such as lie most convenient for the Vent of the Inland Provinces, and such as either are already, or are capable of being made, regular Corporations. Whatever of them shall be carried out of any other Port, shall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Master that receives them. In the Ports allowed shall be published Rules agreed on by the skillfullest Merchants in those Wares, to be observed in the making up of all such as are intended for Foreign Transportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to those Rules, shall not be suffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be chosen every three Years, by the Body of the Corporation, whose Business shall be to inspect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the Seal or Mark of the Corporation, without which none shall be suffer'd to go abroad; nor shall this Mark be affix'd to any Parcels by those Officers, but such as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the Rules set forth for that Purpose. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the same constant Weight, or something over. If this were observed for a small Course of Time, under any certain Marks, the Credit of them both as to Quality and Weight would rise to that Degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they used abroad, upon Sight of the Mark, like Silver-plate upon Sight of the City's Mark where 'tis made.

The great Difficulty will lie in the good Execution of the Offices; but the Interest of such Corporations lying so deep in the Credit of their Mark, will make Emulation among them, every one vying to raise their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the Choice of Men, fit for that

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Turn. Besides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good Degree, by a certain Fee upon every Seal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every Miscarriage of the Officer, which shall be judged so by the chief Magistrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the Body of the Corporation.

Cattle for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horses; and of one or other of these kinds the Country seems to be full stock'd, no Ground that I hear of being untenanted: The two first seems sufficiently improved in the Kinds as well as the Number, most of both being of the *English* Breed. And though it were better for the Country, if the Number of Horses being lessened, made room for that of encreasing Sheep, and great Cattle; yet it seems indifferent which of these two were most turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the Liberty or Restraint of carrying live Cattle into *England*. When the Passage is open, Land will be turned most to great Cattle; when shut, to Sheep, as it is at present; though I am not of Opinion it can last, because that Act seems to have been carried on rather by the Interests of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my Opinion must be evidently a Loser by it. For first, the Freight of all Cattle that were brought over, being in *English* Vessels, was so much clear Gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at least a fourth Part of the Price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the first Market, made them double the Price by one Year's feeding, which was the greatest Improvement to be made of our dry Pasture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or else of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in Foreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. The young *Irish* Cattle served for the common Consumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattle went into the Barrel for the Foreign Trade, in which *Irish* Beef was in a manner no Part, though by the Continuance of this Restraint it will be forced upon Improvement, and come to share with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *English* Butter, which will be extremely beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the Way of *English* Housewifery, as it has done a great deal since the Restraint upon Cattle.) And lastly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted; by this Restraint they are forced to seek a foreign Market; and where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amsterdam*, *Lisbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true Causes of the Decay of Rents in *England*, which made the Occasion of that Act, they were to be found in the Want of People, in the mighty Consumption of foreign Commodities among the better sort, and in a higher Way of living among all, and not in this Transportation of *Irish* Cattle, which would have been complained of in former Times, if it had been found a Prejudice to *England*. Besides, the Rents have been far from encreasing since; and though that may be by other Accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unless Wool be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the less Cattle comes over thence, there comes the more Wool, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the Price of Pasture-lands in *England*; and yet the Transportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, since that would force the *Irish* Wool, either by stealth into foreign Markets, or else in Cloth by the Advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a sudden Decay upon the principal Branch of the *English* Trade.

Horses in *Ireland* are a Drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater Use at home, but also fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a sweet and plentiful Grass, which will raise a large Breed; and the Hills, especially near the Sea-coasts, are hard and rough, and so fit to give them Shape and Breath, and sound Feet. The present Defects in

in them, are breeding without Choice of Stallions either in Shape or Size, and trusting so far to the Gentleness of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four Years old: This both checks the Growth of the common Breeds, and gives them an incurable Shyness, which is the general Vice of *Irish* Horses, and is hardly ever seen in *Flanders*, because the Hardness of the Winters in those Parts forces the Breeders there to house and handle their Colts for at least six Months every Year. In the Stud of Persons of Quality in *Ireland*, where Care is taken, and Cost is not spared, we see Horses bred of excellent Shape, and Vigour, and Size, so as to reach Prices at home, and encourage Strangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that Errand, and bought about twenty Horses to carry over into the *French* Army, from twenty to three-score Pounds Price at the first hand.

The Improvement of Horses here may be made by a Standard prescribed to all Stallions, and all Horses that shall be used for Draught; the main Point being to make the common Breed large, for then whether they have Shape or not they have ever some reasonable Price both at home and abroad. And besides, being not to be raised without wintering, they will help to force Men into Improvement of Land by a Necessity of Fodder. But for Incouragement of finer Breed, and in the better Hands, some other Institutions may be invented, by which Emulation may be raised among the Breeders by a prospect both of particular Honour and Profit to those who succeed best, and of good ordinary Gains and ready Vent to such as by aiming at the best, tho' they fail, yet go beyond the common sorts. To this Purpose there may be set up both a Horse-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain Time every Year for the Space of a Week; the first in the fairest Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that Place designed by your Lordship in the Park for some such Purpose. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wednesday* and *Friday* may be the Races; the *Tuesday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday* the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be Two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty (besides the Fashion) as the Prizes for the first and second Horses; the first engraven with a Horse crowned with a Crown; the second with a Coronet, and under it the Day of the Month, and the Year. Besides these Plates, the Wagers may be as the Persons please among themselves, but the Horses must be evidenced by good Testimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For Honour, the Lord-Lieutenant may ever be present himself, or at least name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the Field, who shall decide all Controversies, and with Sound of the Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Masters of these two Horses may be admitted to ride from the Field to the Castle with the Lord-Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to dine with him that Day, and there receive all the Honour of the Table. This to be done, what Quality soever the Persons are of; for the lower that is, the more will be the Honour, and perhaps the more the Sport; and the Encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all sorts of Men.

For the Fairs, the Lord-Lieutenant may likewise be present every Day in the Height of them, by himself or Deputy, and may with the Advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then present, choose out one of the best Horses, and two of the best Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, nor above seven Years old; for which shall be paid to the Owners of them, after sufficient Testimony of their being bred in *Ireland*, one hundred Pounds for the Horse, and fifty Pounds a Piece for the Geldings. These Sums, as that for the Plates, to issue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without Trouble or Fee; and the three Horses to be sent over every Year to the King's Stables. Both those that won the Plate, and those which are thus sold, ought immediately to be marked, so as they may never return a second Time, either to the Race, or to the Sale.

The Benefit by such an Institution as this, will be very great and various: For besides the Encouragement to breed the best Horses, from the Honour
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and gain already mentioned, there will be a sort of publick Entertainment for one whole Week, during which the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord-Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both civil and military, ought to keep open Tables for all Strangers. This will draw a Confluence of People from all Parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer Parts of *England* may come, not only as to a publick kind of Solemnity, but as to a great Mart of the best Horses. This will enrich the City by the Expence of such a Concourse, and the Country by the Sale of many Horses into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign Parts. This will make general Acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord-Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more Greatness, and with more Solemnity than usual upon these Occasions. And all this with the Expence only of two hundred and fifty Pounds a Year to the Crown, for which the King shall have three the best Horses sold that Year in *Ireland*.

The Fishing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under Water, as rich as any under Ground, if it were improved to those vast Advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other Countries. But this is impossible under so great a Want of People, and Cheapness of all Things necessary to Life throughout the Country, which are in all Places invincible Enemies of Industry and Improvements. While these continue, I know no Way of advancing this Trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four Companies of Fishery, one of each Province of *Ireland*, into which every Man that enters shall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable Share of the Gain or Loss, and have a proportional Voice in the Election of a President and Council, by whom the whole Business in each Province shall be managed. If into each of these Companies the King or Lord-Lieutenant would enter for a considerable Share at the first, towards building such a Number of Boats and Busses as each Company could easily manage, it would be an Encouragement both of Honour and Advantage. Certain Privileges likewise, or Immunities, might be granted from Charges of Trouble or Expence, nay from Taxes, and all unusual Payments to the Publick, in favour of such as brought in a Proportion to a certain Height into the Stock of the Fishery. Nay, it seems a Matter of so great Importance to His Majesty's Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and impairing the mighty Gains of his Neighbours by this Trade, that perhaps there were no Hurt if an Act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a Parliament, or the Commission of the Peace, who had not manifested his Desires of advancing the publick Good by entering in some certain Proportion into the Stock and Companies of the Fishery; since the Greatness of the one, and Application of the other, seem the only present Means of improving so rich and so important a Trade. It will afterwards be the Business of the Companies themselves, or their Directors, to fall into the best Methods and Rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those Quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general Credit, which with advancing the Seasons all that can be, so as to find the first foreign Markets, will be a Way to the greatest and surest Gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placarts or Acts of State concerning the curing, salting, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with such Severity in the Imposition and Execution of Penalties, that the Business is now grown to an habitual Skill, and Care, and Honesty, so as hardly any Example is seen of failing in that Matter, or thereby impairing the general Credit of that Commodity among them, or in the foreign Markets they use.

Iron seems to me the Manufacture that of all others ought the least to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the most Restriction to certain Places and Rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oar in *Ireland*, at least I am sure the greatest Part is fetched from *England*; so that all this Country affords of its own Growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with too great Consumptions already

already in most Parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to destroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain Places, where either the Woods continue vast, and make the Country savage; or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no Conveyance for Timber to places of Vent so as to quit the Cost of the Carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their Defects and Improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at first, as the Grounds likewise of Trade in a Country; those are the Commodiousness of Ports, and the Store of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obstruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great Work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Leinster* to undertake. But whether it be feasible, or at such Charges as will quit Cost, I will not judge, especially considering the many good Havens that are scattered upon that whole Eastern Coast of *Ireland*. Besides this, I know not what to propose upon this Head, unless it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-West Coast, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *West-India* Trade, and from thence those Commodities may be dispersed unto all other Parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Customs which they ought to pay in *England*, where this must be concerted.

For the last Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coast, and not wholly out of the Way of Trade, which has so little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of employing more. The Reason of this must be in part the Scarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more the Want of Merchants, and Uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further Destruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any Man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain Height, unless it be of a certain Scantling, as twelve Inches Diameter, or some such Measure as usually makes a Tree useful Timber. And further, the severest Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a Custom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite Quantities of Timber have been destroyed.

Most Traders in these Parts, at least of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any Number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The Cause of this must be rather an ill Opinion of Security, than of Gain; for those are the two Baits which draw Merchants to a Place; the last intices the poorer Traders, or the young Beginners, or those of Passage; but without the first, the Substantial and the Rich will never settle in a Country. This Opinion can be attained only by a Course of Time, of good Conduct, and good Government and thereby of Justice and of Peace, which lie out of the Compass of this Discourse. But to make some amends for this Want at present, Encouragement may be given to any Merchants that shall come over and turn a certain Stock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any Terms; Freedom from Customs the two first Years, and from any Offices of Trouble or Expence the first seven Years. I see no hurt if the King should give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland* to name for each Town one of their Number, out of which the Lord-Lieutenant should chuse Two to be of the Privy-Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their Attendance: This would be an Honour and Encouragement to so worthy a Calling, and would introduce an Interest of Trade into the Council, which being now composed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders seem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without Favour to the particular Concernments of a chief Member in the Politick Body; and upon whose prospering the Wealth of the whole Kingdom seems chiefly to depend.

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But this is enough for your Excellency's Trouble, and for the Discharge of my Promise, and too much I doubt for the Humour of our Age to bring into Practice, or so much as to admit into Consideration. Your Lordship, I know, has generous Thoughts, and turned to such Speculations as these. But that is not enough towards the raising such Buildings as I have drawn you here the Lines of, unless the Direction of all Affairs here were wholly in your Hands, or at least the Opinion lost of other Mens being able to contest with you those Points of publick Utility, which you ought best to know, and most to be believ'd in, while you deserve or discharge so great a Trust as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much consider whom to chuse for such Employments; but when he has chosen, cannot trust them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too soon, whenever he finds it abused. In short, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whose Commands find general Obedience, and Examples Imitation. For all other Men, they must take it as they find it; and good Men enter into Commerce with it, rather upon Cautions of not being spoil'd themselves, than upon Hopes of mending the World. At least, this Opinion becomes Men of my level, amongst whom I have observed all set Quarrels with the Age, and Pretences of reforming it by their own Models, to end commonly like the Pains of a Man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's fast to a Ship; it looks as if he resolv'd to draw the Ship to him, but the Truth and his Meaning is, to draw himself to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the rest of the Crew when he is there. When I have such Designs, I will begin such Contentions; in the mean time the Bent of my Thoughts shall be rather to mend myself, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor should I have reason in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordship so much Justice, by the Honour of so great an Employment. In which as I know no Man deserves greater Successes than you do, so I am sure no Man wishes you greater than I do.



R

Written

Written to the

D U K E

O F

O R M O N D,

In *October*, 1673.

Upon His Grace's desiring me to give Him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjunction.

THERE never was any Conjunction wherein it was more necessary for his Majesty to fall into a Course of wise and steady Counsels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to advise him. To make Reflections upon what is past, is the Part of Ingenious, but Irresolute Men, or else of such as intend to value themselves by comparison with others whose Corruptions or Follies they condemn. But in all Matters of Counsel, the good and prudent Part is to take Things as they are (since the past cannot be recalled) to propose Remedies for the present Evils, and Provisions against future Events.

The King finds himself engaged in the second Year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for Prosecution thereof in a strict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the Quarrel broken out upon this Occasion between *France* and the House of *Austria*. In this State of Affairs, it is to be considered, whether we can pursue our War with *Holland*, and yet preserve our Peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in Conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majesty to do, with the best Regard to His Honour and Safety.

For the first, we shall soon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late Conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* should have obliged themselves to make no Peace without the Inclusion of their Allies; and that *Spain* should not have yielded to break with Us, in case they could not effect a Peace between Us and *Holland*; since the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the Fear of a Breach with *Spain*, and so great a Loss of Trade in those Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one Temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an Occasion

caſion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has ever laid at their Hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early Meaſure between them for the Surprize of that Iſland, unleſs our Care has been as early in providing for its Defence. And if we ſhould loſe it, I foreſee little Hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon know from *Spain* what He is to truſt to in this Point.

To judge whether upon a Breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, muſt be conſidered, the preſent State of the King's Treafure, the Riſe or Fall that may happen in His conſtant Revenue by the *Spaniſh* War, the Hopes that may be grounded upon Supplies from *France*, the Assurance or Meaſure of thoſe expected from the Parliament, the Credit of the Exchequer to raiſe preſent Money where-ever any of theſe fall ſhort, and the Humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the preſent State of the Treafury, the King beſt knows it himſelf, or His Officers can beſt give the Account; for the Changes that may happen in his Revenue, 'tis evident they muſt be much for the worſe the very firſt Year of a *Spaniſh* War. The main Branch of it, which is the Customs, muſt wither away in a very great Meaſure, ſince all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any Account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Sveights*: The firſt upon a *Spaniſh* War will be wholly loſt; the laſt can neither be ſecured by our own Convoys, nor by the *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* Capers that will fill the *Spaniſh* Havens, and from thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, which in all Wars have been the Nests of Picaroons; ſo that no Way ſeems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving off all Trade in the Nation while it laſts. But the Caſe is very different between them and us; for they have ſtill a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a ſandy Coaſt from *Hamborough*, is ſecured from our Fleets; and they have driven a great Commerce by Colluſion with the *Swedens*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemiſh*, ever ſince the War began. Beſides, the Hearts of their People (which would otherwiſe have funk by the Loſs of Trade) have been kept up by the Neceſſity of their Defence, by the laſt Extremities which were threatened them from the War, and by the general Opinion of Juſtice in their Cauſe, both from theſe Circumſtances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impoſe, and the People to ſuffer, the utmoſt Payments; and beſides, in a manner all Men of Fortunes among them have a great Part of their Eſtates lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be loſt upon the Conqueſt of their Country; ſo as they will lend to the laſt, for ſecuring ſo much as is already in danger. And theſe are Circumſtances which will not be found in our Diſpoſitions or Conſtitutions.

For Supplies from *France*, it muſt be conſidered how their Money has been drained out of the Kingdom ſince this War began, by their Payments to *Us*, and to *Sweden*, to the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Munſter*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new Conqueſts in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as Money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the Money fell back again into the Circulation of their own Country; yet now their Expence muſt upon a *Spaniſh* War be increaſed by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; ſo that all theſe Circumſtances, with the general Decay of Trade by the War, muſt in few Years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this Age; and where Money is not, the King of *France* himſelf cannot have it.

For what Supplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, ſome few Days I ſuppoſe will inform us; and no Meaſures can be

taken, unless by what pass in the former Session, which was not very favourable to that Design.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at least to any Measure that may supply the Course of Necessities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably lost by the last Breach with the Bankers; for Credit is gained by Custom and Course of Time, and seldom recovers a Strain; but if broken, is never well set again. I have heard a great Example given of this (by some of our Merchants) that happened upon the last King's seizing 200000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 38, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for several Years had been the Treasury of all the vast Payments transmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this Invasion of it, though the King paid back the Money within very few Months, yet the Mint has never since recovered its Credit among Foreign Merchants.

If the Business of Money should happen to go lame upon any or all of these Feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the Humour of the Nation: And that sometimes may go farther than any Treasures, if spirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the Love of Religion or Liberty, or the Necessity of Defence: But the good Will of the Nation to the present War (as it was foreseen by those who gave the desperate Counsels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and stopping of the Exchequer; so it) has been since but too much experienced by the Successes that have attended it, which will ever depend upon the Humours and Opinions of those that serve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of those that command; and not to speak of those incurable Jealousies which have been so generally raised or infused into the People about the first Designs of this War, and so much encrease by the Professions or Actions, or at least the general Reputation of those who pass for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at least observable, that after so long Hostility, and four Battles, yet the Nation does not seem at all to be angry, though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have Men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a Breach with *Spain* should make us any kinder to the War than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon Occasion of the *French*, we having no Quarrel there of our own. And our Kindness to *France* will spirit us as little as our Hatred to *Spain*, at least till their Fortunes change, and the Balance rise again on the *Spanish* side, which has risen so long and to such a Height on the *French*; for by the Course of Human Nature there will ever be a degree of Hatred mingled with Fear, and of Kindness with Compassion.

Upon the Survey of these Provisions and Dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for His Majesty either to make a Peace, or else to turn the War directly upon such Points of Honour, Justice and Safety, as may engage both the Parliament and Nation in the Support and Prosecution of the War. And to do this, he must indeed offer at a Peace, and upon Terms into which the Humour and Spirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now perfected between *Holland* and *Spain* seems the happiest Thing that could have arrived to His Majesty's Affairs upon this Occasion; for whilst *Holland* stood alone, in case we had been forced to offer at any Measures with them, *France* might upon the first Jealousie have been before Us, and slipping one Knot might have ty'd another in three Days time. But now the Interests of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorraine* are woven together with those of *Holland*, it will not be a short and easie Work to adjust those of *France* with the Emperor in the Matters of *Alsatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorraine* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unless by the Revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a near and greater Danger from *Spain*, in which case they will not fail of returning to their old Measures with *France*.

The first Peace which seems necessary for his Majesty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as possible he can, by assuring them he resolves upon a Neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he

comes to Peace with *Holland*, he intends it shall pass by their Mediation; and if that be effected, he will employ his own towards the general Peace of *Christendom*, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next Point is to resolve upon the Conditions necessary to a Peace; the best Way to this is to seek without Passion where the Justice lies, and the true Interests of His Majesty's Crowns, as it is generally understood by his People, of which the Sense of his Parliament is the best Testimony; for their Concurrence will give Weight to his Demands of Peace, or to the Support of a War.

Between *Us* and *Holland* the Points of Justice must be grounded upon the Infraction of Treaties, and so will reach only to the Business of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three several Treaties in the same Form; but the Articles still referring to former Use, it remains to discuss and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the Manner and Circumstances of observing it. Without this, no Peace we can have will seem to be made with Intentions to keep it long, while the Interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a Ground at Pleasure for opening a War. And this Point can only be gained by a separate Peace between *Us* and *Holland*; for if the War should come to end in a general Treaty, like that of *Munster*, as His Majesty's Interest would be less considered in a Crowd of so many others, and would hardly be suffered to obstruct a general Peace; so this Right of the Flag in particular would be at least disfavoured, if not opposed, by our Friends as well as our Enemies, that is, by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The Business of *Surinam* is a Trifle, and the Disputes upon it arose rather from an unkind and jealous Humour growing between the Nations, than from any Difference or Difficulty in adjusting it; so as that is not a Thing will lie much in the Way, being soon decided by plain Articles upon the Surrender of the Place.

There are two Points more wherein the Honour and Interest of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be insisted upon, so far at least as to find a Temper in them, though they can hardly be said to be Points of Justice, because they are not regulated by Treaties. The first is the Point of the *East-India* Trade, wherein we desire new Agreements between us, upon Suspicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach of the Old; and though our *East-India* Company never urged their Desires as a just Ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this Point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I suppose may be still, if we fall into it again.

The Second is an Acknowledgment to His Majesty for the Leave of Fishing upon His Coasts; and though this may not be grounded upon any Treaty, yet if it appear to have been an Ancient Right on our Side, and Custom on theirs, and not determined or extinguished by any Treaty between us, it may with Justice be insisted on; though it will pass harder with the *Dutch* than any of the rest, who will much easier be induced to buy off the Pretence with a great Sum of Money at one or more Payments, than acknowledge it by a constant Tribute.

The last Thing his Majesty can demand from *Holland*, is Money for the Charges of the War. But unless the Justice or Necessity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak Ground. And if we expected Money, it must be to purchase what is to come, and not to pay for what is past: And it is very probable, that if His Majesty should resolve with a Peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident Points of Justice between them, and to join against that Crown which refuses the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their Money upon such an Agreement. But the Measure and Manner must be left to private Treaty; and would depend upon the Confidence between us.

Whatever in any of these Points, or any other His Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the Satisfaction he should declare to have received in the Advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Ancestors. But for His Majesty to insist upon any further Advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible Difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Prince's Affairs among them in a very great Measure. And the Prince, I believe, knows their Constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good Terms, in these Particulars, a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the Honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the Interest of it to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the Events of the War; since we should be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the World, while the House of *Austria* and *Holland* would be engaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majesty would have the Glory and Advantage of Mediating the Peace.

For the Measures to be observed in all this with *France*, and the preserving His Majesty's Honour on that side; First, the Humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the Interest of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be represented to them as Difficulties invincible, unless *France* can furnish the Charge which the War will cost beyond what can be spared out of His Majesty's constant Revenue. Then His Majesty may propose to them his Design of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which, I suppose, was not a Point that entered into any Agreements against *Holland*. And lastly, He may desire their Consent, since he cannot prosecute the War, to make His Peace with *Holland*, upon the Assurance of employing afterwards his Mediation between them and *Spain*, in what the Concurrence of His Parliament will make him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made him unable to pursue the War. If *France* will not consent either to furnish us with Money sufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor Peace with *Holland*; it would then be considered, whether *France* in the like Case would suffer such a Conjunction as this to escape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us; or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A Conjunction whereby the Honour and Interest of his Majesty's Crown may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate Bent and Humour of the People pleased, and their Jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true Balance of *Christendom* maintained, all the Princes and States of it (besides *France* alone) satisfied: And in short, by which His Majesty may grow again insensibly into the Hearts of his People at Home, and into the Influence upon all Affairs of His Neighbours Abroad.

It is a rude Thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from *France* with as much Honour as we came on. But it is a true Thing, that he has always the Honour of the War, that has the Advantage of it; and 'tis, I doubt, so of a Peace too, and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of *Spain* (in case we apprehend our losing of *France*) to which their Dispositions and Interests must certainly concur with ours in all Points, unless that of *Jamaica* make an Exception.

All the Difficulty His Majesty can meet with in this Pursuit, will be some want of Reputation and Trust with the Governments of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foiled of late by the Breach of our former Alliances, so much (as they think) against our own Interests as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common Belief, that every State will be ever found in their own Interests, among which their Honour and Observance of Faith grows to be one very considerable (because while the Minds of Men are generally possess'd with a Belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in Affairs here below, the Opinion of Justice or Injustice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty Effect upon the Successes of a War;) Therefore our Reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our Neigh-

Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majesty's Councils return into the true Interests of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Measures may be firm with them, upon the same Reason which has shaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever Means will restore, or raise the Credit of His Majesty's Government at Home, will do it Abroad too: For a King of *England* at the Head of his Parliament and People, and in their Hearts and Interests, can never fail of making what Figure he pleases in the World, nor of being safe and easie at Home; and may despise all the Designs of factious Men, who can only make themselves considered by seeming to be in the Interest of the Nation, when the Court seems to be out of it. But in running on Counsels contrary to the general Humour and Spirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Ministers great Subjects, but they can never make him a great Prince.



TO THE
C O U N T E S S
OF
E S S E X,
UPON

Her Grief occasioned by the Loss of Her only Daughter.

Shene, Jan. 29, 1674.

THE Honour I received by a Letter from your Ladyship, was too great and too sensible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that Occasion could bear me out in the Confidence of giving your Ladyship any further Troubles of this kind, without as good an Errand as my last. This I have reckoned upon a good while, by another Visit my Sister and I had designed to my Lord *Capell*. How we came to have deferr'd it so long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this distance, though we make our selves believe it could not be help'd. Your Ladyship at least has had the Advantage of being thereby excused some time from this Trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the sensible Wounds that have so often of late been given your Friends here by such desperate Expressions in several of your Letters concerning your Humour, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your Friends, you must allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps none can be at Heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very Occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to your self. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, so great a Remainder of your own Family, and so great Hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a desperate Melancholy, upon an Accident past Remedy, and to which all Mortal Race is perpetually subject: For God's Sake, Madam, give me leave to tell, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a Person as your Ladyship appears to the World in all other Lights.

I know no Duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect Submission to his Will in all Things; nor do I think any Disposition of Mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None, I am sure, can be of more Honour to God, nor of more Ease to our selves; for if we consider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to disturb him; so that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for good, and what-

whatever happens that we interpret otherwise; yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty, and your Ladyship's Loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; yet I doubt, you would have but ill Grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do; for the first Motions or Passions, how violent soever, may be pardoned; and it is only the Course of them which makes them inexculpable. In this World, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good; and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other Things of its kind, or else with the Evil that is mingled in its Composition; so he is a good Man that is better than Men commonly are, or in whom the good Qualities are more than the bad; so in the Course of Life, his Condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other Men, or wherein the good Circumstances are more than the ill. By this Measure, I doubt, Madam, your Complaints ought to be turned into Acknowledgments, and your Friends would have Cause to rejoice rather than condole with you: For the Goods or Blessings of Life are usually esteemed to be Birth, Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladyship has fairly considered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all these, you may be left to judge your self how you dealt with him in your Complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and consider other Lives as well as your own, and what your Lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the Circle of your Knowledge; if you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we see, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diseases, and how much Poverty there is in the World, you will fall down upon your Knees, and instead of repining at one Affliction, will admire for many Blessings as you have received at the Hand of God.

To put your Ladyship in mind of what you are, and the Advantages you have in all these Points, would look like a Design to flatter you: But this I may say, That we will pity you as much as you please, if you would tell us who they are that you think upon all Circumstances you have Reason to envy. Now if I had a Master that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave my self so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the World; or perhaps because he would shew his Power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much Reason to complain of hard Usage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have lost a Child, and therein all that could be lost in a Child of that Age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do so long; you have the Assurance of another, and the Hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in Employment, and in Fortune, and (which is more) in the Esteem of good Men. You have kept your Beauty and your Health, unless you have destroyed them yourself, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as you can wish, or as you can give them leave to be by their Fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have Honour and Esteem for all that know you; or, if ever it fails in any degree; 'tis only upon that Point of your seeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your self, or any thing else, after what you have lost.

You will say perhaps that one thing was all to you, and your Fondness of it made you indifferent to every thing else. But this, I doubt, will be so far from justifying you, that it will prove to be your Fault as well as your Misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the Blessings of Life, and you set your Heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: Is this his Fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the World? Is it not to say, Because you have

lost one Thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to say, since that one Thing is gone out of the World, there is nothing left in it which you think can deserve your Kindness or Esteem? A Friend makes me a Feast, and sets all before me that his Care or Kindness could provide; but I set my Heart upon one Dish alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I scorn all the rest; and tho' he sends for another of the same, yet I rise from the Table in a Rage, and say my Friend is my Enemy, and has done me the greatest Wrong in the World: Have I Reason, Madam, or good Grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the rest that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the Precepts of Christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our Passions, to temper our Affections towards all Things below; to be thankful for the Possession, and patient under the Loss whenever he that gave shall see fit to take away. Your extream Fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extream Affliction; and your Loss may have been a Punishment for your Faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. 'Tis at least pious to ascribe all the Ill that befalls us to our own Demerits, rather than to Injustice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the Issues of his Providence in the Effects, than enquire into the Causes: For Submission is the only Way of Reasoning between a Creature and its Maker; and Contentment in his Will is the greatest Duty we can pretend to, and the best Remedy we can apply to our Misfortunes.

But, Madam, tho' Religion were no Party in your Case, and that for so violent and injurious a Grief you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the World and your self; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the World with us a poor, needy, uncertain Life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best; all the Imaginations of the Witty and the Wise have been perpetually busied to find out the Ways how to revive it with Pleasures, or relieve it with Diversions; how to compose it with Ease, and settle it with Safety. To some of these Ends have been employed the Institutions of Law-givers, the Reasonings of Philosophers, the Inventions of Poets, the Pains of labouring, and the Extravagances of voluptuous Men. All the World is perpetually at work about nothing else, but only that our poor mortal Lives should pass the easier and happier for that little time we possess them, or else end the better when we lose them. Upon this Occasion Riches came to be coveted, Honours to be esteemed, Friendship and Love to be pursued, and Virtues themselves to be admired in the World. Now, Madam, is it not to bid Defiance to all Mankind, to condemn their universal Opinions and Designs, if instead of passing your Life as well and easily, you resolve to pass it as ill and as miserably as you can? You grow insensible to the Conveniences of Riches, the Delights of Honour and Praise, the Charms of Kindness or Friendship, nay to the Observance or Applause of Virtues themselves; for who can you expect, in these Excesses of Passion, will allow you to shew either Temperance or Fortitude, to be either Prudent or Just? And for your Friends, I suppose, you reckon upon losing their Kindness, when you have sufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, since you have none left for your self or any thing else. You declare upon all Occasions, you are incapable of receiving any Comfort or Pleasure in any Thing that is left in this World; and I assure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no Hopes ever to please you.

Among the several Inquiries and Endeavours after the Happiness of Life, the sensual Men agree in Pursuit of every Pleasure they can start, without regarding the Pains of the Chase, the Weariness when it ends, or how little the Quarry is worth. The busy and ambitious fall into the more lasting Pursuits of Power and Riches; the speculative Men prefer Tranquillity of Mind, before the different Motions of Passion and Appetite, or the common Succession of Desire and Satiety, of Pleasure and Pain; but this may seem too dull a Principle for the Happiness of Life, which is ever in Motion; and Passions

Passions are perhaps the Stings, without which they say no Honey is made; yet I think all sorts of Men have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Masters; to give us some Agitation for Entertainment or Exercise, but never to throw our Reason out of its Seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on Horse-back; but I would never ride a Horse that galls my Flesh, or shake my Bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a River or Precipice. Better no Passions at all, than have them too violent; or such alone, as instead of heightening our Pleasures, afford us nothing but Vexation and Pain.

In all such Losses as your Ladyship's has been, there is something that common Nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good Nature may be allowed; but all excessive and outrageous Grief or Lamentation for the Dead, was accounted among the Ancient Christians to have something of Heathenish; and among the Civil Nations of Old, to have something of Barbarous; and therefore it has been the Care of the first to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to restrain it by their Law. The longest Time that has been allowed to the Forms of Mourning by the Custom of any Country, and in any Relation, has been but that of a Year, in which Space the Body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to Earth, and to retain no more Figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the Loss of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other side, to Children under Age, nothing has been allowed; and I suppose with particular Reason (the common Ground of all general Customs;) perhaps because they die in Innocence, and without having tasted the Miseries of Life, so as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escape much Ill which would in all Appearance have befallen them if they had staid longer with us. Besides, a Parent may have twenty Children, and so his Mourning may run through all the best of his Life, if his Losses are frequent of that kind; and our Kindness to Children so young, is taken to proceed from common Opinions, or fond Imaginations, not Friendship or Esteem; and to be grounded upon Entertainment, rather than Use in the many Offices of Life; nor would it pass from any Person besides your Ladyship, to say you lost a Companion and a Friend at nine Year old, though you lost one indeed, who gave the fairest Hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing else that was estimable and good: But yet, that it self God only knows, considering the Changes of Humour and Disposition, which are as great as those of Feature and Shape the first sixteen Years of our Lives, considering the Chances of Time, the Infection of Company, the Snares of the World, and the Passions of Youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable Creature of that tender Age, and that seemed born under the happiest Stars, might by the Course of Years and Accidents come to be the most miserable her self, and more Trouble to her Friends by living long, than she could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your Loss so great, and some Measure of your Grief so deserved, that would all your passionate Complaints, all the Anguish of your Heart do any thing to retrieve it; could Tears water the lovely Plant, so as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would Sighs furnish new Breath, or could it draw Life and Spirits from the wasting of yours; I am sure your Friends would be so far from accusing your Passion, that they would encourage it as much, and share it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguish all such Hopes, forbid all such Designs: Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the Excesses of Grief to have been so universally condemned as a Thing unnatural, because so much in vain; whereas Nature they say does nothing in vain: As a Thing so unreasonable, because so contrary to our own Designs; for we all design to be well, and at Ease, and by Grief we make ourselves ill of imaginary Wounds, and raise our selves Troubles most properly out of the Dust, whilst our Ravings and Complaints are but like Arrows shot up into the Air, at no Mark, and so to

no purpose, but only to fall back upon our Heads, and destroy our selves instead of recovering or revenging our Friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will say, this is your Design, or if not, your Desire; but I hope you are not yet so far gone, or so desperately bent: Your Ladyship knows very well, your Life is not your own, but his that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from some common Hand. It belongs in a great measure to your Country, and your Family; and therefore by all human Laws, as well as Divine, Self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greatest Crime, and is punish'd here with the utmost Shame, which is all that can be inflict'd upon the Dead. But is the Crime much less to kill ourselves by a slow Poison, than by a sudden Wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual Grief, can we think our selves innocent? What great Difference is there if we break our Hearts, or consume them; if we pierce them, or bruise them; since all determines in the same Death, as well as arises from the same Despair? But what if it goes not so far? 'Tis not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very ill: Though I do not kill my Neighbour, is it no Hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the Conveniences of Life? The greatest Crime is for a Man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by Anguish of Heart, by Grief, or Despair, to ruin his Health, to shorten his Age, to deprive himself of all the Pleasures, or Eases, or Enjoyments of Life?

Next to the Mischiefs we do our selves, are those we do our Children, and our Friends, as those who deserve best of us, or at least deserve no Ill. The Child you carry about you, what has that done, that you should endeavour to deprive it of Life, almost as soon as you bestow it? Or if at the best you suffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill Usage of your self, should so much impair the Strength of its Body and Health, and perhaps the very Temper of its Mind, by giving it such an Infusion of Melancholy, as may serve to discolour the Objects, and disrelish the Accidents it may meet with in the common Train of Life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another you are? Were it a small Injury to my Lord *Capel*, to deprive him of a Mother, from whose Prudence and Kindness he may justly expect the Cares of his Health and Education, the forming of his Body, and the cultivating of his Mind; the Seeds of Honour and Virtue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy Life? How has my Lord of *Essex* deserved, that you should go about to lose Him a Wife he loves with so much Passion, and, which is more, with so much Reason; so great an Honour and Support to his Family, so great a Hope to his Fortune, and Comfort to his Life? Are there so many left to your own Great Family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it by suffering the greatest and almost last Branch of it to wither away before its Time? Or is your Country in this Age so stor'd with great Persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so noble a Race?

Whilst I had any Hopes your Tears would ease you, or that your Grief would consume it self by Liberty and Time, your Ladyship knows very well I never once accus'd it, nor ever encreas'd it, like many others, by the common formal Ways of awlaging it; and this I am sure is the first Office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwise than in the most ordinary Forms. I was in hopes what was so violent, could nor be so long; but I observed it to grow stronger with Age, and encrease like a Stream the further it run; when I saw it draw out so much unhappy Consequences, and threaten no less than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this Endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyship for God's Sake and for your own, for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Country's and your Family's, that you would no longer abandon your self to so disconsolate a Passion; but that you would at length awaken your Piety, give way to your Prudence, or at least rouse up the invincible Spirit of the *Pierces*, that never yet shrunk at any Disaster; that you would some-

times

times remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not always the Losses; cherish those Veins of good Humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and fear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your Children, and to your self: But above all, that you would enter upon the Cares of your Health, and your Life, for your Friend's Sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an Honour and Satisfaction, as if your Ladyship would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your Pardon for the Attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at Heart a greater Honour for your Ladyship's Family, nor can have for your Person more Devotion and Esteem than,

M A D A M,

Your Ladyship's most Obedient

and most Humble Servant.



A N

A N

E S S A Y

Upon the CURE of the

G O U T

B Y

M O X A.

*Written to Monsieur de ZULICHEM.**Nimeguen, June 18, 1677.*

I Never thought it would have befallen me to be the first that should try a new Experiment, any more than to be Author of any new Invention; being little inclined to practise upon others, and as little that others should practise upon me. The same Warmth of Head disposes Men to both, though one be commonly esteemed an Honour, and the other a Reproach. I am sorry the first, and the worst of the two, is fallen to my share, by which all a Man can hope is to avoid Censure, and that is much harder than to gain Applause: For this may be done by one great or wise Action in an Age; but to avoid Censure a Man must pass his Life without saying or doing one ill or foolish Thing.

This might serve the Turn, if all Men were just; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idlest Pretension in the World to live without it; the meanest Subject censuring the Actions of the greatest Prince; the silliest Servants of the wisest Master; and young Children of the oldest Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my self to give any Account of an Experiment I made by your Persuasion, to satisfie those who imputed it to Folly, Rashness or Impatience; but to satisfie you who proposed the Thing in kindness to me, and desired the Relation of it, in kindness to other Men.

I confess your engaging me first in this Adventure of the *Moxa*, and desiring the Story of it from me, is like giving one the Torture, and then asking his Confession; which is hard Usage to an innocent Man and a Friend. Besides, having

having suffered the first, I took my self to have a Right of refusing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be disputed in either; and the Pretence of publick Good is a Cheat that will ever pass in the World, though so often abused by ill Men, that I wonder the good do not grow ashamed to use it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but say that I have done, as well as suffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the Story with the more Circumstance, because many questioned the Disease, that they might not allow of the Cure; though the Certainty of one, and Force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two Returns since I left you at the *Hague*, which pass with the same Success. The Reasonings upon this Method, which seem to confirm the Experiment, and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the same End for which you seemed so much to desire this Relation. The Digressions I cannot excuse otherwise, than by the Confidence that no Man will read them, who has not at least as much leisure as I had when I writ them; and whosoever dislikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For those about Temperance, Age, or their Effects and Periods in reference to publick Business, they could be better address'd to none, than to you, who have pass'd the longest Life with the most Temperance, and the best Health and Humour of any Man I know; and having run through so much great and publick Business, have found out the Secret so little known, that there is a Time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one Piece of Merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *English*, being the Language I always observ'd to have most of your Kindness among so many others of your Acquaintance. If your Partiality to that, and to me, and to your own Request, will not excuse all the Faults of this Paper, I have nothing more to say for it, and so will leave you to judge of it as you please.

AMong all the Diseases to which the Intemperance of this Age disposes it (at least in these Northern Climates) I have observ'd none to increase so much within the Compass of my Memory and Conversation, as the *Gout*, nor any, I think, of worse consequence to Mankind; because it falls generally upon Persons engag'd in publick Affairs and great Employments, upon whose Thoughts and Cares (if not their Motions and their Pains) the common Good and Service of their Country so much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Ministers in Councils at home, and Embassies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally subject to it in one degree or other. I suppose the Reason of this may be, that Men seldom come into these Posts till after forty Years old, about which time the natural Heat beginning to decay, makes way for those Distempers they are most inclined to by their Native Constitutions, or by their Customs and Habits of Life. Besides, Persons in those Posts are usually born of Families Noble and Rich, and so derive a Weakness of Constitution from the Ease and Luxury of their Ancestors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from those very Employments, and the general Custom of living in them at such Expence, engages Men in the constant Use of great Tables, and in frequent Excesses of several Kinds, which must end in Diseases when the Vigour of Youth is past, and the Force of Exercise (that served before to spend the Humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive Life.

These I take to be the Reasons of such Persons being so generally subject to such Accidents more than other Men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill Consequence of it is not so obvious, tho' perhaps as evident to Men that observe; and may be equally confirm'd by Reasons and Examples. It is that the Vigour of the Mind decays with that of the Body, and not only Humour and Invention, but even Judgment and Resolution, change and languish, with ill Constitution of Body, and

of Health; and by this means publick Busines comes to suffer by private Infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into Weaknesses and Distempers or Decays of those Persons that manage them.

Within these fifteen Yeats past, I have known a great Fleet disabled for two Months, and thereby lose great Occasions, by an Indisposition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exercise, nor ill enough to leave the Command. I have known two Towns of the greatest Consequence lost contrary to all Forms, by the Governour's falling ill in the Time of the Sieges.

I have observed the Fate of *Compania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the Caution and Conduct of a General, which were attributed by those that knew him, to his Age and Infirmities, rather than his own true Qualities, acknowledged otherwise to have been as great as most Men of the Age. I have seen the Counsels of a Noble Country grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill Health that managed them, and the Pulse of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct makes way for great Accidents in the World: Nay, I have often reflected upon the Counsels and Fortunes of the greatest Monarchies rising and decaying sensibly with the Ages and Healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Minister that confessed to me, when he fell into one of his usual Fits of the *Gout*, He was no longer able to bend his Mind or Thoughts to any publick Busines, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domesticks, though it were to save a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any Violence of Pain, but from a general Languishing and Faintness of Spirits, which made him in those Fits think nothing worth the Trouble of one careful or solicitous Thought. For the Approaches or Lurkings of the *Gout*, the *Spleen*, or the *Scurvy*, may the very Fumes of Indigestion, may indispose Men to Thought and to Care, as well as Diseases of Danger and Pain.

Thus Accidents of Health grow to be Accidents of State, and publick Constitutions come to depend in a great measure upon those of particular Men; which makes it perhaps seem necessary in the Choice of Persons for great Employments (at least such as require constant Application and Pains) to consider their Bodies as well as their Minds, and Ages and Health as well as their Abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worse Judge of Age, I have often said, that what great Thing soever Man proposed to do in his Life, he should think of atchieving it by fifty Years old. Now I am approaching that Age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no Man rides to an End of that Stage without feeling his Journey in all Parts, whatever Distinctions are made between the Mind and the Body, between Judgment and Memory. And though I have known some few, who might perhaps be of use in Council upon great Occasions, till after Threescore and Ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in *Spain*, Counts of *Castiglio* and *Pignoranda*, were so till Fourscore: Yet I will not answer, that the very Conduct of publick Affairs, under their Ministry, has not always tasted of the Lees of their Age.

I observe in this Assembly at *Nimeguen*, from so many several Parts of *Christendom*, that of One and Twenty Ambassadors, there are but three above fifty Years old, which seems an Argument, of my Opinion being in a manner general: Nor can I think the Period ill calculated, at least for a great General of Armies, or Minister of State, in Times or Scenes of great Action, when the Care of the State or an Army ought to be constant as the *Chymicks* Fire, to make any great Production; and if it goes out for an Hour, perhaps the whole Operation fails. Now I doubt whether any Man after Fifty be capable of such constant Application of Thought, any more than of long and violent Labour or Exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest Parts. Besides, none that feel sensibly the Decays of Age, and
his

his Life wearing off, can figure to himself those imaginary Charms in Riches and Praise, that Men are apt to do in the Warmth of their Blood; and those are the usual Incentives towards the Attempt of great Dangers and Support of great Trouble and Pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about Five and Fifty, found it was time to give over: That the present Grand *Vizier*, who passes for one of the greatest Men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Ministry about Twenty Eight; and the greatest I have observed, which was that of *Monsieur de Witt*, began at Three and Thirty, and lasted to Forty Eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many Years longer at that Height, even without that fatal End. Among other Qualities which enter'd into the Composition of this Minister, the great Care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life, were not, I think, the least considerable; since from the first he derived his great Temperance, as well as his great Boldness and Constancy from the other. And if Intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of *Gout*, or *Dropsie*, and of *Scurvy*, and most other lingering Diseases, which are those that infect the States; I think Temperance deserves the first Rank among publick Virtues, as well as those of private Men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the constant steady Exercise of Prudence, Justice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon these Grounds, whoever can propose a Way of Curing, or Preventing the *Gout* (which enter'd chiefly into those Examples I have mentioned of publick Affairs suffering by private Indispositions) would perhaps do a Service to Princes and States, as well as to particular Men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being strongly possess'd with a Belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this Subject, may grow a great Way in preventing the Growth of this Disease where it is but new, though perhaps longer Methods are necessary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfather's Death I had reason to apprehend the *Stone*, and from my Father's Life the *Gout*, who has been for this many Years, and still continues much afflicted with it. The first Apprehension has been, I confess, with me ever the strongest, and the other hardly in my Thoughts, having never deserved it by the usual Forms, nor had I ever, I thank God, the least Threat from either of them, till the last Year at the *Hague*, being then in the seven and fortieth Year of my Age; when about the End of *February*, one Night at Supper, I felt a sudden Pain in my right Foot, which from the first Moment it began, encreas'd sensibly, and in an Hour's Time to that degree, that though I said nothing, yet others took Notice of it in my Face, and said they were sure I was not well, and would have had me go to Bed. I confess'd I was in pain, and thought it was with some Sprain at Tennis: I pulled off my Shoo, and with some Ease that gave me, stir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three Hours after my Pain began. I went away to Bed, but it rag'd so much all Night, that I could not sleep a wink. I endured it till about Eight next Morning, in hopes still of stealing some Rest; but then making my Complaints, and shewing my Foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my Extremity of Pain, began to apply common Pollices to it; and by the frequent Change of them I found some Ease, and continued this Exercise all that Day, and a great Part of the following Night, which I pass'd with very little Rest. The Morning after, my Foot began to swell, and the Violence of my Pain to assuage, though it left such a Soreness, that I could hardly suffer the Cloaths of my Bed, nor stir my Foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my Illness being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the *Gout*; and being no longer Feverish, or in any Extremity of Pain, I was content to see Company. Every body that came to visit me, found something to say upon the Occasion; some made a Jest of it, or a little Reproach; others were serious in their Mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy Accident and Sign of long Life. The *Spaniards* ask'd me

Albicias for telling me the News, that I might be sure 'twas the *Gout*; and in short, none of the Company was in ill Humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever or a worse Disease at that Time, where the Danger might have been greater, but the Trouble and the Melancholy would, I am sure, have been less.

Though I had never feared the *Gout*, yet I had always scorned it as an Effect commonly of Intemperance; and hated it, as what I thought made Men unfit for any Thing after they were once deep engaged in it: Besides, I was press'd in my Journey at that Time to *Nimeguen* by his Majesty's Commands, to assist at the Treaty there. Most of the Ambassadors from the several Parts of *Christendom* were upon their Way: One of my *Collegues* was already upon the Place, and I had promised immediately to follow; for by our Commission we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this Pinch, I had always heard that a Fit of the *Gout* used to have six Weeks at the least for its ordinary Period. With these Comforts about me, and Sullenness enough to use no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monsieur *Zulichem* came to see me (among the rest of my Friends) who, I think, never came into Company without saying something that was new, and so he did upon my Occasion. For talking of my Illness, and approving of my Obtinacy against all the common Prescriptions; he ask'd me whether I had never heard the *Indian* Way of curing the *Gout* by *Moxa*? I told him no, and asked him what it was? He said it was a certain kind of Moss that grew in the *East-Indies*; that their Way was, whenever any body fell into a Fit of the *Gout*, to take a small Quantity of it, and form it into a Figure broad at bottom as a Two-Pence, and pointed at top; to set the Bottom exactly upon the Place where the Violence of the Pain was fixed; then with a small round perfum'd Match (made likewise in the *Indies*) to give Fire to the Top of the Moss; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the Skin, and burnt it till the Moss was consumed to Ashes: That many times the first Burning would remove the Pain; if not, it was to be renewed a second, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the Person found he could set his Foot boldly to the Ground and walk.

I desired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He said, by the Relation of several who had seen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Minister at *Batavia*, who being extremely tormented with a Fit of the *Gout*, an old *Indian* Woman coming to see him, undertook to cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many Experiments of it there, had written this Treatise of it in *Dutch* for the Use of his Countrymen, and sent over a Quantity of the Moss and Matches to his Son at *Utrecht*, to be sold, if any would be persuaded to use them. That though he could not say whether Experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, he thought he should try it if ever he should fall into that Disease.

I desired the Book, which he promised to send me next Morning; and this Discourse of Monsieur *Zulichem* busied my Head all Night. I hated the very Name of the *Gout*, and thought it a Reproach; and for the good Sign People called it, I could not find that mended an ill Thing; nor could I like any Sign of living long in Weakness or in Pain. I deplored the Loss of my Legs, and Confinement to my Chamber, at an Age that left me little Pleasure but of Walking and of Air; but the worst Circumstance of all, was the Sentence pass'd upon it of being without Cure.

I had pass'd Twenty Years of my Life, and several Accidents of Danger in my Health, without any Use of Physicians; and from some Experiments of my own, as well as much Reading and Thought upon that Subject, had reasoned my self into an Opinion, that the Use of them and their Methods (unless in some sudden and acute Disease) was it self a very great Venture; and that their greatest Practisers practis'd least upon themselves, or their Friends. I had ever quarrell'd with their studying Art more than Nature, and applying them-

themselves to Methods, rather than to Remedies ; whereas the Knowledge of the last is all that Nine Parts in Ten of the World have trusted to in all Ages.

But for the common Remedies of the *Gout*, I found Exceptions to them all ; the Time of Purging was past with me, which otherwise I should certainly have tried upon the Authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who says it should be done upon the first Motion of the Humour in the *Gout*. For *Poltices*, I knew they allayed Pain ; but withal, that they drew down the Humours, and supplied the Parts, thereby making the Passages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity ; and I had often heard it concluded, that the Use of them ended in losing that of one's Limbs, by weakening the Joynt upon every Fit. For Plaisters that had any Effect, I thought it must be by dispersing or repelling the Humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps some other Disease of the Bowels, the Stomach, or the Head. Rest and Warmth either of Cloaths or Bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the Effects of *Poltices* ; and Sweating was proper for Prevention rather than Remedy. So that all I could end in with any Satisfaction, was Patience and Abstinence ; and though I easily resolved of the last, yet the first was hard to be found in the Circumstances of my Business as well as of my Health.

All this made me rave upon Monsieur *Zulichem's* new Operation ; and for the Way of curing by Fire, I found twenty Things to give me an Opinion of it. I remembered what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who used it in most Diseases ; and what I had often heard of that Practice still continuing among the *Moors* of *Africk* ; so that a Slave is seldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* affirm) who has not many Scars of the Hot-Iron upon his Body, which they use upon most Distempers, but especially those of the Head, and consequently in Physick as well as in Surgery. In the Time of the *Incas* Reign in *Peru* (which I take to have been one of the greatest Constitutions of Absolute Monarchy that has been in the World) no Composition was allowed by the Laws to be used in Point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Disease. Burning was much in use either by Natural or Artificial Fires ; particularly for all Illness of Teeth, and Soreness or Swelling of the Gums (which they were subject to from their Nearness to the Sea) they had an Herb that never failed of curing it, and being laid to the Gums, burnt away all the Flesh that was swelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as found as that of a Child. I remembered to have had my self in my Youth, one cruel Wound cured by scalding Medicament, after it was grown so putrefied as to have (in the Surgeon's Opinion) endangered the Bone ; and the violent Swelling and Eruise of another, taken away as soon as I received it, by scalding it with Milk. I remembered the Cure of *Chilblanes* when I was a Boy (which may be called the *Childrens Gout*) by burning at the Fire, or else by scalding Brine, that has (I suppose) the same Effect. I had heard of curing the Stings of Adders, and Bites of Mad-Dogs, by immediately burning the Part with a Hot Iron ; and of some strange Cures of *Frenzies*, by casual Applications of Fire to the lower Parts ; which seems reasonable enough, by the violent Revulsion it may make of Humours from the Head ; and agrees with the Opinions and Practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps blistering in the Neck, and hot Pidgeons, may be in use among us upon the same Grounds ; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of such Effect in the Case of old Ulcers as Fire, which is certainly the greatest Drawer and Drier, and thereby the greatest Cleanser that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diseases of Cattle, there is nothing more commonly used nor with greater Success ; and concluded it was but a Tenderness to Mankind that made it less in use amongst us, and which had introduced Corrosives and Causticks to supply the Place of it, which are indeed but artificial Fires.

I mention all these Reflections, to shew that the Experiment I resolved to make, was upon Thought, and not Rashness or Impatience (as those called

it that would have dissuaded me from it;) but the chief Reason was, that I liked no other, because I knew they failed every Day, and left Men in Despair of being well cured of the Gout.

Next Morning I looked over the Book which Monsieur *Zulichem* had promised me, written by the Minister at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* Philosophy, or Reasonings upon the Cause of the *Gout*; but yet thought them as probable as those of Physicians here; and liked them so much the better, because it seems their Opinion in the Point is general among them, as well as their Method of Curing; whereas the Differences among ours are almost as many in both as there are Physicians that reason upon the Causes or practise upon the Cure of that Disease. They hold, that the Cause of the *Gout* is a malignant Vapour that falls upon the Jynt between the Bone and the Skin that covers it, which being the most sensible of all Parts of the Body, causes the Violence of the Pain. That the Swelling is no Part of the Disease, but only an Effect of it, and a Kindness in Nature, that, to relieve the Part affected, calls down Humours to damp the Malignity of the Vapour, and thereby asswage the Sharpness of the Pain; which seldom fails whenever the Part grows very much swelled. That consequently the Swellings and Returns of the *Gout*, are chiefly occasioned by the ill Methods of curing it at first. That this Vapour falling upon Joynts which have not Motion, and thereby Heat enough to dispel it, cannot be cured otherwise than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the present Ceasing of the Pain upon the Second, Third, or Fourth Application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few Minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the last burning, an extream Stench comes out of the Skin where the Fire had opened it.

Whatever the Reasonings were, which yet seemed ingenious enough; the Experiments alledged with so much Confidence, and to be so general in those Parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain Man, and one whose Profession was to tell Truth, helped me to resolve upon making the Tryal. I was confirmed in this Resolution by a *German* Physician, Doctor *Theodore Coledy*, who was then in my Family, a sober and intelligent Man, whom I dispatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me some of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact Method of using it, from the Man that sold it, who was Son to the Minister of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole Operation upon his Hand by the Man's Direction. I immediately made the Experiment in the manner before related, setting the *Moxa* just upon the Place where the first Violence of my Pain began, which was the Joint of my great Toe, and where the greatest Anger and Soreness still continued, notwithstanding the Swelling of my Foot, so that I had never yet in five Days been able to stir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the first Burning I found the Skin shrink all round the Place; and whether the greater Pain of the Fire had taken away the Sense of a smaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it less than it was: I burnt it the second time, and upon it observed the Skin about it to shrink, and the Swelling to flat yet more than at first. I began to move my Toe, which I had not done before; but I found some Remainers of Pain. I burnt it the third time, and observed still the same Effects without, but a much greater within; for I stirred the Joint several times at Ease; and growing bolder, I set my Foot to the Ground without any Pain at all. After this I pursued the Method prescribed by the Book, and the Author's Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruised Clove of Garlick laid to the Place that was burnt, and covered with a large Place of *Diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more Pain, and treading still bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a Slipper to let in my Foot, swelled as it was, and walk'd half a dozen Turns about the Room, without any Pain or Trouble, and much to the Surprise of those that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had

reasoned

reasoned my self before-hand into an Opinion of the Thing, yet I could not expect such an Effect as I found, which seldom reaches to the Degree that is promised by the Prescribers of any Remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied so late, and the Prescription reaching only to the first Attack of the Pain, and before the Part begins to swell.

For the Pain of the Burning it self, the first time it is sharp, so that a Man may be allowed to complain; I resolv'd I would not, but that I would count to a certain Number, as the best Measure how long it lasted. I told Sixscore and Four, as fast as I could; and when the Fire of the *Moxa* was out, all Pain of Burning was over. The second time was not near so sharp as the first, and the third a great deal less than the second. The Wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only scorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole Trouble of the Operation, than half a quarter of an Hour's Pain in the Degree I felt it the first whole Night.

After Four and Twenty Hours, I had it opened, and found a great Blister drawn by the Garlick, which I used no more, but had the Blister cut, which run a good deal of Water, but filled again by the next Night; and this continued for three Days, with only a Plaister of *Diopalma* upon it; after which time the Blister dried up, and left a Sore about as big as a Two-pence, which healed and went away in about a Weeks time longer; but I continued to walk every Day, and without the least Return of Pain, the Swelling still growing less, though it were near Six Weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common Opinion, that walking too much might draw down the Humour; which I have since had reason to conclude a great Mistake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the first Day the Pain left me, the Swelling might have left me too in a much less Time.

The Talk of this Cure run about the *Hague*, and made the Conversation in other Places, as well as in the Visits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a Fortnight after the Burning. Monsieur *Zulichen* came to me among the rest of the good Company of the Town, and much pleased with my Success, as well from his own great Humanity and particular Kindness to me, as from the Part he had in being the first Prescriber of my Cure, and from the Opinion it gave him of a common good Fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of *Gout*.

Among others he told it to Monsieur *Serinchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorraine's*, then in Town; a Person very much and very deservedly esteemed among all the good Company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the Score of his own good Humour, or his Master's ill Fortunes: He had been long subject to the *Gout*, and with constant Returns of long and violent Fits two or three times in a Year. He was a Man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy Health whilst he had it, without making too much Reflection upon what was to follow; and so, when he was well, denied himself nothing of what he had a mind to Eat or Drink; which gave him a Body full of Humours, and made his Fits of the *Gout* as Frequent and Violent as most I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as soon as they were past, till a new Remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel Fit, which was fallen upon his Knee, and with extream Pain: When he heard of my Cure, he sent to me first for the Relation of it; and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to apply it. He suffer'd it; but after his pleasant Way roared out, and swore at me all the while it was Burning, and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I sent to burn him alive? Yet with all this, the Pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the same Place; but he was something discouraged by a new Pain falling some Days after upon his Elbow on the other Side, which gave him a new Fit, though gentler and shorter than they used to be.

About the same Time one of the Maids of my House was grown almost desperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of Sleep upon it, and was without
Remedy.

Remedy. The Book gives the same Cure for certain in that Illness, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the Man who sold it at *Utrecht* had assured *Coleby* he had seen many Cures by it in that kind. We resolved to try; which was done, and the Pain immediately taken away, and the Wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at least while she was in my House.

Thus passed the first Experiment; upon which *Monfieur Zulichem* giving an Account of it to some of his Friends at *Gresham-College*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to desire me from them, and from himself, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a Thing which might prove in appearance of common Utility to so great Numbers as were subject to that Disease; and told me, that some of *Gresham-College* had already given order for translating into *English* the little *Bavarian* Treatise. I commended the Care of publishing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an Experiment I had reason to approve; but excused my self from any Relation of my own, as having too much Business at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in Publick. I had another Reason to decline it, that ever used to go far with me upon all new Inventions or Experiments, which is, that the best Tryal of them is by Time, and observing whether they live or no; and that one or two Tryals can pretend to make no Rule, no more than one Swallow a Summer; and so before I told my Story to more than my Friends, I had a mind to make more Tryals my self, or see them made by other People as wise as I had been.

During the Confinement of this Fit, I fell into some Methods, and into much Discourse upon the Subject of the *Gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth Reflection by such as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* Cure. In the first place, from the Day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I restrained by self to so regular a Diet, as to eat Flesh but once a Day, and little at a Time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate Draught, either of Water or Small Ale. I concluded to trust to Abstinence and Exercise, as I had ever resolved, if I fell into this Disease; and if it continued, to confine my self wholly to the Milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great Examples, and had a great Opinion even in long and inveterate *Gouts*. Besides this Refuge, I met with, in my Visits and Conversation arising upon my Illness, many Notions or Medicines very new to me, and Reflections that may be so perhaps to other Men. Old Prince *Maurice of Nassau* told me, he laugh'd at the *Gout*, and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him Care nor Trouble. That he used but one Remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good Quantity of Horse-dung from a Stone-horse of the *Hermelime* Colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a Native White, with a sort of a raw Nose, and the same commonly about the Eyes. That when this was well boiled in Water, he set his Leg in a Pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an Hour together. That after it, he drew his Leg immediately into a warm Bed, to continue the Perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the Remedy be good, or the Circumstances of Colour signify any thing more, than to make more Mystery, I know not; but I observed, that he ever had a Sett of such *Hermelime* Horses in his Coach, which he told we was on purpose that he might never want this Remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambassador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, gave me a Receipt of the Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* Physician of the Emperor's had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as himself, and the last Year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: The Use of this I am apt to esteem, both from the Quality given it of provoking Sweat extremely, and of taking away all Sharpness from whatever you put it in; which must both be of good effect in the Cure of the *Gout*

The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed last Summer before *Maftricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long subject to the *Gout*, and never used other Method or Remedy, than upon the very first Fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the Weather was, and as long as he was able to stand, and pressing still most upon the Foot that threatened him; when he came home he went to a warm Bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the Place where the Pain begun. If it continued, or returned next Day, he repeated the same Course, and was never laid up with it; and before his Death recommended this Course to his Son, if he should fall into that Accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *East-Indies*, told me, in one Part of them, where he had lived some Time, the general Remedy of all that were subject to the *Gout*, was rubbing with Hands; and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that constantly every Day, and relieve one another by turns till the Motion raised a violent Heat about the Joints where it was chiefly used, was never troubled much, or laid up by that Disease.

My youngest Brother told me he had a Keeper very subject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was still walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the Fits upon him, as at other Times, and often from Morning to Night, though in Pain all the while. This he gave me as one Instance, that poor and toiling Men have sometimes the *Gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more Notice of it, than his Keeper did; who yet he confess'd used to bring the Fits of *Gout* upon him, by Fits of Drinking, which no doubt is a Receipt that will hardly fail, if Men grow old in the Custom.

Monsieur *Serinchamps* told me, a *Lerrain* Surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary Way than any of these, which was by whipping the naked Part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over blister'd; and that he had once persuaded him to perform this Penance in a sharp Fit he had, and the Pain in his Knee so Violent, as helped him to endure this Remedy. He said it was cruel; that all where he was whip'd grew so angry, and swell'd as well as blister'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that Night. The next Morning the Part was all as stiff as a Boot, and the Skin like Parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain Oil likewise of Nettles, it pass'd in two Days, and the *Gout* too, without feeling any more Pain than that Fit.

All these Things put together, with what a great Physician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other Cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *Gout* was a Companion that ought to be treated like an Enemy, and by no means like a Friend, and that grew troublesome chiefly by good Usage; and this was confirmed to me, by considering that it haunted usually the Easte and the Rich, the Nice and the Lazy, who grow to endure much, because they can endure little: That make much of it as soon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themselves too: That take care to carry it presently to Bed, and keep it Safe and Warm, and indeed lay up the *Gout* for two or three Months while they give out, that the *Gout* lays upon them. On t'other side, it hardly approaches the Rough and the Poor, such as labour for Meat, and eat only for Hunger; that drink Water, either pure, or but discoloured with Malt; that know no Use of Wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if such Men happen by their native Constitutions to fall into the *Gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leisure to be sick; or they use it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it Wet and Cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced by that to fast more than before, and if it lasts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very Name of the *Gout*.

But to follow my Experiment: I pass'd that Summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the least Remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring,

till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a Pain that I knew not what to make of, in the same Joint, but of my other Foot: I had flattered my self with Hopes, that the Vapour had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the Business had been ended; this made me neglect my *Moxa* for two Days, the Pain not being violent, till at last my Foot began to swell, and I could set it no longer to the Ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the Pain went clear away, as it did upon the last, and I walked at Ease, as I had done the first Time, and within six Days after above a League, without the least Return of any Pain.

I continued well till this Spring, when about the end of *March* feeling again the same Pain, and in the same Joint, but of the first Foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third Time; was never off my Legs, nor kept my Chamber a Day. Upon both these last Experiments I omitted the Application of Garlick, and contented my self with a Plaister only of *Diapalma* upon the Place that was burnt, which crusted and healed in very few Days, and without any Trouble. I have since continued perfectly well to this present *June*; and with so much Confidence of the Cure, that I have been content to trouble my self some Hours with telling the Story, which, 'tis possible, may at one time or other be thought worth making Publick, if I am further confirmed by more Time and Experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only satisfy Monsieur *Zulichem*, but my self too, who should be sorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other Men, though never so unknown.

But this Cure, I suppose, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate *Gouts*, grown habitual by long and frequent Returns, by Dispositions of the Stomach to convert even the best Nourishment into those Humours, and the Vessels to receive them. For such Constitutions, by all I have discovered, or considered upon this Subject, the Remedies (if any) are to be proposed either from a constant Course of the Milken Diet, continued at least for a Year together; or else from some of those Methods commonly used in the Cure of a worse Disease (if at least I may be so bold with one that is so much in vogue;) the usual Exceptions to the first, are not only so long a Constraint, but the Weakness of Spirits whilst it continues, and the Danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be some Care necessary in this last Point, upon so great a Change; but for the other, I have met with no Complaints among those that have used it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done so, more, I believe, than any other Man, has told me he never found himself in so much Vigour, as in the midst of that Course. I have known so many great Examples of this Cure, and heard of its being so familiar in *Austria*, that I wonder it has gained no more Ground in other Places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the Loss of Pain is generally thought to be purchased too dear by the Loss of Pleasure.

For the other, I met with a Physician, whom I esteemed a Man of Truth, that told me of several great Cures of the *Gout*, by a Course of *Guaiacum*, and of two Patients of his own that had gone so far as to be fluxed for it, and with Success. And indeed there seems nothing so proper, as what pretends to change the whole Mass of the Blood, or else a long Course of violent Perspiration. But the Mischief is, That the *Gout* is commonly the Disease of aged Men, who cannot go through with these strong Remedies, which young Men play with upon other Occasions; and the Reason, I suppose, why these Ways are so little practised, is because it happens so seldom that young Men have the *Gout*.

Let the Disease be new or old, and the Remedies either of common or foreign Growth, there is one Ingredient of absolute Necessity in all Cases: For whoever thinks of curing the *Gout* without great Temperance, had better resolve to endure it with Patience: And I know not whether some desperate Degrees of Abstinence would not have the same Effect upon other Men, as

they

they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Physicians, by long and cruel Pains of a Dropfical *Gout*, and despairing of any Cure, resolv'd by degrees to starve himself to Death, and went so far, that the Physicians found he had ended his Disease instead of his Life; and told him, That to be well, there would need nothing but only resolve to live. His Answer was noble; That since dying was a Thing to be done, and he was now so far on his Way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was said and done, and could indeed have been so by none, but such a Man at *Atticus*, who was singular in his Life, as well as his Death, and has been ever, I confess, by me as much esteem'd in both, as any of those that have made greater Figures upon the busy Scenes of their own Times, and since in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps some such Methods might succeed with others upon the Designs to live, as they did with him upon those to die; and though such Degrees may be too desperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for those that pretend the Cure of inveterate *Gouts*, or indeed of most other Diseases to which Mankind is expos'd, rather by the Vicioufness than by the Frailty of their Natures. Temperance, that Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives Indolence of Body, and Tranquillity of Mind; the best Guardian of Youth, and Support of old Age; the Precept of Reason, as well as Religion; and Physician of the Soul, as well as the Body; the tutelar Goddesses of Health, and universal Medicine of Life; that clears the Head, and cleanses the Blood; that eases the Stomach, and purges the Bowels; that strengthens the Nerves, enlightens the Eyes, and comforts the Heart: In a word, that secures and perfects Digestion, and thereby avoids the Fumes and Winds to which we owe the Colick and the Spleen; those Crudities and sharp Humours that feed the *Scurvey* and the *Gout*, and those slimy Dregs, out of which the *Gravel* and *Stone* are formed within us. Diseases by which we often condemn ourselves to greater Torments and Miseries of Life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflict'd by the greatest Tyrants upon the worst of Men.

I do not allow the Pretence of Temperance to all such as are seldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for Men may lose their Health, without losing their Senses, and be intemperate every Day, without being drunk perhaps once in their Lives: Nay, for ought I know, if a Man should pass the Month in a College-diet, without Excess or Variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the last Day give a loose in them both, and so far till it comes to serve him for Physick rather than Food, and he utters his Stomach as well as his Heart; he may perhaps, as to the meer Considerations of Health, do much better than another that eats every Day but as Men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is, in Plenty and Luxury, with great Variety of Meats, and a dozen Glasses of Wine at a Meal, still spurring up Appetite when it would lie down of itself; flush'd every Day, but never drunk; and with the Help of dozing three Hours after Dinner, as sober and wise as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon so necessary in all Attempts and Methods of curing the *Gout*, is a regular and simple Diet, limited by every Man's Experience of his own ease Digestion, and thereby proportioning as near as well can be, the daily Repairs to the daily Decays of our wasting Bodies. Nor can this be determined by Measures and Weights, or any general *Lessian* Rules; but must vary with the Vigour or Decays of Age, or of Health, and the Use or Disuse of Air or of Exercise, with the Changes of Appetite; and thereby what every Man may find or suspect of the present Strength or Weakness of Digestion: And in case of Excesses, I take the *German* Proverbial Cure by a *Hair of the same Beast*, to be the worst in the World; and the best to be that which is called the Monks Diet, to eat till you are sick, and fast till you are well again. In all Courses of the *Gout*, the most effectual Point I take to be Abstinence from Wine, further than as a Cordial where Faintness

ness or want of Spirits require it: And the Use of Water where the Stomach will bear it, as I believe most Mens will, and with great Advantage of Digestion, unless they are spoiled with long and constant Use of Wines or other strong Drinks. In that case they must be weaned, and the Habit changed by degrees, and with Time, for fear of falling into Consumptions, instead of recovering *Droppies* or *Gouts*. But the Wines used by those that feel or fear this Disease, or pursue the Cure, should rather be *Spanish* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rhenish*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bordeaux* or *Campagne*; and of the *Rhenish*, the *Ringaw* and *Bleker*, of which at least it may be said that they do not so much harm as the others.

But I have known so great Cures, and so many, done by obstinate Resolutions of drinking no Wine at all, that I put more Weight upon the Part of Temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great Encrease of that Disease in *England* within these twenty Years, may not have been occasioned by the Custom of so much Wine introduced into our constant and common Tables: For this Use may be more pernicious to Health, than that of Taverns and Debauches, according to the old Stile, which were but by Fits, and upon set or casual Encounters. I have sometimes thought that this Custom of using Wine for our common Drink, may alter in time the very Constitution of our Nation, I mean the native Tempers of our Bodies and Minds, and cause a Heat and Sharpness in our Humours, which is not natural to our Climate. Our having been denied it by Nature, is Argument enough that it was never intended us for common Use; nor do I believe it was so in any other Countries, there being so small a Part of the World where it grows; and where it does, the Use of it pure being so little practised, and in some Places defended by Customs or Laws. So that *Turks* have not known it, unless of late Years; and I have met with many *Spaniards*, that never tasted it pure in their Lives; nor in the Time when I was in *France*, did I observe any I convers'd with to drink it unmixt at Meals. The true Use of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to such as drink it seldom; or else what the Mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and Wine to those that are heavy of Heart; let him drink and forget his Poverty, and remember his Misery no more.* At least it ought to be reserv'd for the Times and Occasions of Feast and of Joy, and be treated like a Mistress rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our Wits to our Humours, or our Healths to our Pleasure, or that of one Sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This Philosophy, I suppose, may pass with the youngest and most sensual Men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best Way they can take, is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the Turn.

MISCELLANEA.

THE

SECOND PART.

IN FOUR

ESSAYS.

- I. *Upon* ANTIENT and MODERN LEARNING.
- II. *Upon the* GARDENS of EPICURUS.
- III. *Upon* HEROICK VIRTUE.
- IV. *Upon* POETRY.

— *Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXXXI.

MISCELLANEOUS

1911

RECORDS

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ALMÆ MATRI

ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSI

Has qualescunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas

D. D. Dq;

ALUMNUS Olim

Et semper OBSERVANTISSIMUS

W. TEMPLE.

A N

E S S A Y

U P O N T H E

Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHOWER converses much among the Old Books, will be something hard to please among the New; yet these must have their Part too in the Leisure of an idle Man, and have many of them their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Those of Story or Relation to Matter of Fact, have a Value from their Substance, as much as from their Form; and the Variety of Events, is seldom without Entertainment or Instruction, how indifferently soever the Tale is told. Other Sorts of Writings have little of Esteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are seldom met with of any Excellency, because they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flourish upon them; and are at best but Copies after those Originals, unless upon Subjects never touched by them; such as are all that relate to the different Constitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in several Countries, with all Matters of Controversy that arise upon them.

Two Pieces that have lately pleased me (abstracted from any of these Subjects) are, one in *English* upon the *Amideluvian* World; and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their several Kinds, and upon their several Subjects, which would have made very poor Work in common Hands: I was so pleased with the last (I mean the Fashion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what else I could of the same Hand, till I met with a small Piece concerning Poesy, which gave me the same Exception to both these Authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to. For the first could not end his Learned Treatise without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledge in comparison of the Ancient: And the other falls so grossly in the Censure of the old Poetry and Preference of the new, that I could not read either of these Strains, without some Indignation, which no Quality among Men is so apt to raise in me as Sufficiency, the worst Composition out of the Pride and Ignorance of Mankind. But these two, being not the only Persons of the Age that defend these Opinions, it may be worth examining how far either Reason or Experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their Favour.

The

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing is, first, as to Knowledge; that we must have more than the Ancients, because we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illustrated by the Similitude of a Dwarf's standing upon a Giant's Shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he. Next as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being still the same, these must be much at a Rate in all Ages, at least in the same Climates, as the Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are; and if both these are allowed, they think the Cause is gained. But I cannot tell why we should conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we have from those that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing has not perhaps multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six hundred thousand in the Library of *Ptolemy*, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not, perhaps, by all put together; I mean so many Originals, that have lived any Time, and thereby given Testimony of their having been thought worth preserving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Mushrooms or Flies, are born and die in small Circles of Time; whereas Books, like Proverbs, receive their chief Value from the Stamp and Esteem of Ages through which they have passed. Besides the Account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the lesser *Asia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of those Books which we now call Ancient, both Philosophers and Historians. 'Tis true, that besides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progress of the *Jewish* Nation; all that passed in the rest of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either sunk in the Depths of Time, wrapt up in the Mysteries of Fables, or so maimed by the Want of Testimonies and Loss of Authors, that it appears to us in too obscure a Shade, to make any Judgment upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations of *Justin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make such Excursions beyond the Periods of Time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reason upon them. And this Disagreement it self, after so great a Part of the World became Christian, may have contributed to the Loss of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his Time, of writing many Books there was no End; and whoever considers the Subject and the Style of *Job*, which by many is thought more Ancient than *Moses*, will hardly think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he speaks of the Ancients then, and their Wisdom, as we do now.

But if any should so very rashly and presumptuously conclude, that there were few Books before those we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before those Periods of Time, whereof they give us the short Account. Books may be Helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffused; but I doubt, whether they are necessary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Registers of Time; and these perhaps might be as long preserved without them, by the Care and Exactness of Tradition in the long Successions of certain Races of Men, with whom they were intrusted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the least Use or Mention of Letters, there was remaining among them the Knowledge of what had passed in those mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is said to have flourished in Books and Learning before they had much Progress in *Gaul* or *Britany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what passed there, before the Conquest made of that Country by the *English* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A strange but plain Demonstration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbarism, may succeed each other in the several Countries of the World; how much better the Records of Time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than by Writing in another; and how much we owe to those Learned Languages of

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Greek and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all the *Western* Parts would hardly be known to have been above five or six hundred Years old, nor any Certainty remain of what passed in it before that Time.

'Tis true, in the *Eastern* Regions, there seems to have been a general Custom of the Priests in each Country, having been either by their own Choice, or by Design of the Governments, the perpetual Conservers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this last was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or continued upon every Accession to that Crown, to Register distinctly the Times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Chaldea*, *Persia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, these Cares were committed wholly to the Priests, who were not less diligent in the Registers of Times and Actions, than in the Study and successive Propagation thereby of all natural *Science* and *Philosophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the ancient Colleges, or Societies of Priests, were mighty Reservoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which some Streams entered perhaps every Age, from the Observations or Inventions of any great Spirits or transcendent Genius's, that happened to rise among them; and nothing was left out of these Stores, since the Part of conserving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and easy, as the other is hard and rare among Men.

In these Soils were planted and cultivated those mighty Growths of *Astronomy*, *Astrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, *Natural Philosophy*, and *Ancient Story*. From these Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycorgus*, *Pythagorus*, *Plato*, and others of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them so renowned in all succeeding Ages. I make a Distinction between these two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of Things that are generally agreed to be true by Consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and contested Opinions of Men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns can be probably thought to have made the greatest Progress in the Search and Discoveries of the vast Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been used, and what Labours employ'd by the one and the other in these noble Travels and Pursuits.

The Modern Scholars have their usual Recourse to the Universities of their Countries; some few it may be to those of their Neighbours; and this, in quest of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though these are living, and those, in comparison, but dead Instructors; which like a Hand with an Inscription, can point out the strait Way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are these dead Guides we seek in our Journey? They are at best but some few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in *Greek* and *Latin*, from the Age of *Hippocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six hundred Years. Before that Time I know none, besides some Poets, some Fables, and some few Epistles; and since that Time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Transcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to consider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagorus* were the two Founders of the *Grecian* Philosophy; the First gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or composed: *Thales* was the First of the *Sophi* or Wise Men famous in *Greece*, and is said to have learned his *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Astrology*, *Treology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus* to *Egypt*, *Phoenicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagorus* was the Father of Philosophers, and of the

the Virtues, having in Modesty chosen the Name of a *Lover of Wisdom*, rather than of *Wise*; and having first introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever since in the World: Of these two mighty Men remain no Writings at all, for those Golden Verses that go under the Name of *Pythagoras* are generally rejected as spurious, like many other Fragments of *Sibyls* or old Poets, and some intire Poems that run with Ancient Names: Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Coteinporaries; or whether all that learned of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding Ages, were not by Tradition. But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philosophers drew all those Streams, that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects, as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers.

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced originally from *Egypt* or *Phenicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flourished to that degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopiens*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these Regions some of the *Grecians* travelled in search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Apollonius* (who was but an Ape of the Ancient Philosophers) I shall only trace those of *Pythagoras*, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this Design, and to have brought home the greatest Treasures. He went first to *Egypt*, where he spent two and twenty Years in Study and Conversation, among the several Colleges of Priests, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*; was initiated in all their several Mysteries, in order to gain Admittance and Instruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their highest Ascendent. Twelve Years he spent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans*. Besides these long Abodes, in those Two Regions, celebrated for Ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, says, He gained the Observations of innumerable Ages, He travelled upon the same Scent into *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were renowned in any of these Regions.

What sort of Morals some of those may have been that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to trace out, by the most ancient Accounts that are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries occur more frequent in Story. These were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaste from any other Mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Counsel of their Princes. There was not only particular Care taken of their Birth and Nature, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them was known to have conceived, much Thought and Diligence was employed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant Imaginations, to compose her Mind and her Sleeps, with the best Temper, during the Time she carried her Burthen. This I take to be a Strain beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Lawgivers, who began their Cares of Mankind only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans* continued in the same Degree for their Education and Instruction, in which, and their Studies, and Discipline of their Colleges, or separate Abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent thirty seven Years. Their Learning and Institutions were unwritten, and only Traditional among themselves, by a perpetual Succession. Their Opinions in Natural Philosophy, were, That the World was
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round, that it had a Beginning, and would have an End, but reckon'd both by immense Periods of Time; that the Author of it was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Universe, and was diffus'd through all the Parts of it. They held the Transmigration of Souls, and some us'd Discourses of Infernal Mansions, in many Things, like those of *Plato*. Their Moral Philosophy consist'd chiefly in preventing all Diseases or Distempers of the Body, from which they esteem'd the Perturbation of Mind, in a great measure, to arise. Then, in composing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, esteem'd the troublesome and solicitous Thoughts, about Past and Future, to be like so many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despis'd both Life and Death, Pleasure and Pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Justice was exact and exemplary; their Temperance so great, that they liv'd upon Rice or Herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive Life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently die out of Shame and Sullenness; but many liv'd a Hundred and Fifty, and some Two Hundred Years.

Their Wisdom was so highly esteem'd, that some of them were always employ'd to follow the Courts of their Kings, to advise them upon all Occasions, and instruct them in Justice and Piety; and upon this Regard, *Calanus*, and some others, are said to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conquest of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are so wonderiul, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easie Way for the Credit of all those that we so often meet with in the latter Relation of the *Indies*. Above all the rest, their Fortitude was most admirable in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any Motion whole Days together in the scorching Sun; others standing whole Nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy Piece of Wood or Stone in both Hands, without ever moving (which might be done, upon some sort of Penances usual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives by their own Choice, and not Necessity, and most usually by Fire; some upon Sickness, others upon Misfortunes, some upon meer Safety of Life; so *Calanus*, in *Alexander's* Time, burnt himself publicly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the Time of *Augustus*, upon his constant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living so long as to fall into Diseases or Misfortunes. These were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the most Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which compar'd with our Modern (since Navigation and Trade have discovered so much of those vast Countries) make it easie to conjecture that the present *Banians* have derived from them many of their Customs and Opinions, which are still very like them, after the Course of two thousand Years. For how long Nations, without the Changes introduced by Conquest, may continue in the same Customs, Institutions, and Opinions, will be easily observ'd, in the Stories of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*, of the *Chineses* and *Scythians*: These last being describ'd by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tatars* are reported to do at this Time, in many Parts of those vast Northern Regions.

From these Famous *Indians*, it seems to me most probable, that *Pythagoras* learn'd, and transported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greatest Part of his Natural and Moral Philosophy, rather than from the *Egyptians*, as is commonly suppos'd; for I have not observ'd any Mention of the Transmigration of Souls, held among the *Egyptians*, more Ancient than the Time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus* is said to have brought out of *Egypt* all his Mystical Theology, with the Stories of the *Sygyian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up by the succeeding Poets (with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales, or Traditions) into that Part of the *Pagan* Religion, so long observ'd by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all Parts very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Transmigra-

tion, which, though it was preserved long among some of the succeeding Philosophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it seem unlikely that the *Egyptians* themselves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*; for they are observed, in some Authors, to have done it from the *Ethiopi*ans; and Chronologers, I think, agree, that these were a Colony that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themselves upon that Part of *Africa*, which from their Name was afterward called *Æthiopia*, and in probability brought their Learning and their Customs with them. The *Phœnicians* are likewise said to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red-Sea*, and planted themselves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence spread so far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To strengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from such remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be asserted with great Evidence, that though we know little of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander's* Time; yet those of *China* are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair Records; for these are agreed, by the Missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above four thousand Years, and with such Appearance of clear and undeniable Testimonies, that those Religious Men themselves, rather than question their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have Recourse to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby to save the Appearances in those Records of the *Chineses*. Now though we have been deprived the Knowledge of what Course Learning may be held, and to what Heights it may have soared, in that vast Region, and during so great Antiquity of Time, by reason of the savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who, desirous to begin the Period of History from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture; so that what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient Nation, is but what was, either by Chance or by private Industry, rescued out of that publick Calamity (among which were a Copy of the Records and Successions of the Crown;) yet it is observable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at present, so they were anciently divided into two Sects, whereof one held the Transmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Mass of Metal, out of which some Parts are continually made up into a thousand various Figures, and after certain Periods melted down again into the same Mass. That there were many Volumes written of old in Natural Philosophy among them; that near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confucius*, who began the same Design of reclaiming Men from the useful and endless Speculations of Nature, to those of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian* seemed to be chiefly upon the Happiness of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chineses*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of such Kingdoms or Governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several Thousands of Years; and may be properly called, a Government of Learned Men, since no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in these remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn'd the first Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philosophy; but that those of *Democritus* (who travelled into *Egypt*, *Chaldea*, and *India*, and whose Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the same Fountains; and that long before them both, *Lycurgus*, who likewise travelled into *India*, brought from thence also the chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, so much Renowned in the World.

For whoever observes the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian* and *Chinese* Learning and Opinions, will easily find among them the Seeds of all these *Grecian* Productions and Institutions: As, the Transmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Virtues: The long Silence enjoined his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters,
and

and Abstinence from all Meats that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*: The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual Changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquillity of Mind, by *Epicurus*: And among those of *Lycurgus*; the Care of Education from the Birth of Children, the austere Temperance of Diet, the patient Endurance of Toil and Pain, the Neglect or Contempt of Life, the Use of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and several others, by him established among the *Spartans*, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought or Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any since.

It may look like a Paradox, to deduce Learning from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People were always so, in those *Eastern* Countries, and their Lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanics, or to Trades: But this does not hinder particular Races or Successions of Men (the Design of whose Thought and Time was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been what they are represented, and what they deserve to be esteemed; since among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themselves, there have been such Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Rainers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Besides, I know no Circumstances like to contribute more to the Advancement of Knowledge and Learning among Men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great Purity of Air, and Equality of Climate, long Tranquillity of Empire or Government: And all these we may justly allow to those *Eastern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at least till the Conquests made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the latter Centuries. However, it may be as pardonable to derive some Parts of Learning from thence, as to go so far for the Game of *Chefs*, which some Curious and Learned Men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by two several Roads, that is, by *Persia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia*, into *Africa* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to say, for the giving some Idea of what those Sages or Learned Men were, or may have been, who were Ancients to those that are Ancients to us. Now to observe what these have been, is more easie and obvious. The most Ancient *Grecians* that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philosopher as well as Law-giver, were the seven Sages: Though the Court of *Craesus* is said to have been much resorted to, by the Sophists of *Greece*, in the happy Beginnings of his Reign. And some of these seven seem to have brought most of those Sciences out of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, into *Greece*; particularly those of *Astronomy*, *Astrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetic*. These were soon followed by *Pythagoras* (who seems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philosophy) and by several of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all these, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; so that *Hypocrites*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the first *Philosophers*, whose Works have escaped the Injuries of Time. But that we may not conclude, the first Writers we have of the *Grecians* were the first Learned or Wise among them; we shall find upon inquiry, that the more Ancient Sages of *Greece* appear, by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at least offered and invited to be so, either of their own or of others, that desired them to frame or reform their several Institutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Physicians: They were so learned in Natural Philosophy, that they fore-told, not only Eclipses in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain Sorts of Fruits or Grain; not to mention the Magical Powers attributed to several of them, to allay Storms, to raise Gales, to appease Commotions of People, to make Plagues cease; which Qualities, whether upon any Ground of Truth or no, yet, if well believed, must

must have raised them to that strange Height they were at, of common Esteem and Honour, in their own and succeeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients may have had the greater and the better Guides, and which of them have taken the greater Pains, and with the more Application in the Pursuit of Knowledge. And, I think, it is enough to shew, that the Advantages we have, from those we call the Ancients, may not be greater than what they had from those that were so to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high Flights of Wit and Knowledge, like those of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in some single Men, rather than by any derived Strength among them, however increased by Succession; and whether they may not have been the Achievements of Nature, rather than the Improvements of Art. Thus the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamurlane*, which I take to have been the Greatest recorded in Story, were at their Height in those Persons that began them; and so far from being increased by their Successors, that they were not preserved in their Extent and Vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every Hand they passed through, or were divided into many, that set up for great Princes, out of several small Ruins of the first Empires, till they withered away in Time, or were lost by the Change of Names, and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Just the same Fate seems to have attended the highest Flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Registers. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, were the first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater Progresses in the several Empires of Science, than any of their Successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compass that it self, they have set up for Authors, upon some Parcels of those great Stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those Texts, and make the best Copies they could, after those Originals.

I have long thought, that the different Abilities of Men, which we call Wisdom or Prudence, for the Conduct of publick Affairs or private Life, grow directly out of that little Grain of Intellect or good Sense, which they bring with them into the World; and that the Defect of it in Men, comes from some Want in their Conception or Birth.

——— *Dixitque semel Nascentibus Auctor,*
Quicquid scire licet ——

And though this may be improved or impaired in some degree, by Accidents of Education, of Study, and of Conversation and Business; yet it cannot go beyond the Reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can beyond the Period to which it was destined, by the Strength or Weakness of the seminal Virtue.

If these Speculations should be true, then I know not what Advantages we can pretend to Modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients: Nay, 'tis possible, Men may lose rather than gain by them; may lessen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by confining and forming it upon that of others; may have less Knowledge of their own, for contenting themselves with that of those before them. So a Man that only Translates, shall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that swims always with Bladders. So People that trust wholly to others Charity, and without Industry of their own, will be always Poor. Besides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a Man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the Weight and Number of so many other Mens Thoughts and Notions, may not suppress his own, or hinder the Motion and Agitation of them, from which all Invention arises;

as heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes a little Spark that would otherwise have grown up to a Noble Flame. The Strength of Mind, as well as of Body, grows more from the Warmth of Exercise, than of Cloaths; nay, too much of this Foreign Heat rather makes Men faint, and their Constitutions tender or weaker than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are still so, though we stand upon a Gyant's Shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally shorter-sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the Height, which often happens from Weakness either of Heart or Brain.

In the Growth and Stature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common Productions are of indifferent Sizes, that occasion no gazing nor no wonder: But though there are or have been sometimes Dwarfs and sometimes Gyants in the World; yet it does not follow, that there must be such in every Age nor in every Country: This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, because there are none now, at least in the Compass of our present Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at some Time, and some Place or other in the World, of such a Stature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in several Thousands of Years, or in any other Parts; so there may be Gyants in Wit and Knowledge, of so over-grown a Size, as not to be equalled again in many Successions of Ages, or any Compass of Place or Country. Such, I am sure, *Lucretius* esteems and describes *Epicurus* to have been, and to have risen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the Ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their Kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Because there is a Stag's Head at *Antioch* of a most prodigious Size, and a large Table at *Memorancy* cut out of the Thickness of a Vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every Age, such a Stag in every great Forest, or such a Vine in every large Vineyard; or that the Productions of Nature in any Kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because Nature is still the same? May there not many Circumstances concur to one Production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the Growth of a Tree, there is the native Strength of the Seed, both from the Kind, and from the Perfections of its ripening, and from the Health and Vigour of the Plant that bore it. There is the Degree of Strength and Excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it first took Root: There is a Propriety of Soil, suited to the Kind of Tree that grows in it; there is a great Favour or Dis-favour to its Growth, from Accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the Kindness or Unkindness of Seasons, till it be past the Need or the Danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the Propitiousness of Climate, to that Sort of Tree, and the Length of Age it shall stand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plain-Tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in Story, and shall not perhaps be parallell'd in other Countries or Times.

May not the same have happened in the Production, Growth, and Size of Wit and Genius in the World, or in some Parts or Ages of it, and from many more Circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendious Growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, such Prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*? And yet their unparalleled and inimitable Excellencies in these are undisputed

Science and Arts have run their Circles, and had their Periods in the several Parts of the World: They are generally agreed, to have held their Course from *East* to *West*, to have begun in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, to have been transplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*; to have sunk there, and, after many Ages, to have revived from those *Afines* and to have sprung
up

up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Western* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldea* and *Egypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Egypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their Heights in Arts and Sciences, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

These, and greater Changes, are made in the several Countries of the World, and Courses of Time, by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devastations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enslaved Nations; by the violent Inundations of Water in some Countries, and the cruel Ravages of Plagues in others. These Sorts of Accidents sometimes lay them so waste, that when they rise again, 'tis from such low Beginnings, that they look like New-created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain short Periods of Time. Thus that vast Continent of *Norway* is said to have been so wholly desolated by a Plague, about eight or nine hundred Years ago, that it was for some Ages following a very Desert, and since all over-grown with Wood: And *Ireland* was so spoiled and wasted by the Conquests of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition what that Island was, how Planted or Governed above five hundred Years ago. What Changes have been made by violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that passed there before a certain and short Period of Time.

The Accounts of many other Countries would perhaps as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages, to which we owe all we have of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Egyptian*,¹ *Syrian* and *Ethiopic*, or at least translated out of them by the Care of the *Egyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was, wherein the *Septuagints* employ'd left their Name to that Famous Translation.

'Tis very true and just, all that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in these *Western* Parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it must be at greater Height than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almost all Learning was buried in its Ruins: The *Northern* Nations, that conquer'd or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did those of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutish Rage. The *Saracens* indeed, from their Conquests of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flourished for some Time among the *Arabians*, and has since been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs have been out of those of the Countries they had subdued; nor indeed do Learning, Civility, Morality, seem any where to have made a greater Growth, in so short a Time, than in that Empire, nor to have flourished more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whose Victorious Ensigns *Spain* was conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the rest of those *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under so many several Names, over-run all *Europe*, took very hardly and very late any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flourished in the several Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Instructions of the *Romans*, that had so long possess'd them:

These

Those *Northern Nations* were indeed eafier induced to imbrace the Religion of thofe they had fubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eafe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, thro' all their Conquefts. Great numbers of the better fort among the oppreffed Natives, finding this Vein among them, and no other Way to be fafe and quiet under fuch rough Mafters, betook themfelves to the Profeflion and Affemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thofe only were preferved all the poor Remainders of Learning, in thefe feveral Countries.

But thefe good Men, either contented themfelves with their Devotion, or with the Eafe of quiet Lives; or elfe employed their Thoughts and Studies to raife and maintain the Esteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repofe, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they fo well fucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thofe they had fubdued, the greateft Princes by the meaneft Priests, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard Kings* fell at the Feet of the *Roman Prelates*.

Whilst the Clergy were bufied in thefe Thoughts or Studies, the better fort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner fort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themfelves, or in thofe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors upon Difputes of the Ecclefiastical and Secular Powers; Learning fo little in ufe among them, that few could write or read, befides thofe of the Long Robes. During this Courfe of Time, which lafted many Ages in the *Weftern* Parts of *Europe*, the *Greek Tongue* was wholly loft, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it was only a certain Jargon rather than *Latin*, that paffed among the *Monks* and *Friers* who were at all Learned; and among the Students of the feveral Universities, which ferved to carry them to *Rome* in purfuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little elfe.

When the *Turks* took *Conftantinople*, about two hundred Years ago, and foon after poffeffed themfelves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of thofe cruel Mafters made their Escapes in great Numbers to the neighbouring Parts of Chriftendom, fome by the *Auftrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; feveral that were Learned among thefe *Grecians* (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in thefe Countries; firft to gain Subfiftence, and afterwards Favour in fome Princes or Great Mens Courts, who began to take a Pleafure or Pride in countenancing Learned Men. Thus began the Reftoration of Learning in thefe Parts, with that of the *Greek Tongue*; and foon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Evafmus* began that of the purer and ancient *Latin*. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greateft Height of any of the Moderns before or fince: The *Monkifh Latin* upon this Return was laughed out of Doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reftitution of thefe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all Sorts began to thrive in thefe *Weftern* Regions; and fince that Time, and in the firft fucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater Growth than in any other that we know of in fuch a Compafs of Time, confidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was funk before.

But why from thence fhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I fee no Reason. If a Strong and Vigorous Man at thirty Years old fhould fall into a Confumtion, and fo draw on till Fifty in the extremeft Weaknefs and Infirmitiy; after that, fhould begin to recover Health till Sixty, fo as to be again as ftrong as Men ufually are at that Age: It might perhaps truly be faid in that Cafe, that he had grown more in Strength than laft ten Years than any others of his Life; but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vigour, than he had at thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philofophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage for fifteen hundred Years past, unleſs *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it; of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclipsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no Man ever disputed it with them; nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned; and against whose Opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger Evidence, than by his own Poems, printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing new in *Astronomy*, to vie with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System; nor in *Physick*, unless *Harvey's* Circulation of the Blood. But whether either of these be modern Discoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is disputed: Nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for though Reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet Sense can very hardly allow them; and to satisfy Mankind, both these must concur. But if they are true, yet these two great Discoveries have made no Change in the Conclusions of *Astronomy*, nor in the Practice of *Physick*, and so have been of little Use to the World, though perhaps of much Honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Musick, by which Men and Beasts, Fishes, Fowls and Serpents, were so frequently enchanted, and their very Natures changed; by which the Passions of Men are raised to the greatest Height and Violence, and then as suddenly appeas'd, so as they might be justly said to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Powers and Charms of this admirable Art? 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Musick, so admired of the Ancients, is wholly lost in the World, and that what we have now is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the Fancy or Observation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Mattins. So as those two Divine Excellencies of Musick and Poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fiddling, and the other Rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the Ignorance of the *Fryar*, and the Barbarousness of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians* were so renowned, and by which Effects so wonderful, and to common Men so astonishing, were produced, as made them have recourse to Spirits or Supernatural Powers, for some Account of their strange Operations? By *Magick*, I mean some excellent Knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities in its several Productions, and the Application of certain Agents to certain Patients, which by Force of some peculiar Qualities produce Effects very different from what fall under vulgar Observation or Comprehension. These are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and such like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wise, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idiosyncrasies*, *Talismans*, and some Scraps or Terms left us by the *Egyptians* or *Greeks* of the Ancient *Magick*, but the Science seems with several others to be wholly lost.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture by which such stupendous Fabrics have been raised of old, and so many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are so little approached by our Modern Achievements of this Sort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mausolus*, or *Colosse* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this Kind than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube* seems to have been the last Flight of the Ancient Architecture? The stupendous Effects of this Science sufficiently evince, at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, who ever would be satisfied, need go no further

further than the Siege of *Syracuse*, and that mighty Defence made against the *Roman* Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almost magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greatest Invention that I know of in latter Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and consequently the greatest Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there must be allowed to have been something stupendous in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Saips and Gallies of Old; and the Skill of Pilots, from the Observation of the Stars in the more serene Climates, may be judged, by the Navigations so celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Discovery and Commerce of so many vast Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terrestrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has since been surrounded by the Fortune and Boldness of several Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention, and the Consequence thereof, it must be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter Ages. The vast Continents of *China*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, the long Extent and Coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless Islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increases of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge, brought among us, further than the Extent and Situation of Country, the Customs and Manners of so many Original Nations which we call barbarous, and I am sure have treated them as if we hardly esteem them to be a Part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble Uses would have been made of such Conquests or Discoveries, if they had fallen to the Share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Request as endless Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Discoveries might have been made by such Spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this Terrestrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the Progresses of Navigation, since the Use of the Compass, which seems to have been long at a Stand. How little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised, of a *North-West* Passage to the *East* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that side of the *Magellan Streights* that lie towards the *South-Pole*, which may be vast Islands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Passage was so long since found out? Whether *Japan* be Island or Continent, with some Parts of *Tartary* on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Yesso* upon the *North-East* Continent have been no more than coasted, and whether they may not join to the *Northern* Continent of *America* is by some doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond thirty-five Degrees, and that only by the Necessity of doubling the *Cape of Good hope* in our *East-India* Voyages; yet a Continent has been long since found out within fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there must be a Balance of Earth on that side of the Line in some Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea* from thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, since we have found Land to above sixty-five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that Way have been confined to the Roads of Trade; and our Discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it said among the *Dutch*, that their *East-India* Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest Penalties, any further Attempts of discovering that Continent, having already more Trade in those Parts than they can turn to Account, and fearing some more

populous Nation of *Europe* might make great Establishments of Trade in some of those unknown Regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame still in Geography itself, which we might have expected to run up to so much greater Perfection by the Use of the Compass, and it seems to have been little advanced these last hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon those Advantages we have received from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that since the late Restoration of Learning and Arts among us, our Flights seem to have been the highest, and a sudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great but short Flight; so as for these last hundred Years we have not one Master in either of them, who deserved a Rank with those that flourished in that short Period after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the same Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had some short Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it must begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One Man, or one Country, at a certain Time, runs a great Length in some certain kinds of Knowledge, but lose as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as useful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greatest Vessel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in still, it must run out some way or other, and the more it runs out on one side, the less runs out at the other. So the greatest Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of some Things or Words, loses and forgets as much of others. The largest and deepest Reach of Thought, the more it pursues some certain Subjects the more it neglects others.

Besides, few Men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention; both may want Judgment to digest or apply what they remember or invent. Great Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are necessary to make a great Commander. But how can a Man hope to excel in all Qualities, when some are produced by the Heat, others by the Coldness of Brain and Temper? The Abilities of Man must fall short on one side or other, like too scanty a Blanket when you are a-bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare; if you thrust it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us? The Height of our Statures may be six or seven Foot, and we would have it sixteen; the Length of our Age may reach to a hundred Years, and we would have it a thousand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain fore up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the Growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*; we are amazed at the Wisdom of the one, and Industry of the other, and yet we will know the Substance, the Figure, the Courses, the Influences of all those Cœlestial Bodies, and the End for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a Man is framed, that poor little Noise we make every time we speak. The Motion of the Sun is plain and evident to some Astronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many seeming Impossibilities in both, and beyond the Fathom of human Reason or Comprehension. Nay, we do not so much as know what Motion is, nor how a Stone moves from our Hand, when we throw it cross the Street. Of all these that most Ancient and Divine Writer gives the best Account in that short Satyr, *Vain Man would fain be wise, when he is born like a Wild Ass's Colt*.

But,

But, God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his Ignorance; and what he wants in Knowledge, he supplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at the End of his Line, he is at the Bottom of the Ocean; when he has shot his best, he is sure, none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own Reason is the certain Measure of Truth, his own Knowledge, of what is possible in Nature, though his Mind and his Thoughts change every seven Years, as well as his Strength and his Features; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present Thoughts and Conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived; and among all the Miseries, to which Mankind is born and subjected in the whole Course of his Life, he has this one Felicity to comfort and support him, that in all Ages, in all Things, every Man is always in the right. A Boy of Fifteen is wiser than his Father at Forty, the meanest Subject than his Prince or Governours; and the Modern Scholars, because they have for a hundred Years past learned their Lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Masters.

But let it be so, and proved by good Reasons; is it so by Experience too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Griffham* College, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outshined or eclipsed the *Lycæum* of *Plato*, the Academy of *Aristotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Hu-wey* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'Avila's* and *Strada's* Histories beyond those of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyda's* Commentaries beyond those of *Cæsar*? the Flights of *Boileau* above those of *Virgil*? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excell'd *Homer*, as is pretended; and the Modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reasonably said, that the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; a *Welsh* or *Lish* Harp excels those of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; the Pyramid in *London* those of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conquests in *Flanders* are greater than those of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as their Operas and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Consideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it self. For the Books we have in Prose, Do any of the Modern we converse with appear of such a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancients have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our Knowledge or Inventions would deserve it, yet our Languages would not; there is no hope of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred Years so as to be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former Stiles to be endured by the latter; so as they can no more last like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood, like those in Marble or Brass.

The three modern Tongues much esteemed, are *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*; all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; first mingled and corrupted with the harsh Words and Terminations of those many different and barbarous Nations, by whose Invasions and Excursions the *Roman* Empire was long infested: They were afterwards made up into these several Languages, by long and popular Use, out of those Ruins and Corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of those Nations, to which these several Provinces came in time to be most and longest subjected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) besides a Mingle of those Tongues which were original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conquests and Establishments there. Of these, there may be some Remains in *Biscay* or the *Asturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the Subjection there having been more universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find the mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain* were ever wholly subdued, or formerly governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conquests in our Island, which has preserved the ancient *Biscayn* and *British* more intire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where

where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conquests reached, and were for any time established.

'Tis easie to imagine, how imperfect Copies these modern Languages, thus compos'd, must needs be of so excellent Original, being patch'd up out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds of such barbarous or enslaved People. Whereas the *Latin* was fram'd or cultivated by the Thoughts and Uses of the noblest Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the Thoughts and Words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a Difference this must make in the Comparison and Excellence of Books; and how easie and just a Preference it must decree to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the Modern Languages.

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best. The two most Ancient, that I know of in Prose, among those we call Profane Authors, are *Æsop's* Fables, and *Phalaris's* Epistles, both living near the same Time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since, for the greatest Master in his kind, and all others of that Sort have been but Imitations of his Original; so I think the Epistles of *Phalaris* to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern. I know several Learned Men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Criticks) have not esteem'd them Genuine, and *Politian* with some others have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; such Diversity of Passions, upon such Variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government, such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression, such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies, such Honour of Learned Men, such Esteem of Good, such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death, with such Fierceness of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possess'd them; and I esteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

The next to these in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*; of whom I shall say no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds inimitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancientest of the *Latin* (I speak still of Prose) unless it be some little of old *Cato*, upon Rustick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Stile, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; so it ended about that of *Tiberius*; and the last Strain of it seems to have been *Velleius Paternulus*. The Purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan's* Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whose *Greek* is much more estimable, than the *Latin* of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the Name of *Latin*, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustan* Age; if any, 'tis the little Treatise of *Mintius Felix*. All *Latin* Books that we have till the End of *Trajan*, and all *Greek* till the End of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very estimable Value. All written since that Time, seem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events we are glad to know, or the Controversie of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the busie World has been so much employed.

The great Wits among the Moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their several Kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes* (who writ *Don Quixote*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *English*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of

Divinity,

Divinity, wherein the *Spanish* and *English* Pens have been most conversant and most excelled. The Modern *French* are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucault's* Memoirs, *Bussy's Amours de Gaul*, with several other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have refined the *French* Language to a degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in all Works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of Weight and of Strength; and as that Language has much more Fineness and Smoothness at this Time, so I take it to have had much more Force, Spirit and Compass, in *Montagne's* Age.

Since those Accidents, which contributed to the Restoration of Learning, almost extinguished in the *Western* Parts of *Europe*, have been observed; it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the Advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty Growth and Progress made in the first Age after its Recovery. One great Reason may have been, that very soon after the Entry of Learning upon the Scene of *Christendom*, another was made by many of the New-learned Men, into the Inquiries and Contests about Matters of Religion; the Manners and Maxims, and Institutions introduced by the Clergy, for seven or eight Centuries past; the Authority of Scripture and Tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the Ancient Fathers, and of the latter School-men and Casuists; of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power. The Humour of raveling into all these Mytical or Intangled Matters, mingling with the Interests and Passions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite Disputes, raised violent Heats throughout all Parts of *Christendom*, and soon ended in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in several new Institutions, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, in divers Countries; which have been since rooted and established in almost all the *North-West* Parts. The endless Disputes and litigious Quarrels upon all these Subjects, favoured and encouraged by the Interests of the several Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally employed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the Endeavours of all or most of the finest Wits, the deepest Scholars, and the most learned Writers that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the most penetrating *Genii*, that might have made admirable Progresses and Advances in many other Sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the Abyss of Disputes about Matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other Way. To these Disputes of the Pen, succeeded those of the Sword; and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the Pretences of Religion, has for a hundred Years past infested *Christendom* with almost a perpetual Course, or Succession, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars: The Noise and Disorders whereof have been ever the most Capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated, by the Ancient Fables, upon the Top of *Parnassus*; that is, in a Place of Safety and of Quiet, from the Reach of all Noises and Disturbances of the Regions below.

Another Circumstance that may have hindered the Advancement of Learning, has been a Want or Decay of Favour in Great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first Return or Recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her: She was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells; and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age took either a Pleasure in courting her, or a Vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes*, and of *Emperors*, thought themselves honoured and adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned Men, and by all the Improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Use and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Instruction of young Princes, for Advice and Assistance to the greatest Ministers; and, in short, the Favour of Learning was the Humour and Mode of the Age. *Francis* the First, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth

(those

(those three great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this Vein with great Application and Success; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had lasted as long as those of the Ancients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old; whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in Admiration of so much Knowledge in so much Youth. Since those Reigns I have not observed in our modern Story, any great Princes much celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to serve their Turns, to justify their Pretensions and Quarrels, or flatter their Successes. The Honour of Princes has of late struck Sail to their Interest; whereas of old, their Interests, Greatness and Conquests, were all dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned Men must have been damped for want of this Influence and kind Aspect of Princes, must be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *Augustan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its Height, and perhaps owed it in some degree to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecenas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquillity of the Age.

The Humour of Avarice, and Greediness of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price and of current Use: But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches increase, the Desires of them do so too, May it not be true of the general Vein and Humour of Ages? May they not have turned more to this Pursuit of insatiable Gains, since the Discoveries and Plantations of the *West-Indies*, and those vast Treasures that have flowed in to these *Western* Parts of *Europe* almost every Year, and with such mighty Tides for so long a Course of Time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are so, many desire it; and most in time begin to think it necessary. Where this Opinion grows generally in a Country, the Temples of Honour are soon pulled down, and all Men's Sacrifices are made to those of Fortune. The Soldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Plough-Man, the Divine and the States-Man as well as the Lawyer and Physician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honour is a much stronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than Gain can ever be. That all the great and noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inspired and exalted by that alone. That the charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the deep Speculations and Studies of Philosophers, the Conquests of Emperors and Achievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The last Farewell that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philosophy, *Augustus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the same Strain; and as their Lives were entertained, so their Age was relieved, and their Deaths softened, by the Prospect of lying down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is, on the other side, of all Passions the most fordid, the most clogged and covered with Dirt and with Dross, so that it cannot raise its Wings beyond the Smell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of Common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders; and yet among those themselves, none ever went so far upon the Hopes of Prey or of Spoils, as those that have been spirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that Learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be mercenary, and the Progress of it has been fettered by the Cares of the World, and disturbed by the Desires of being rich, or the Fears of being poor; from all which, the Ancient *Philosophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldean Magi*, and *Egyptian Priests*, were disintangled and free.

But the last Maim given to Learning, has been by the Scorn of Pedantry, which the Shallow, the Superficial, and the Sufficient among Scholars first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had,

had, or to more Esteem than what they had could deserve, by broaching it in all Places, at all Times, upon all Occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their Closets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other Business, and ridiculous in all other Conversations. As an Infection that rises in a Town, first falls upon Children or weak Constitutions, or those that are subject to other Diseases, but spreading further by degrees, seizes upon the most Healthy, Vigorous and Strong; and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of those that are Well among them, as much as of those that are Sick. Just so it fared in the Common-wealth of Learning, some poor weak Constitutions were first infected with Pedantry, the Contagion spread in time upon some that were Stronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Country; grew afraid to come there, and avoided the Commerce of the Sound as well as of the Diseas'd. This Dislike or Apprehension turned, like all Fear, to Hatred, and Hatred to Scorn. The rest of the Neighbours begun first to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the same Fate, and that the Pigeons should be taken for Daws, because they were all in a Flock: And because the Poorest and Meanest of the Company were Proud, the Best and the Richest began to be ashamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Brussels* would needs have it that the History of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spanish* Monarchy; for before that Time, Love and Valour were all Romance among them; every young Cavalier that enter'd the Scene, dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour first, and then to his Mistress. They lived and died in this romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his last *Portugal* Expedition, had a young Mistress, to whom the Glory of that Achievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those Qualities he had lost with his Youth. After *Don Quixot* appear'd, and with that inimitable Wit and Humour turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he said, began to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at least otherwise than to pursue their Fortune, or satise their Lust; and the Consequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have pass'd for a great Cause of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatness and Power.

Whatever Effect the Ridicule of Knight-Ernantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Common-wealth of Learning; and I wish the Vein of Ridiculing all that is Serious and Good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worse Effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Climate, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage; enters a House of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a Coffee-house, Debates of Council as well as private Conversation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Ministers of State, that would rather have said a Witty Thing, than done a Wise one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuse the Imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to censure the Sufficiency of some of the Learned; and this small Piece of Justice I have done the Ancients, will not, I hope, be taken, any more than 'tis meant, for any Injury to the Moderns.

I shall conclude with a Saying of *Alphonsus* (surnamed the Wise) King of *Aragon*:

That among so many Things as are by Men possessed or pursued in the Course of their Lives, all the rest are Bawbles, besides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converse with, and Old Books to Read.

UPON THE

Gardens of *E P I C U R U S*;

OR, OF

GARDENING,

In the Year 1685.

THE same Faculty of Reason which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the rest of the Creation, seems to make the greatest Default of Human Nature; and subjects it to more Troubles, Miseries, or at least Disquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: 'Tis this furnishes us with such Variety of Passions, and consequently of Wants and Desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite Designs and endless Pursuits, and improved by that Restlessness of Thought which is natural to most Men, give him a Condition of Life suitable to that of His Birth; so that as He alone is born Crying, he lives Complaining, and dies Disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the Pursuit of Passions, and Perplexity of Thoughts, which our Reason furnishes us, there is no Way left but to endeavour all we can, either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common Business of common Men, who seek it by all Sorts of Sports, Pleasures, Play or Business. But because the two first are of short Continuance, soon ending with Weariness, or Decay of Vigour and Appetite, the Return whereof must be attended, before the others can be renewed; and because Play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diversion of Mankind seems to be Business, or the Pursuit of Riches in one kind or other; which is an Amusement that has this one Advantage above all others, that it lasts those Men who engage in it to the very Ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Desires of increasing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himself, his Friends, or his Posterity.

In the first and most simple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of Men seem to have been very near of Kin with the rest of the Creatures;

tures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and satisfied their Appetite with what they could get from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what Fish, Fowl, or Beasts they could kill, by Swiftness or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands, or such Instruments as Wit helped or Necessity forced them to invent. When a Man had got enough for the Day, he laid up the rest for the Morrow, and spent one Day in Labour, that he might pass the other at Ease; and lured on by the Pleasure of this Bait, when he was in Vigour, and his Game fortunate, he would provide for as many Days as he could, both for himself and his Children, that were too young to seek out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of Grain, and by Pasture of the tamer Cattle, to provide for the whole Year. After this, dividing the Lands necessary for these Uses, first among Children, and then among Servants, he reserved to himself a Proportion of their Gain, either in the Native Stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the Use of Money; and where this once came in none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his Family, and all his and their Posterity for ever; so that I know a certain Lord who professes to value no Lease, though for an Hundred or a Thousand Years, nor any Estate or Possession of Land, that is not for Ever and Ever.

From such small Beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant Designs of poor Mortal Men: Yet none could ever answer the Naked *Indian*, Why one Man should take Pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be safe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no Care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, seems but to reduce Mankind to their Natural and Original Condition of Life. However, by these Ways and Degrees, the endless Increase of Riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general Amusement, or Business of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make those higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to these Ends sacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor busies Men more than these Pursuits, which are usually covered with the Pretences of serving a Man's Country, and of Publick Good. But the true Service of the Publick, is a Business of so much Labour and so much Care, that though a good and wise Man may not refuse it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his Country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar Use, yet he will seldom or never seek it; but leaves it commonly to Men, who, under the Disguise of Publick Good, pursue their own Designs of Wealth, Power, and such Bastard Honours as usually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true Reward of Virtue.

The Pursuits of Ambition, though not so general, yet are as endless as those of Riches, and as extravagant; since none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince soever seems to be so great, as to Live and Reign without any further Desires or Fears, falls into the Life of a Private Man, and enjoys but those Pleasures and Entertainments, which a great many several Degrees of Private Fortune will allow, and as much as Human Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleasures of the Senses grow a little more choice and refined; those of Imagination are turned upon embellishing the Scenes he chuses to live in; Ease, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are sought in Building first, and then in furnishing Houses or Palaces: The admirable Imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapestry, and other such Atchievements of Arts. And the most exquisite Delights of Sense are pursued, in the Contrivance and Plantation of Gardens; which with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Musick of Birds that frequent such happy Places, seem to furnish all the Pleasures of the several Senses, and with the greatest, or at least the most natural Perfections.

Thus the first Race of *Assyrian Kings*, after the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, passed their Lives, till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Captives* of *Egypt*, till depofed by their *Mamelukes*. Thus passed the latter Parts of those Great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Augustus*, *Dioclesian*. Thus turned the Great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the present King of *Morecco*, after having subdued all his Competitors, passes his Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-Trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Successes of his Councils or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of his present Greatness and Power, when he gives himself Leisure from such Designs or Pursuits, passes the softer and easier Parts of his Time in Country Houses and Gardens, in Building, Planting, or Adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of such kind of Lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented not themselves with these Pleasures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilst Mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that Part of them, who have had either the Justice or the Luck to pass in common Opinion for the wisest and the best Part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and instead of the common Designs of satisfying their Appetites and their Passions, and making endless Provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer Way to the Ease and Felicity of Life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their Passions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature seems only to ask and to need. And this Design seems to have brought Philosophy into the World, at least that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End not only desirable by every Man, which is the Ease and Happiness of Life, but also in some degree suitable to the Force and Reach of Human Nature: For as to that Part of Philosophy which is called Natural, I know no End it can have, but that of either busying a Man's Brain's to no purpose, or satisfying the Vanity so natural to most Men of distinguishing themselves, by some way or other, from those that seem their Equals in Birth, and the common Advantages of it: and whether this Distinction be made by Wealth or Power, or Appearance of Knowledge, which gains Esteem and Applause in the World, is all a Case. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the Progress of Natural Philosophy, during so many Ages it has had vogue in the World, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the civilized Nations, more than those we call Barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than our selves.

How ancient this Natural Philosophy has been in the World is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philosophers in this kind, among the most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the Vanity of it seems to have been *Solomon*, of which Discovery he has left such admirable Strains in *Ecclesiastes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the Business of his Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its Place, to busy Human Minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what these two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have said upon the Vanity of all that Mortal Man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals or Operations, may save himself a great deal of Pains, and justly conclude, That the Knowledge of such Things is not our Game; and (like the Pursuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those three I have named, may justly pass for the wisest Triumvirate that are left us upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in Writing, many Sects of Philosophers began to spread in *Greece*, who entered boldly upon both Parts of Natural and Moral Philosophy. The first with the greatest Disagreement, and the most eager Contention that could be upon the greatest Subjects: As, Whether the
World

World were eternal, or produced at some certain Time? Whether, if produced, it was by some eternal Mind, and to some End, or by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, or some Particles of eternal Matter? Whether there was one World, or many? Whether the Soul of Man was a Part of some Etherial and Eternal Substance, or was Corporeal? Whether, if Eternal, it was so before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the same Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Celestial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senses. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by *Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Des Cartes, Hobbs*, or any other that I know of, seem to agree but in one Thing, which is, the Want of Demonstration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpossessed Man; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raise or defend them; like Jugglers Tricks, that have more or less Appearance of being real, according to the Dexterity and Skill of him that plays 'em; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, these fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, some neater and some further off, but all at great distance from the Mark; it may be, none in Sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such Disputes and Contentions in their Natural Philosophy, they seem to agree much better in their Moral; and upon their Enquiries after the ultimate End of Man, which was his Happiness, their Contentions or Differences seem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Sense of their Opinions, or in the true Meaning of their several Authors or Masters of their Sects: All concluded that Happiness was the chief Good, and ought to be the ultimate End of Man; that as this was the End of Wisdom, so Wisdom was the Way to Happiness. The Question then was, in what this Happiness consisted? The Contention grew warmest between the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*; the other Sects in this Point siding in a manner with one or the other of these in their Conceptions or Expressions. The *Stoicks* would have it to consist in Virtue, and the *Epicureans* in Pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the *Stoicks* made the Pleasure of Virtue to be the greatest Happiness; and the best of the *Epicureans* made the greatest Pleasure to consist in Virtue; and the Difference between these two seems not easily discovered. All agreed, the greatest Temper, if not the total subduing of Passion, and Exercise of Reason, to be the State of the greatest Felicity: To live without Desires or Fears, or those Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Passions raise: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much; and true Pleasure in Temperance, rather than in satisfying the Senses: To live with Indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Constancy upon the greatest Blows of Fate or of Chance; not to disturb our Minds with sad Reflections upon what is past, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to dispute Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Desires of Life; but in both, and in all Things else, to follow Nature, seem to be the Precepts most agreed among them.

Thus Reason seems only to have been called in, to allay those Disorders which it self had raised, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other Way, than by rendering us insensible. This at least was the Profession of many rigid *Stoicks*, who would have had a wise Man, not only without any Sort of Passion, but without any Sense of Pain, as well as Pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of Diseases and Torments, as well as of Health and Ease: A Principle, in my Mind, against common Nature and common Sense; and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with less Circumstance, that a Man, to be wise, should not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been easie enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The *Epicureans* were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expressions, when they placed a Man's Happiness in the Tranquility of
Mind,

Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are compos'd of both, I doubt both must have a Share in the Good or Ill we feel. As Men of several Languages, say the same Things in very different Words; so in several Ages, Countries, Constitutions of Laws and Religion, the same Thing seems to be meant by very different Expressions: What is called by the *Stoicks*, Apathy, or Dispassion; by the *Scepticks*, Indisturbance; by the *Molinists*, Quietism; by common Men, Peace of Conscience; seems all to mean but great Tranquillity of Mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse Causes, as human Wisdom, Innocence of Life, or Resignation to the Will of God. An old Usurer had the same Notion, when he said, *No Man could have Peace of Conscience, that run out of his Estate*; not comprehending what else was meant by that Phrase, besides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which, however express'd, is, I suppose, meant by all, to be the best Account that can be given of the Happiness of Man, since no Man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how such sharp and violent Invectives came to be made so generally against *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed him, whose admirable Wit, Felicity of Expression, Excellence of Nature, Sweetness of Conversation, Temperance of Life, and Constancy of Death, made him so beloved by his Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injustice may be fasten'd chiefly upon the Envy and Malignity of the *Stoicks* at first, then upon the Mistakes of some gross Pretenders to his Sect (who took Pleasure only to be sensual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the primitive Christians, who esteem'd his Principles of Natural Philosophy more opposite to those of our Religion, than either the *Platonists*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themselves: Yet, I confess, I do not know why the Account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, should be thought more impious than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only subject to all the weakest Passions, but perpetually busie in all the worst or meanest Actions of Men.

But *Epicurus* has found so great Advocates of his Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Testimonies of *Diongenes Laertius* alone seem too sincere and impartial to be disputed, or to want the Assistance of Modern Authors: If all failed, he will be but too well defended by the Excellence of so many of his Sect in all Ages, and especially of those who lived in the Compass of one, but the greatest in Story, both as to Persons and Events: I need name no more than *Cesar*, *Atticus*, *Mecenas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*; all admirable in their several Kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Cesar, if considered in all Lights, may justly challenge the first Place in the Registers we have of Mankind, equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues and Excellencies of a Statesman, a Captain, an Orator, an Historian; besides all these, a Poet, a Philosopher, when his Leisure allowed him; the greatest Man of Counsel and of Action, of Design and Execution; the greatest Nobleness of Birth, of Person and of Countenance; the greatest Humanity and Clemency of Nature, in the midst of the greatest Provocations, Occasions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge: 'Tis true, he overturned the Laws and Constitutions of his Country; yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himself design'd; for though his Ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been rais'd to those Heights, rather by the Insolence of his Enemies than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to him was only a Desire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conquests of barbarous Nations, Extent of the *Roman* Empire; defending at first the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, opposing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*: And in the whole Course of his Victories and Successes, seeking all Occasions of Bounty to his Friends, and Clemency to his Enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the *Romans*; Learned without Pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Design, a Friend to all Men in Misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatness or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all; and by these Virtues and Dispositions, he passed safe and untouched, through all the Flames of civil Dissensions that ravaged his Country the greatest Part of his Life; and though he never entered into any publick Affairs, or particular Factions of his State, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Augustus*.

Mecenas was the wisest Counsellor, the Truest Friend, both of his Prince and his Country, the Best Governor of *Rome*, the Happiest and Ablest Negotiator, the Best Judge of Learning and Virtue, the Choicest in his Friends, and thereby the Happiest in his Conversation that has been known in Story; and I think, to his Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa's* in Military Affairs, may be truly ascribed all the Fortunes and Greatness of *Augustus*, so much celebrated in the World.

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, they deserve in my Opinion the Honour of the greatest Philosophers, as well as the best Poets of their Nation or Age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their Poetry, were very great Naturalists, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, besides the Sweetness and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the rest of his Writings so great a Master of Life, and of true Sense in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean Strain of his Philosophy, to refuse being Secretary to *Augustus*, when so great an Emperor so much desired it. But all the different Sects of Philosophers seem to have agreed in the Opinion of a wise Man's abstaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the Meaning of *Pythagoras's* Precept, to abstain from Beans, by which the Affairs or Publick Resolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that sort of Business too gross and material for the abstracted Fineness of their Speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the Cleanness and Simplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no Part in the Faults of a Government; and they knew too well, that the Nature and Passions of Men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they live under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular Men that composed it. But where Factions were once entered and rooted in a State, they thought it Madness for good Men to meddle with Publick Affairs; which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this: And *Heracitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens quitted the Government of his City, and amusing himself to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, ask'd those who wondered at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with such Boys, than govern such Men?* But above all, they esteemed Publick Business the most contrary of all others to that Tranquillity of Mind, which they esteemed and taught to be the only true Felicity of Man.

For this Reason *Epicurus* passed his Life wholly in his Gardens; there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his Philosophy; and indeed, no other sort of Abode seems to contribute so much, to both the Tranquillity of Mind, and Indolence of Body, which he made his chief Ends. The Sweetness of Air, the Pleasantness of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanness and Lightness of Food, the Exercises of Working or Walking; but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Solitude, seem equally to favour and improve both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Sense and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Ease both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be said to have been the first that had a Garden in *Athens*, whose Citizens before him had theirs in their Villages or Farms without the City; yet the Use of Gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of Possession among Mankind, and to have preceded those of Corn or of Cattle, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural

natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the Choice of Philosophers, so it has been the common Favourite of publick and private Men; a Pleasure of the Greatest, and the Care of the Meanest; and indeed an Employment and a Possession, for which no Man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the Life of a Man in a Garden the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was a State of Innocence and Pleasure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of Place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a *Persian* Word, since *Xenophon* and other *Greek* Authors mention it, as what was much in Use and Delight among the Kings of those *Eastern* Countries. *Strabo* describing *Jericho*, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixte sunt, etiam alia stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regia & Balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another Place to be *prope Libanum & Paradisum.* And *Alexander* is written to have seen *Cyrus's* Tomb in a Paradise, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a Shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large Space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all Sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Forest, either found there before it was inclosed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all Sorts of Plants usual in the Climate, and pleasant to the Eye, the Smell or the Taste; or else employed, like our Parks, for Inclosure and Harbour of all Sorts of Wild Beasts, as well as for the Pleasure of Riding and Walking: And so they were of more or less Extent, and of differing Entertainment, according to the several Humours of the Princes that ordered and inclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in Story, that brought them in Use through her Empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one where-ever she built, and in all, or most of the Provinces she subdued; which are said to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India.* The *Assyrian* Kings continued this Custom and Care, or rather this Pleasure, till one of them brought in the Use of smaller and more regular Gardens: For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where such Paradises or Gardens were much in Use, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Inclosure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Assyrian* Kings used to confine themselves; he made her Gardens, not only within the Palaces, but upon Terraces raised with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the Top of the highest Tower, planted them with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the most pleasant of that Country; and thereby made at least the most airy Gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chafmir*, or of *Damascus*, which have in all Times been the happiest Regions for Fruits of all the *East*, by the Excellence of Soil, the Position of Mountains, the Frequency of Streams, rather than the Advantages of Climate. And 'tis great Pity we do not yet see the History of *Chafmir*, which *Monsieur Bernier* assured me he had translated out of *Persian*, and intended to publish; and of which he has given such a Taste, in his excellent Memoirs of the *Mogul's* Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are those of *Solomon*, planted with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Description of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where he passed the Times of his Leisure and Delight, where the Houses as well as Grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of those among his Wives that he loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradises mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this great and wisest King. But the Idea of the Garden

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must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the Gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his Care and of his Study, as well as of his Leisure and Thought in these Entertainments, since he writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no Account, further than the Mention of them, and thereby the Testimony of their having been in Use and Request, in such Remoteness of Place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly Poetical, and made at the Pleasure of the Painter; like the rest of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Island of *Phœnicia* or *Corfu*. Yet, as all the Pieces of this Transcendent Genius are compos'd with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; so they seldom fail of Instruction as well as Delight, to all that read him. The Seat of this Garden, joining to the Gates of the Palace, the Compass of the Inclosure being four Acres, the tall Trees of Shade, as well as those of Fruit, the two Fountains, the one for the Use of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succession of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the best Rules or Provisions that can go towards composing the best Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the Life of some he had seen in *Ionia*, the Country and usual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed, the Region of the most refined Pleasures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the Humour and Custom of Gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower *Asia*, from *Damascus*, *Assyria*, and other Parts of the *Eastern* Empires, though they seem to have made late Entrance, and smaller Improvement in those of *Greece* and *Rome*; at least in no Proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleasure and Luxury.

The long and flourishing Peace of the two first Empires, gave earlier Rise and Growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Consequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were almost perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either Abroad or at Home, and so were busy in Actions that were done under the Sun, rather than those under the Shade. These were the Entertainments of the softer Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Prowess of the two last Empires, which from those Conquests brought home mighty Increases both of Riches and Luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the Spoils of the *East*.

There may be another Reason for the small Advance of Gardening in those excellent and more temperate Climates, where the Air and Soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best Sorts of Fruits, without the Necessity of cultivating them by Labour and Care; whereas the hotter Climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon Industry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little Mention of Gardens in *Old Greece*, or in *Old Rome*, for Pleasure or with Elegance, nor of much Curiousness or Care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climates, contenting themselves with those which were Native of their own; and these were the Vine, the Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple: *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more; and their Gardens were then but the necessary Part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, employ'd in their Agriculture, and so were turn'd chiefly to all the common Sorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes (as the *French* call them) proper for common Nourishment; and the Name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some Rise or Production of something new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War, first brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which so generally pleas'd, and were so easily propagated in all Climates, that within the Space of about an hundred Years, having travelled Westward with the *Roman* Conquests, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*,

and passed over into *Britain*. After the Conquest of *Africk*, *Greece*, the Lesser *Asia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy* all the Sorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might signifie no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*; Peaches from *Persia*, *Mala Persica*; Citrons of *Media*, *Medica*; Pomegranates from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces *Carbonica*, from a small Island in the *Grecian Seas*; their best Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece*, and *Numantia*; as appears by their several Appellations: Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damascus*. The Kinds of these are reckon'd in *Nero's Time*, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs; and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with so great Applause, and so general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Consular Men, who first brought them over, took Pride in giving them their own Names (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in Memory of some great Service or Pleasure they had done their Country; so that not only Laws and Battles, but several Sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Munlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian*; and by several other such Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred Years, came from Countries as far as their Conquests had reached; and like Learning, Architecture, Painting, and Statuary, made their great Advances in *Italy*, about the *Augustan Age*. What was of most Request in their common Gardens in *Virgil's Time*, or at least in his Youth, may be conjectured by the Description of his *Old Cicerian's Gardens* in the Fourth of the *Georgicks*; which begins,

Namque sub Oebalia memini me turribus alti.

Among Flowers, the Roses had the first Place, especially a Kind which bore twice a Year; and none other Sorts are here mentioned besides the *Narcissus*, tho' the Violet and the Lilly were very common, and the next in Esteem; especially the *Breve Lilium*, which was the *Tuberosa*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho' commonly interpreted Parsly, yet comprehends all Sorts of Smallage, whereof Sellery is one; *Cucumis*, which takes in all Sorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common Word for all Sorts of Pot-Herbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which signifies all Kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants that were used for adorning the Altars; as Bays, Olive, Rosemary, Myrtle: The *Acantus* seems to be what we call *Pericantbe*; but what their *Hedera* were, that deserv'd Place in a Garden, I cannot guess, unless they had Sorts of Ivy unknown to us; nor what his *Vesicum Papaver* was, since Poppies with us are of no Use in eating. The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines and Figs, were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-Tree; whose Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the most in Request; and having been brought out of *Persia*, was such an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they usually fed it with Wine instead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its Shade; which was a great Humour and Custom, and perhaps gave Rise to the other, by observing the Growth of the Tree, or Largeness of the Leaves, where much Wine was split or left, and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great Pity the Haste which *Virgil* seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering farther into the Account or Instructions of Gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this Old Man's Felicity, which he draws like so great a Master, with one Stroke of a Pencil in those Four Words.

Regum aequabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small Possessions, upon a few Acres of Barren Ground, yet he equal'd all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Ease, Content, and Freedom of his Mind.

I am not satisfied with the common Acceptation of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any Passage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that these were otherwise known to the *Romans* than as Fruits of the *Eastern* Climates. I should take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather some kind of Apples, so called from the Golden Colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the Orange-Tree is too Noble in the Beauty, Taste and Smell of its Fruit; in the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowers; in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent Uses of all these, both for Pleasure and Health; not to have deserved any particular Mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, so refined and exquisite in all Sorts of delicious Luxury.

The charming Description *Virgil* makes of the happy Apple, must be intended either for the Citron, or for some Sort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either so proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain Sort of Fig was to *Danascus*) or to have lost its Virtue by changing Soils, or to have had its Effect of curing some sort of Poison that was usual in that Country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few Lines out of the Second of *Virgil's* Georgicks, not having ever heard any body else take Notice of them.

*Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Fœlicis Mali; quo non præsentibus ullum,
Pocula si quando sævæ inficere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.
Ipsa ingens arbor, faciemque finillima lauro;
Et si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anhelis.*

*Media brings pois'nous Herbs, and the flat Taste
Of the bless'd Apple, than which ne'er was found
A Help more present, when cruff Step-Dames mix
Their mortal Cups to drive the Venom out.
'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in Hue;
And did it not such Odours cast about,
'Twou'd be a Bays; the Leaves with no Winds fall,
The Flowers all excel: With these the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old Purfie Men.*

The Tree being so like a Bays or Laurel, the flow or dull Taste of the Apple; the Virtue of it against Poison, seem to describe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure ill Scents of Mouth or Breath, or Shortness of Wind in Purfie Old Men, seem to agree most with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it signifies the Flowers growing most upon the Tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at twelve Years of Age began to flower; and I observed all the Flowers to grow upon the Top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented, as the Oranges. On the other side, I have always heard Oranges to pass for a Cordial Juice, and a great Preservative against the Plague, which is a sort of Venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely Picture of the happy Apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all com-

mon, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now so frequent there in Fields (at least in some Parts) and make so common and delicious a Part of Gardening, even in these *Northern* Climates.

'Tis certain those Noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange and the Lemon, are the Native Product of those Noble Regions, *Assyria*, *Media* and *Persia*; and tho' they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many Parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at such Perfection in Beauty, Taste or Virtue as in their Native Soil and Climate. This made it generally observed among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *East* far excelled those of the *West*. And several Writers had trifled away their Time in deducing the Reasons of this Difference, from the more Benign or Powerful Influences of the Rising Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any Man that has the least Knowledge of the Globe, and gives himself Leave to think, than the Folly of such wise Reasons, since the Regions that are *East* to us, are *West* to some others; and the Sun rises alike to all that lie in the same Latitude, with the same Heat and Virtue upon its first Approaches, as well as in its Progress. Besides, if the *Eastern* Fruits were the better only for that Position of Climate, then those of *India* should excel those of *Persia*; which we do not find by comparing the Accounts of those Countries: But *Assyria*, *Media* and *Persia* have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the best and noblest Fruits in the World. The Reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soil, being there extended under the best Climate for the Production of all Sorts of the best Fruits; which seems to be from about Twenty-five, to about Thirty-five Degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climate in the present *Persian* Empire (which comprehends most of the other Two, called anciently *Assyria* and *Media*) are composed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, especially to the *North*; watered naturally with many Rivers, and those by Art and Labour derived into many more and smaller Streams, which all conspire to form a Country in all Circumstances, the most proper and agreeable for Production of the best and noblest Fruits. Whereas if we survey the Regions of the *Western* World, lying in the same Latitude between Twenty-five and Thirty-five Degrees, we shall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the sandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no Part of the Continent of *Europe* lies so *Southward* as Thirty-five Degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine Reason, why the Fruits of the *East* have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the *West*.

In our *North-West* Climates, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in those Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* Parts of *France*. And as most general Customs in Countries grow from the different Nature of Climates, Soils or Situations, and from the Necessities or Industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the best Sorts are so common, and of so easy Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the Cost of Inclosing, or the Care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great Pleasures of those Climates are Coolness of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant Sight of dusty Streets, or parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of those Countries to be chiefly valued by Largeness of Extent (which gives greater Play and Openness of Air) by Shades of Trees, by Frequency of living Streams or Fountains, by Perspectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any Place look fresh and cool. On the contrary, the more *Northern* Climates, as they suffer little by Heat, make little Provision against it, and are careless of Shade, and seldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the Reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no Sorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climates, or usual among us; (nor indeed the best Sort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our

our Kitchen-Gardens themselves) and the best Fruits not ripening without the Advantage of Walls or Palisadoes, by Reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of smaller Compass, seldom exceeding Four, Six, or Eight Acres; inclosed with Walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for Advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the Product of Kitchen-Gardens in all Sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common Use of Tables.

These are usually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the first Sort are those of *Italy*, and were so of old. In the more temperate Parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take Gardening to be at its greatest Height) they are composed of both Sorts, the Extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits; some Standards, some against Walls or Palisades, some for Forest-trees and Groves for Shade, some Parts Wild, some Exact; and Fountains much in Request among them.

But after so much Ramble into Ancient Times, and Remote Places, to return Home and consider the present Way and Humour of our Gardening in *England*; which seem to have grown into such Vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in three or four and twenty Years of His Majesty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, or in the Number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may be justly called good; and from the earliest Cherry and Strawberry, to the last Apples and Pears, may furnish every Day of the circling Year. For the Taste and Perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the *French*, who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Shene*, in no very Ill Year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in *France*, on this side *Fountainbleau*; and the first as good as any they have eat in *Gascony*; I mean those which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not those which are hard, and are termed Paxies; for these cannot grow in too warm a Climate, nor ever be good in a Cold; and are better at *Madrid*, than in *Gascony* it self: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that Sort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the latter Kind, and the Blue, we cannot come near the warm Climates, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muscate* Grape.

My Orange-Trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in *France*, except those of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have seen since in the *Low-Countries*, except some very old ones of the Prince of *Orange's*; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted as are commonly brought over, except the best Sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but say, in Defence of our Climate, which is so much and so generally decried Abroad, by those who never saw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries; who accuse our Country for their own Defaults, and speak ill, not only of our Gardens and Houses, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Customs and Manners of Life, by what they have observed of the Meaner and Baser Sort of Mankind; and of Company among us, because they wanted themselves, perhaps, either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the Good.

I must needs add one thing more in Favour of our Climate, which I heard the King say, and I thought New and Right, and truly like a King of *England*, that loved and esteemed his own Country: 'Twas in Reply to some of the Company that were reviling our Climate, and extolling those of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at least of *France*: He said, He thought that was the best Climate, where he could be abroad in the Air with Pleasure, or at least without Trouble and Inconvenience, the most Days of the Year, and the most Hours of the Day; and this he thought he could be in *England*, more than in any Country he knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the Hot and the Cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France*, and the *Low-*

Countries themselves; where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climate wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Default of it, is only the short Season of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all such as are ripe before the End of *August*, are, for ought I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true Region of Gardens in *England*, to be the Compass of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental Warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of so vast a Town, makes Fruits, as well as Corn, a great deal forwarder than in *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, besides the Temper of our Climate, two Things particular to us, that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the Fineness, and almost perpetual Greenness of our Turf. The first is not known any where else, which leaves all their dry Walks in other Countries, very unpleasant and uneasy. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soil not admitting that Fineness of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenness in *France*, during most of the Summer; not indeed is it to be found but in the Finest of our Soils.

Whoever begins a Garden, ought in the first place, and above all, to consider the Soil, upon which the Taste of not only his Fruits, but his Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend; and the Default of Soil is without Remedy: For although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you please (if you will be at the Charge) yet it must be renewed in Two or Three Years, or it runs into the Nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees spread their Roots further than any body's Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soil about you is ill, the Air is so too in a Degree, and has Influence upon the Taste of Fruit. What *Horace* says of the Productions of Kitchen-Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the best Sorts of Fruits, and may determine the Choice of Soil for all Gardens.

*Caule suburbano qui sicis crevit in agris
Dulcior, irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.*

*Plants from dry Fields those of the Town excel,
Nothing more tasteless is than water'd Grounds.*

Any Man had better throw away his Care and his Money upon any thing else, than upon a Garden in Wet or Moist Ground. Peaches and Grapes will have no Taste but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the Richer these are, the better; and neither Sallads, Pease or Beans, have at all the Taste upon a Clay or Rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worse Soils.

Next to your Choice of Soil, is to suit your Plants to your Ground, since of this every one is not Master; though perhaps *Varro's* Judgment upon this Case is the wisest and the best; for to one that asked him, What he should do if his Father or Ancestors had left him a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soil? He answered, Why Sell it, and Buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the Worth? Why then take a Quarter; but however Sell it for any thing, rather than live upon it.

Of all sorts of Soil, the best is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Rosiny Sand; whoever lies upon either of these, may run boldly into all the best Sort of Peaches and Grapes, how shallow soever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in these Soils the Fruit shall be of much finer Taste than any other: A richer Soil will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs; but still the more of the Sand in your Earth the better,

ter, and the worse the more of the Clay; which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the Climate among us, as well as the Soil; for there are Degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little Purpose to plant any of the best Fruits; as Peaches or Grapes, hardly, I doubt, beyond *Northamptonshire*, at the furthest *Northwards*: And I thought it very prudent in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordshire*, who is a great Lover of his Garden, to pretend no higher, though his Soil be good enough, than to the Perfection of Plums; and in these (by bestowing *South Walls* upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in Attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Cosevelt* with that Bishop of *Munster*, that made so much Noise in his Time, I observed no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden he had made. He told me the Reason was, because he found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climate, or upon that Soil; and therefore instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the Sorts of that, whereof he had so many, as never to be without them from *May* to the End of *September*.

As to the Size of a Garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from Five or Four, to Seven or Eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in his Family.

In every Garden Four Things are necessary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade, and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all these, must not pretend it in any Perfection: It ought to lie to the best Parts of the House, or to those of the Master's commonest Use, so as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you step into another. The Part of your Garden next your House (besides the Walks that go round it) should be a Parterre for Flowers, or Grass-plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the Newest Mode, it be cast all into Grass-plots and Gravel-walks, the Driness of these should be relieved with Fountains, and the Plainness of those with Statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill Effect upon the Eye. However, the Part next the House should be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one Half of the Garden, the other should be Fruit-trees, unless some Grove for Shade lie in the middle. If it take up a Third Part only, then the next Third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the Last Standard-fruit; or else the Second Part Fruit-trees, and the Third all Sorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seasons of the Year.

I will not enter upon any Account of Flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled my self with the Care, which is more the Ladies Part than the Mens; but the Success is wholly in the Gardener. For Fruits, the best we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Maudlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuse*, the *Ramboulet*, the *Musk*, the *Admirable*, which is late; all the rest are either varified by Names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but should find room in a good Garden, at least the *White* and *Brown Nutmeg*, the *Persian* and the *Violet Musk*. The only good Nectarins are the *Murry* and the *French*; of these there are two Sorts, one very sound, and the other something long, but the round is the best: Of the *Murry* there are several Sorts, but being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the best are the *Chasselas*, which is the better Sort of our *White Muscadine* (as the Name was about *Sheen*;) 'tis called the *Pearl-Grape*, and ripens well enough in common Years, but not so well as the com-
mon

mon Black, or Currand, which is ſomething a worſe Grape. The Parſley is good, and proper enough to our Climate; but all White *Frontignacks* are difficult, and ſeldom ripe unleſs in extraordinary Summers.

I have had the Honour of bringing over four Sorts into *England*; the *Arboſſe* from the *Franche Comte*, which is a ſmall White Grape, or rather runs into ſome ſmall and ſome great upon the ſame Bunch; it agrees well with our Climate, but is very choice in Soil, and muſt have a ſharp Gravel; it is the moſt delicious of all Grapes that are not Muſcat. The *Burgundy*, which is a Grizelin or Pale Red, and of all others is ſureſt to ripen in our Climate; ſo that I have never known them to fail one Summer theſe fifteen Years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an *Eaſt Wall*. A Black Muſcat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the Fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the highſt of that Taſte, and the Nobleſt of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*; but requires the hotteſt Wall and the ſharpeſt Gravel; and muſt be favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All theſe are, I ſuppoſe, by this Time pretty common among ſome Gardeners in my Neighbourhood, as well as ſeveral Perſons of Quality; for I have ever thought all Things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The laſt is very ſmall, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blue there are two or three Sorts, but little different, one ſomething longer than the other; but that kind which ſwells moſt, is ever the beſt. Of the White I know but two Sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the Beginning of *July*, the other in the End of *September*, and is yellower than the firſt; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raiſe, though an excellent Muſcat.

Of Apricocks, the beſt are the common old Sort, and the largeſt Muſcadin; of which this laſt is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I eſteem none of this Fruit but the *Bruffel's* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the beſt Fruits we have; and which I firſt brought over among us.

The Number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet, Roſati, Sans, Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. *Michael*, St. *Germain*, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums, the beſt are St. *Julian*, St. *Catharine*, White and Blue Pedrigo, Queen-Mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the Sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more Kinds; and I am content to leave this Register, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their Deſigns of Gardening.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climate, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin; and for all Sorts of Uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their Perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in *Gascony*. In other Fruits the Defect of Sun is in a great Meaſure ſupplied by the Advantage of Walls.

The next Care to that of ſuiting Trees with the Soil, is that of ſuiting Fruits to the Poſition of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter-Pears, to be good, muſt be planted upon full *South*, or *South-Eaſt*; Figs are beſt upon *South-Eaſt*, but will do well upon *Eaſt* and *South-Weſt*: The *Weſt* are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks; but all of them are improved by a *South* Wall both as to Early and Taſte, *North*, *North-Weſt*, or *North-Eaſt*, deſerve nothing but Greens; theſe ſhould be divided by Woodbines or Jeſſefcines between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Wine between every Fruit-tree; the beſt Sorts upon the *South* Walls, the common White and Black upon *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, becauſe the other Trees being many of them (eſpecially

cially Peaches (were transitory; some apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this Method the Walls are left for several Years unfurnished; whereas the Vines on each side cover the void Space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make only a Pillar between them of Two or Three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the best Fruits in the most Perfection our Climate will allow, should not take care of giving them as much Sun, but also as much Air as he can; no Tree, unless Dwarf, should be suffered to grow within Forty Foot of your best Wallis, but the farther they lie open, is still the better. Of all others, this Care is most necessary in Vines, which are observed abroad to make the best Wines, where they lie upon Sides of Hills, and so most exposed to the Air and the Wind. The Way of pruning them too, is best learn'd from the Vineyards, where you see nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead Stump; and upon our Wallis they should be left but like a Ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at most upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be still the better.

The best Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Descent; they have all their Beauties, but the best I esteem an Oblong upon a Descent. The Beauty, the Air, the View makes Amends for the Expence, which is very great in finishing and supporting the Terras-Walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the Stone-Stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest Figure of a Garden I ever saw, either at Home or Abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hertsfordshire*, when I knew it about thirty Years ago. It was made by the Countess of *Bedford*, esteemed among the greatest Wits of her Time, and celebrated by Doctor *Dome*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Cost; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Sense in proportion to Money, or if Nature be not followed; which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greatest of Mortal Men should attempt the forcing of Nature, may best be judged, by observing how seldom God Almighty does it himself, by so few, true and undisputed Miracles, as we see or hear in the World. For my own Part, I know not three wiser Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or private Men, than

— *Servare Modum, Finempue tueri,
Naturamque sequi.*

Because I take the Garden I have named to have been in all Kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least in the Figure and Disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a Model to those that meet with such a Situation, and are above the Regards of common Expence. It lies on the Side of a Hill, (upon which the House stands) but not very steep. The Length of the House, where the best Rooms, and of most Use or Pleasure are, lies upon the Breadth of the Garden, the great Parlours opens into the Middle of a Terras Gravel-Walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred Paces long, and broad Proportion; the Border set with Standard Laurels, and at large Distances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit: From this Walk are Three Descents by many Stone Steps, in the Middle and at each End, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with Two Fountains and Eight Statues in the several Quarters; at the End of the Terras-Walk are Two Summer-Houses, and the Sides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloisters, open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houses even with the Cloisters, which are paved with Stone, and designed for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over these two Cloisters are two Terrasses covered with Lead, and fenced with Balusters; and the Passage into these Airy

Walks, is out of the two Summer-Houfes at the End of the first Terras-Walk. The Cloister facing the *South* is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-Houfe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that Purpose, if this Piece of Gardening had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the Middle of this Parterre is a Descent by many Steps flying on each Side of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead, and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit trees ranged about the several Quarters of a Wilderness which is very shady; the Walks here are all green, the Grotto embellish'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-Work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common Way that goes through the Park, they might have added a Third Quarter of all Greens; but this Want is supplied by a Garden on the other Side of the Houfe, which is all of that Sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest Place, I think, that I have seen in my Life, either before or since, at Home or Abroad; what it is now I can give little Account, having pass'd through several Hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as Houfes; but the Remembrance of what it was, is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the Figure of it, which may serve for a Pattern to the best Gardens of our Manners, and that are most proper for our Country and Climate.

What I have said of the best Forms of Gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary Dispositions of Nature in the Seat, or some great Race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may produce many disagreeing Parts into some Figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some Places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chinese*; a People, whose way of Thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly in some certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact Distances. The *Chinese* scorn this Way of Planting, and say a Boy that can tell an Hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in strait Lines, and over against one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleases. But their greatest Reach of Imagination, is employed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the Eye, but without any Order or Disposition of Parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this Sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to express it; and where they find it hit their Eye at first Sight, they say the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such Expression of Esteem. And whoever observes the Work upon the best *Indian* Gowns, or the Painting upon their best Screens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without Order. But I should hardly advise any of these Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard Attainment for any common Hands; and though there may be more Honour if they succeed well, yet there is more Dishonour if they fail, and 'tis Twenty to One they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in some Relations of a Garden made by a *Dutch* Governour of their Colony, upon the Cape de *Buen Esperance*, is admirable, and described to be an Oblong Figure, of very large Extent, and divided into four Quarters by long and cross Walks, ranged with all Sorts of Orange-trees, Lemons, Limes and Citrons; each of these four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four Parts of the World; so as in this one Inclosure are

to be found the several Gardens of *Europe, Asia, Africk and America*. There could not be, in my Mind, a greater Thought of a Gardener, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, not better suited or chosen for the Climate, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may pass for the *Hesperides* of our Age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Islands or Continent upon the *South-West of Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for Taste, or only for Sight, as those of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees, with Stocks, Branches, Leaves and Fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of Gold; but this was only stupendous in Cost and Art, and answers not at all, in my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have said of Gardening, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great Faults, nor be much imposed upon in the Designs of that Kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a Sort of Creation, that raise Beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleasure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Money among the poorer Sort and Artisans, that are a publick Service to one's Country, by the Example as well as Effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it self in some degree. The rest that belongs to this Subject, must be a Gardener's Part; upon whose Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soil and Sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Carelessness of the Servants can hardly leave the Master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by three short Directions or Advices: First, in all Plantations, either for his Master or himself, to draw his Trees out of some Nursery that is upon a leaner and lighter Soil than his own where he removes them; without this Care they will not thrive in several Years, perhaps never; and must make way for New, which should be avoided all that can be; for Life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as those of your House; so that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raise, to have some Regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud; for the first will have a Share in giving Taste and Season to the Fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our Gardeners. I have found Grafts of the same Tree upon a Boncretien Stock, bring *Chasselay* Pears, that lasted till *March*, but with a Rind green and rough: And others, upon a *Metre-John* Stock, with a smooth and yellow Skin, which were rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the Difference between the *St. Michael* and the *Ambrette* Pear (which has puzzled our Gardeners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raising from Stones and Kernels, most of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a *White-Thorn* brings the *Lazaroli*, a Fruit esteemed at *Rome*, tho' I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the *Cidrato* (or *Hermaphrodite*) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The best Peaches are raised by Buds of the best Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the best Peaches; and so the best Apples and Pears, from the best Kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels also of the best Sorts, with respect to the Season, as well as Beauty and Taste. And I believe so many excellent Winter-Pears, as have come into *France* since Forty Years, may have been found out by grafting Summer-Pears of the finest Taste and most Water, upon Winter-Stocks.

The Third Advice is, To take the greatest Care and Pains in preserving your Trees from the worst Disease, to which those of the best Fruits are subject in the best Soils, and upon the best Walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it

by the Experience of my Gardens, though I have since met with it in Books both Ancient and Modern. I found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks and Plums upon my best South-Walls, and sometimes upon my West, apt for several Years to a Soot, or Smuttiness upon their Leaves first, and then upon their Fruits, which were good for nothing the Years they were so affected. My Orange-trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some Collections quite destroyed by it. But I cannot say, that I ever found either my Figs or Pears infected with it, nor any Trees upon my East-Walls, though I do not well conjecture at the Reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best Gardeners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same Misfortune, and esteemed it some Blight of the Spring. I observed after some Years, that the diseased Trees had very frequent upon their Stocks and Branches a small Insect of a dark brown Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the Size of a large Wheat-Corn: They stuck close to the Bark, and in many Places covered it, especially about the Joints: In Winter they are dry, and thin-shell'd; but in Spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with Moisture, and to throw a Spawn like a Black Dust upon the Stocks, as well as the Leaves and Fruits.

I met afterwards with the Mention of this Disease, as known among Orange-trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and since in *Pausanias*, as a thing so much taken Notice of in *Greece*, that the Author describes a certain sort of Earth which cures *Pediculus Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others the most pestilent Disease of the best Fruit-trees, and upon the very best Soils of Gravel and Sand (especially where they are too hungry:) And is so contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants raised from old Trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the Root, and that the best Cure were by Application there. But I have tried all Soil without Effect, and can prescribe no other Remedy, than to Prune your Trees as close as you can, especially the tainted Wood, then to wash them very clean with a wet Brush, so as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can discern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as brushing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without these Cares and Diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and plant new found Trees, rather than suffer the Disappointments and Vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this Trade, since I have so long allowed my self to be good for nothing else, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other Matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own Part, as the Country Life, and this Part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it self, so they are the Pleasure of my Age; and I can truly say, that among many great Employments that have fallen to my Share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the Ease and Freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own Way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

*Inter cuncta leges & percontabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, & fallentis semita vitæ.*

*But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what Means you may gently pass your Age,
What lessens Care, what makes thee shine own Friend,*

What

*What truly calms the Mind; Honour, or Wealth,
Or else a private Path of stealing Life?*

These are Questions that a Man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to chuse his Course of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents, or Advice of Friends; at least if the Spanish Proverb be true, That a Fool knows more in his own House, than a Wise Man in another's.

The Measure of chusing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has chosen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the Confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the Sweetness and Satisfaction of this Retreat, where, since my Resolution taken of never entering again into any publick Employments, I have passed five Years without ever going once to Town, though I am almost in Sight of it, and have a House there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of Affectation, as some have thought it, but a meer Want of Desire or Humour to make so small a Remove; for when I am in this Corner, I can truly say with *Horace*,

*Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice precare?
Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & provisa frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubia fluitem spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat & aufert.*

*Me when the cold Digentian Stream revives,
What does my Friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of Life remains, unto my self,
May I have Books enough, and one Year's Store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful Hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as He pleases, gives and takes away.*

That which makes the Cares of Gardening more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all Men eat Fruit that can get it; so as the Choice is, only whether one will eat Good or Ill; and between these the Difference is not greater in Point of Taste and Delicacy, than it is of Health: For the first, I will only say, That whoever has used to eat good, will do very great Penance when he comes to Ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extremely unwholsome, and causes so many untimely Deaths, or so much Sickness about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten; so no part of Dyet, in any Season, is so Healthful, so Natural, and so Agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits; for this I make the Measure of their being good; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for my self at least, and all my Friends, that the Season of Summer Fruits is ever the Season of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the End of *September*, and for all Sicknesses of the Stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat Thirty or Forty Cherries before Meals, or the like Proportion of Strawberries, white Figs, soft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly ripe. But these after *Michaelmas* I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some Fit of Hot and Dry Weather, more than is usual after that Season; when the Frosts or the Rain have taken them, they

they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears are to be reckon'd in Season, besides Apples, which, with Cherries, are of all others the most innocent Food, and perhaps the best Physick. Now, whoever will be sure to eat good Fruit, must do it out of a Garden of his own; for besides the Choice so necessary in the Sorts, the Soil, and so many other Circumstances that go to compose a good Garden, and produce good Fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and chusing the best, even from the same Tree. The best Sorts of all among us, which I esteem the white Figs and the soft Peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Master's Care, than how to raise the greatest Gains; His Business is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees; whereas the way to have it Excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all Things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of, Necessary and Useful to be known upon this Subject.



O F

H E R O I C K V I R T U E.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art wherein Men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the World, there are Two only that have had the Honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Esteem or Appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent Degrees; which are, Heroick Virtue, and Poetry: For Prophecy cannot be esteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but wherever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and bestowed according to his Pleasure, and upon Subjects of the meanest Capacity; upon Women or Children, or even Things intimate; as the Stones placed in the High-Priest's Breast-Plate, which were a Sacred Oracle among the *Jews*.

I will leave Poetry to an Essay by it self, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Virtue, which, however forgotten or unknown in latter Ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the World the Advantages most valued among Men, and which most distinguish their Understandings, and their Lives, from the rest of their Fellow-Creatures.

Though it be easier to describe Heroick Virtue, by the Effects and Examples, than by Causes or Definitions; yet it may be said to arise from some great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius transcending the common Race of Mankind, in Wisdom, Goodness and Fortitude. These Ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and assisted by Fortune, seem to make that noble Composition, which gives such a Lustre to those who have possessed it, as made them appear to common Eyes something more than Mortals, and to have been born of some Mixture between Divine and Human Race; to have been honoured and obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored.

The Greatness of their Wisdom appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; and these, by the Goodness of their Nature, were turned and exercised upon such Subjects, as were of general Good to Mankind in the common Uses of Life, or to their own Countries in the Institutions of such Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of most Ease, Safety and Advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was employed in defending their own Countries from the Violence of ill Men at Home, or Enemies Abroad; in reducing their barbarous Neighbours to the same Forms and Orders of Civil Lives and Institutions; or in relieving others from the Cruelties and Oppressions of Tyranny and Violence. These are all comprehended in Three Verses of *Virgil*, describing the Blessed Seats in *Elysium*, and those that enjoyed them.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnere passi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios facere merendo.*

*Here such, as for their Country Wounds receiv'd,
Or who by Arts invented Life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves remembred.*

And

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue seems to be, in short, The deserving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in Design, and great in Success, the Pretence to a Hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this Excellency of Genius must be Native, because it can never grow to any great Height, if it be only acquired or affected: But it must be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Lustre, Esteem and Authority; it must be cultivated by Education and Instruction, to improve its Growth, and direct its End and Application; and it must be assisted by Fortune, to preserve it to Maturity; because the noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first Enterprizes, cannot deserve enough of Mankind, to pretend to so great a Reward, as the Esteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a Person has died in the first Battle or Adventure he achieved, and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion; who, had he out-lived as many Dangers as *Alexander* did, might have shined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now since so many Stars go to the making up of this Constellation, 'tis no Wonder it has so seldom appeared in the World; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with so much Gazing, and so much Veneration.

Among the simpler Ages or Generations of Men, in several Countries, those who were the first Inventors of Arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to Human Life, were honoured alive, and after Death worshipped as Gods. And so were those, who had been the first Authors of any good and well instituted Civil Government in any Country, by which the Native Inhabitants were reduced from Savage and Brutish Lives, to the Safety and Convenience of Societies, the Enjoyment of Property, the Obedvance of Orders, and the Obedience of Laws; which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Industry, and all Kinds of Arts. The evident Advantages and common Benefits of these Sorts of Institutions, made People generally inclined at Home to obey such Governours, the Neighbour Nations to esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their Protection, or easily yield to the Force of their Arms and Frowes. Thus Conquests began to be made in the World, and upon the same Designs of reducing barbarous Nations unto civil and well-regulated Constitutions and Governments, and of subduing those by Force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the Advantages of Life or Condition that were thereby offered them. Such Persons of old, who excelling in those Virtues, were attended by these Fortunes, and made great and famous Conquests, and left them under good Constitutions of Laws and Governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting Orders and Frames of any Political State, in what Compass soever our Country, or under what Names soever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-Givers in their own Times, and were called in After-ages by the Name of Heroes.

From these Sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the Theology or Idolatry of all the Ancient Pagan Countries, within the Compass of the Four great Empires, so much renowned in Story, and perhaps of some others, as great in their Constitutions, and as extended in their Conquests, though not so much celebrated or observed by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at least the *Peloponnesus*; and having among those Inhabitants introduced the Use of Agriculture, of Poetry and Civility, and established a just and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as Chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigerunt arva coloni.

That

That his Brothers, Sisters, Sons and Daughters, were worshipp'd likewise, for the Inventions of Things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to human Life. So *Neptune*, for the Art or Improvement of Navigation; *Vulcan*, for that of forging Brass and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Musick and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandize; *Bacchus*, for the Invention of Wine; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any Traces left by which a probable Conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this Race of *Saturn* flourished in the World, nor consequently, what Length of Time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different Times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*; and that the last, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern, in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the Race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark Shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the Mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The same divine Honours were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osiris*; in whose Temple was inscribed on a Pillar, That he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common Good of Mankind; by the *Affyrians* to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom; and great Inventor or Improver of Astronomy among the *Chaldeans*; by the Original *Latin* or *Hebruscaus*, to *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and these three were worshipp'd as Gods by those ancient and learned Nations.

Ninus and *Sesistris* were renowned for their mighty Conquests, and esteem'd the two great Heroes of *Assyria* and of *Egypt*; the first having extended his Victories to the River *Indus*, and the other, those of the *Egyptians*, over *Asia*, as far as *Pontus*. The Time of *Ninus* is controverted among Historians, being by some placed thirteen, by others eight hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Sesistris* is, in my Opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see how their Opinion can be allow'd, who make him to be *Sesack*, that took *Jerusalem* in the Time of *Rehoboam*, since no more is said in Scripture of the Progress of that Expedition: Nor is the Time of it mentioned in the *Grecian* Story, though some Records are there found, of all that pass'd after the *Trojan* War, and with Distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesistris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Chalcos* to have descended from a Colony there established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Story of this King must be reckon'd as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from fierce wild Beasts, or from fiercer and wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from cruel and lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honour'd as Founder of the more civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though his Father had been King of the scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In the same Age flourished *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*; who, by the Force and Number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægean* Islands, and most of the Coasts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the Justice of his Laws, and the Greatness of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the Time of the *Trojan* Wars, so much celebrated in those two charming Poems, which from them were call'd Heroical, though 'tis easie to take their Characters from those admirable Pictures drawn of them

them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be observed, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were employed in the Defence of his Country and his Father against a Foreign Invasion: The Valour of *Achilles* was exercised in the common Cause, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been allured by certain Prophecies, that he should die before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Aeneas* having employed his utmost Prowess in defence of his Country, saved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, gathered up the Remainders of his ruined Country, sailed to *Italy*, and there founded a Kingdom, which gave Rise to the greatest Empire of the World.

About two hundred and fifty Years after these, *Lycurgus* instituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders so different from those usual in those Times and Countries, that more than human Authority seemed necessary to establish them; and the *Pythian* Priests told him, she did not know whether she should call him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Constitutions have been more celebrated than his, by the best Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the first founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other polished the civil and religious Orders of both in such a degree, that the original Institutions of these two Law-givers continued as long as that glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Persian* Empire upon the Ruins of the *Assyrian*; adorned it with excellent Constitutions and Laws, and extended it Westward, by the Conquest of all the Lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the Life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue; And 'tis certain his Memory was always celebrated among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by Divine Honours, because that Nation adored one Supreme God, without any Representation or Idol; and in the next Place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the Intire Conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it by the Addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But he attained not the Esteem or Appellation of an Heroe, though he affected and courted it by his Mother's Stories of his Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Priest and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His Pretence was justly excluded by his Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Lust; and more yet by his Cruelties and his Pride: For true Honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no Orders or Frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those he found: And seems to have owed the Success of his Enterprizes, to the Counsels and Conduct of his Father's old Officers; after whose Disgrace and Fall, immediately succeeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he must be allowed to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greatest Boldness of Enterprize, Scorn of Danger, and Fearlessness of Death, that could be in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the Qualities, both Native and Acquired, that enter into the Composition of an Heroe, but failed of the Attribute or Honour, because he overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raised his Greatness by the Conquest of his Fellow-Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived not

not to perfect the Frame of such a Government, or achieve such Conquests as he seems to have had in Design.

These four great Monarchies, with the smaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were swallowed up by their Conquests and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Ancient Story, and are so excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, still extant and in common Vogue, so commented, enlarged, reduced into Order of Time and Place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profess to study or entertain themselves with Reading. The Orders and Institutions of these several Governments, their Progress and Duration, their Successes or Decays, their Events and Revolutions, make the common Themes of Schools and Colleges, the Study of Learned, and the Conversation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Histories, Poems and Romances. From the Actions and Fortunes of these Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Virtue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illustrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of these Governments are drawn the usual Instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the Discourses and Reflections of the greatest Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Institutions, the Laws and Customs of these Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Justice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From these they draw their Arguments and Precedents in all Disputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the several Sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended; concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invasion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty in civil Contentions.

Yet the Stage of all these Empires, and Revolutions of all these Heroick Actions, and these famous Constitutions (how Great or how Wise soever any of them are esteemed) is but a limited Compass of Earth, that leaves out many vast Regions of the World, the which, though accounted Barbarous, and little taken Notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a Right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the Rest, that have arrogated it wholly to themselves; and besides, in my Opinion, there are some of them, that upon Enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wisdom of their Constitutions, the Extent of their Conquests, and the Duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that Midland Part of the World, which was bound on the *East* by the River *Indus*, and on the *West* by the *Atlantick* Ocean; on the *North* by the River *Oxus*, the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* Seas, and the *Danube*; on the *South* by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Aethiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are said to have conquered *India*; but the first seems only to have subdued some Parts of it, that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander's* Achievements there, seem rather like a Journey than a Conquest; and though he pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet he left even undiscovered the greatest Parts of that mighty Region, which by the Ancients was reported to contain an hundred and eighteen Great and Populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Sythia* nor *Arabia* for Parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho' *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the first, yet they soon left it, one with Loss of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well discovered or surveyed; nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Felix*, and is environed on three

Sides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts, that join to *Syria*, have entred into the Conquests or Commerce of the four great Empires; but that which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy Desarts, thro' which no Armies can pass for want of Water.

Now, if we consider the Map of the World, as it lies at present before us, since the Discoveries made by the Navigations of these three last Centuries, we shall easily find what vast Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all Sides: And tho' passing for Barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying Parts of the World, however unknown by the Ancients, and overlooked by the Modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much Matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene so much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vast Extent, and Variety of Soils and Climates, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Constitutions of Laws and Customs, the wise and lasting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conquests that have risen from such Orders and Institutions.

Now, because the first Scene is such a beaten Road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short Survey of our four great Schemes of Government or Empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty Heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the farthest Degree of our *Eastern* Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*. The next is at the farthest *Western*, which is that of *Pegu*. The third is the utmost of our *Northern* Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*. And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the *Southern*.

For that vast Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas*, and the *Southern* Ocean; though it be found to swarm in People; to abound in Gold; to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite smaller Principalities; to be pierced by these two famous Rivers of the *Nile*, and the *Niger*; to produce a Race of Men that seem hardly of the same Species with the rest of Mankind; yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any Share in this Essay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas* or his Kingdom of old, is so obscured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with those of the *Atlantick* Islands; though I know not whether these themselves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Priests, and which perhaps were by them otherwise esteemed.

S E C T. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the *East* and *South* by the Ocean, to the *North* by a Stone Wall of twelve hundred Miles long, raised against the Invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the *West*, by vast and unpassable Mountains or Desarts, which the Labour or Curiosity of no Mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the River *Ganges*, he was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impassable Marshes, lying between great Rivers, or sandy Desarts or steep Mountains, full only of wild Beasts, but wholly destitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by Ancients the Bound of the *Eastern* World: Since the Use of the Compass, and Extent of Navigation, it is found that there are several populous Kingdoms lie between *Ganges* and the Desarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*; as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Civote*, and others,

lie

lie in this Space, coasting along the Borders of great Rivers *Northwards*; which are said to run about the Length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to rise from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of these Kingdoms is known any other Way of Passage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indofon*, or the *Mogul's* Country, there is none other usual; and such as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the East, to pass many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vast Sandy Deserts, and other prodigious High and Steep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beast is able to pass, but only Men on Foot; and over one Mountain particularly esteemed the highest in the World; where the Air is so thin, that Men cannot travel over it without Danger of their Lives; and never in Summer without being poisoned by the Scent of certain Herbs that grow upon it; which is Mortal when they are in Flower. After Eight or Nine Months Journey from the *Mogul's* Court, several Persons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and so to the Imperial City of *Peking*, situate in the Northern Parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chinese* call a World by it self; and esteem themselves the only reasonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on three Sides; and to the North, only the *Tartars*, whom they esteem but another sort of wild or brutish Men; and therefore they say in common Proverb, *That the Chinese only see with Two Eyes, and all other Men but with One.*

But this Situation, and by a Custom or Law very ancient among them, of suffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vast Continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the rest of the World; and so far as I can find, was first discovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*; who about Four hundred Years ago, made a Voyage from *Venice*, through *Armenia*, *Persia*, and several Parts of *Tartary*, to that which he names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu* (as he calls them) and after Seventeen Years Residence of his Father and himself, in that Court of the Great *Chan*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since his Time, and within Two or Three Hundred Years, several Missionary Friars and Jesuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite Pains and Dangers through these vast and savage Regions, some from the *Mogul's* Country, some through *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*; which I make no Question (by comparing all their several Accounts and Relations) is the same famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by him called *Cataya*. The Reason of this Difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Chan* of *East Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed himself by Conquest, of several Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where he made his Residence, and which was like the rest of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After some time all these Provinces were again recovered by the *Chinese*, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chinese* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Peking* (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinsay*) that the Force of his Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier against the furious Invasions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had several times felt the Rage and Danger,

After this Recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and prosperous under their own Emperors, till about the Year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above Thirty Years, in the End made themselves absolute Masters of the whole Kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This Region, commonly known by the Name of *China*, extends about Eighteen hundred Miles, or Thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not esteemed so much of Longitude; but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from East to West having not, that I find, been ever performed by any *European*; and the Accounts taken only from Report of the Natives. Nor is it easily agreed, where the Habitable Parts of *China* determine Westward, since some Authors say, they end in Mountains, stored only with wild Beasts and wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other Commerce with the *Chinese*, than by Descents sometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes: And other Authors say, There are such inaccessible Mountains even in the midst of *China*, so as the first Accounts may have left out great Countries beyond these Mountains, which they took for the utmost Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever Length it has, which by none is esteemed less than Twelve or Thirteen hundred Miles; it must be allowed to be the greatest, richest and most populous Kingdom now known in the World; and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable Constitution of its Government, more than any other.

This Empire consists of Fifteen several Kingdoms, which at least have been so of old, though now governed as Provinces, by their several Viceroyes, who yet live in Greatness, Splendor and Riches, equal to the great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are one hundred and forty five Capital Cities, of mighty Extent and magnificent Building, and one thousand three hundred twenty and one lesser Cities, but all walled round; the Number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite Growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible Length, Conjunctions of Rivers, Convenience of Ways for the Transportation of all Sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great Trade, though till very lately they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now Foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chinese* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by the Permission of the *Portuguese* and *Dutch* to come and Trade in some Shirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Testimonies of their Greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-Wall which divides the Northern Parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned by some Twelve, by others Nine hundred Miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marshes and Deserts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches. It is forty five Foot high, and twenty Foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain Spaces by great Towers. It was built above two thousand Years ago, but with such admirable Architecture, that where some Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the rest is still as entire, as when it was first built. The King that raised this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were listed and paid for the Defence of it against the *Tartars*, and took their Turns by certain Numbers at certain Times, for the Guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing so large as several other Cities of *China* (whereof *Nanking* is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular Four-Square; the Wall of each Side is Six Miles in length. In each of these Sides are three Gates, and on each Side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a thousand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite cross, with a thorough View and Passage from each Gate to that which is over-against it in the opposite Side; and these Streets are ranged full of stately Houses.

The Palace of the Emperor is three Miles in Compass, consisting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the last (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred Paces square. The other two are filled with his Domesticks, Officers and Guards, to the Number of sixteen thousand Persons.

fons. Without the Courts are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into several Canals faced with square Stone, and the whole achieved with such admirable Invention, Cost and Workmanship, that nothing Ancient or Modern seems to come near it; and all served with such Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambassador at *Peking*, seems a Sight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are usually distinguish'd into Noble and Plebeian, so that of *China* may be distinguish'd into Learned and Illiterate. The last makes up the Body or Mass of the People who are govern'd; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in Time or Course succeed them in the Magistracy; for no other than the Learned are ever employed in the Government, nor any in the greatest Charges, that are not of those Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages or Philosophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Persons employed in it, there will be a Necessity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is observed to do, and the Reason of such different Effects from the same Cause.

The two great Heroes of the *Chinese* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whose Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Ador'd. *Fohu* lived about four thousand Years ago, and was the first Founder of their Kingdom; the Progress whereof has ever since continued upon their Records so clear, that they are esteem'd by the Missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For after the Death of every King, the Successor appoints certain Persons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predecessor's Reign, and of these, an Epitome is afterwards drawn and entred into their Registers. *Fohu* first reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, Distinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government: He invented Characters, and left several short Tables or Writings of Astronomy, or Observations of the Heavens, of Morality, of Physick, and Political Government. The Characters he used, seem to have been partly straight Lines of different Lengths, and distinguish'd by different Points; and partly Hieroglyphicks; and these in time were followed by Characters, of which each expressed one Word.

In these several Ways were for many Centuries compos'd many Books among the *Chinese*, in many sorts of Learning, especially Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Physick and Agriculture.

Something above Two thousand Years ago lived *Confuchu*, the most Learned, Wise and Virtuous of all the *Chinese*; and for whom both the King and Magistrates, in his own Age, and all of them in the Ages since, seem to have had the greatest Deference that has any where been rendered to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digested all the Learning of the Ancients, even from the first Writing or Tables of *Fohu*, at least all that he thought necessary or useful to Mankind, in their Personal, Civil or Political Capacities; which were then received, and since prosecuted with so great Esteem and Veneration, that none has question'd whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best Rules of Opinion and Life; so that 'tis enough in all Argument, that *Confuchu* has said it.

Some time after lived a King, who to raise a new Period of Time from his own Name and Reign, endeavour'd to abolish the Memory of all that had pass'd before him, and caus'd all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture. Out of this Ruin to Learning, escap'd, either by Chance, or some Private Industry, the Epitomes or Registers of the several Successions of their Kings since *Fohu*, and the Works of *Confuchu*, or at least a Part of them, which have lately in *France* been Printed in the Latin Tongue, with a Learned Preface, by some of the Missionary Jesuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confucius*.

After

After the Death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, these Writings came abroad; and being the only Remains of the Ancient *Chinese* Learning, were received with general Applause, or rather Veneration: Four Learned Men having long addicted themselves to the Study of these Books, writ Four several Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning should be taught, studied or exercised, but what was extracted out of these Five Books; and so Learning has ever since continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of these Five Men, or rather to those of their Prince of Philosophers, the Great and Renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of his Writings seems to be a Body or Digestion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Virtues, either Personal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political; and framed for the Institution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families and their Governments, but chiefly of the last; the Bent of his Thoughts and Reasonings running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meanest Peasant, should endeavour to be Good, and Wise, and Virtuous, as far as his own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of his Country can instruct him.

The chief Principle he seems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own Natural Reason to the greatest Height he is capable, so as he may never (or as seldom as can be) err and swerve from the Law of Nature, in the Course and Conduct of his Life: That this being not to be done without much Thought, Inquiry and Diligence, makes Study and Philosophy necessary; which teaches Men what is Good and what is Bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs; and consequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in his several Station or Capacity. That in this Perfection of Natural Reason consists the Perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmost or supreme Happiness of Mankind. That the Means and Rules to attain this Perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to his Natural Reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the Good and Happiness of other Men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed the constant Course and Practice of the several Virtues, known and agreed so generally in the World; among which, Courtesy or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In short, the whole Scope of all *Confutius* has writ, seems aimed only at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well; how Parents, Masters and Magistrates should rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Instructions, for either Personal, Oeconomical, or Political Wisdom and Virtue, is discoursed by him, with great Compass of Knowledge, Excellence of Sense, Reach of Wit, and illustrated with Elegance of Style and Aptness of Similitudes and Examples, as may be easily conceived by any that can allow for the Lameness and Shortness of Translations out of Language and Manners of Writing infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Virtue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the *Chinese*, and all other Sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholastick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more than to raise Doubts and Disputes, Heats and Feuds, Animosities and Factions in all Controversies of Religion or Government. Even Astrology and Physick, and Chymistry, are but ignoble Studies, though there are many among them that excel in all these; and the Astrologers are much in Vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Preditions; the Chymists apply themselves chiefly to the Search of the Universal Medicine, for Health and Length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Physicians excel

cel in the Knowledge of the Pulse, and of all simple Medicines, and so little further; but in the first are so skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many Hours or Days a sick Man can last, but how many Years a Man in perfect seeming Health may live, in case of no Accident or Violence. And by Simples they pretend to relieve all Diseases that Nature will allow to be cured. They never Let Blood, but say, if the Pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the Water, but only of taking away the Fire from under it; and so they allay all Heats of the Blood, by Abstinence, Diet, and cooling Herbs.

But all this Learning is Ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only Essential and Incorporate to their Government; into which none enters without having first passed through the several Degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the Knowledge of their Letters or Characters; and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve Years Study and Diligence, and Twenty for great Perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of so many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words: These are said by some to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixscore thousand; and upon the whole, their Writing seems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in case there were a different Character invented for every Word in our Language. Their Writing is neither from the Left Hand to the Right like the *Europæan*, nor from Right to Left like the *Asiatick* Languages, but from Top to Bottom of the Paper in one strait Line, and then beginning again at the Top till the Side be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore consists first in the Knowledge of their Language, and next in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius* and his four great Disciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unless it be discovered by retaining the principal Parts of him in their Memorials, and the Practice of him in their Lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by Three Degrees: The first may resemble that of Sophisters in our Colleges after two or three Years standing; and this Degree is conferred by Publick Examiners appointed for that Purpose; who go through the Chief Cities of each Province once a Year, and upon Scrutiny, admit such of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, register their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this first Form of the Learned.

The Second Degree is promoted with more Form, and performed once in three Years, in a great College built for that Purpose in the Chief City of each Kingdom; by several Examiners appointed by the King, and strict Enquiries and Questions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the several Writings, produced by the several Pretenders, and submitted to the Examiners. This Degree may resemble that of Masters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a New Badge belonging to it.

The Third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred but in the Imperial City of *Peking*, with great Forms and Solemnities, after much Examining, and Deliberation of the Persons appointed for that Purpose; and of this Degree there are never to be above Three hundred at a Time in the whole Empire, besides such as are actually in the Magistracy or Government; who are all chosen out of the Persons that have commenced or attained this Degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoins to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worship and Ceremonies appointed in Honour of his Memory, as the Great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of these Persons their Councils, and all their Magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With these the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies advise upon all great Occasions; and their Learning

and Virtue make them esteemed more able for the Execution and Discharge of all Publick Employments, than the longest Practise and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found Braver and more Generous in exposing their Lives upon all great Occasions, than the boldest Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is absolute Monarchy, there being no other Laws in *China*, but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewise Hereditary, still descending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Councils, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; so that all Matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the several Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requests made to the King, they are ratified and signed by him, and so pass into Laws.

All great Officers of State are likewise conferred by the King, upon the same Recommendations or Petitions of his several Councils; so that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himself, nor by Favour of any Minister, by Flattery or Corruption, but by Force or Appearance of Merit, or Learning, and of Virtue; which observed by the several Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The Chief Officers are either those of State residing constantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the Provincial Officers, Viceroyes, and Magistrates or Mandarines: For the first, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking*, Six several Councils; or, as some Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it self into Six smaller, but distinct Branches. Some Difference is also made by Writers, concerning the Nature or the Business of these Councils. But that which seems most generally agreed, is, That the First of these Six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are chosen according to their Learning and Merit. The Second is the Council of Treasury, which has Inspection into the whole Revenue, and Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The Third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feasts and Ceremonies belonging to them; as likewise of Learning, and the Schools of Colleges designed for it. The Fourth is the Council of War, which disposes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all Matters of War and Peace, that is by the King's Command issued upon their Representations. The Fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the Sixth is a Council or Court of Justice or Judicature, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal.

Each of these Councils has a President, and two Assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; who digest and register the Debates and Orders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Counsellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the several Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries; from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of Moment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these Six, several smaller Councils; as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Household, and his Domestick Chancery or Justice. But above all, is the Council of the *Coloes*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above Five or Six in Number, but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience; who after having passed, with great Applause, through the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at last advanced to this Supreme Dignity, and serve as a Privy-Council, or rather a *Junto*, sitting with the Emperor himself; which is allowed to none of the others. To these are presented all the Results or Requests of the other Councils; and being by their Advice approved, they are by the Emperor signed and ratified, and so dispatched.

These

These are always attended by some of the chiefest and most renowned Philosophers or Sages of the Kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and serve him in receiving all Petitions, and give their Opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*; as also upon any Matters of great Moment and Difficulty, when they are consulted: And these are chosen out of two Assemblies residing at *Peking*, and consisting of Sixty Men each; but all choice Persons, whose Wisdom and Virtue are generally known and applauded. They are employed in all Matters of Learning, and giving necessary Orders therein; keeping all the Publick Writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all Laws and Orders of State; and out of these are appointed by each succeeding King, some Persons to relate and register the Times and Actions of his Predecessor. They are at their Leisure much given to Poetry; in which they compile the Praises of virtuous Men and Actions, Satyrs against Vice, Inscriptions for Monuments and Triumphal Arches, and such-like Compositions. And lastly, out of these (as they grow in Esteem and Fame of Wisdom and Virtue) are chosen and advanced by degrees, the Officers of State, and Counsellors in the several Councils; and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been of these two Assemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire has the same Councils, or some very like them, for the Government of that particular Province; but there is besides in each, a Surintendant, sent more immediately from Court, to inspect the Course of Affairs; a Censor of Justice and Manners, without whose Approval, no Capital Sentences are to be executed; and a Third Officer employed by the Empress, in the Nature of an Almoner; whose Business is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and Distressed, and setting free Prisoners upon small Debts or Offences; there is besides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the several Degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent Orders of this State, which seem contrived by a Reach of Sense and Wisdom, beyond what we meet with in any other Government of the World; but by some few the rest may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue assigned him, and a City where he is bound to reside, and never to stir out of it, without the Emperor's Leave. All Degrees of People are distinguish'd by their Habit, and the several Officers by several Badges upon them: And the Colour worn by the Emperor, which is yellow, is never used by any other Person whatsoever. Every House has a Board over the Door, wherein is written the Number, Sex and Quality of the Persons living in it; and to a certain Number of Houses, one is appointed to inspect the rest, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province where he was born, unless it be Military; which is grounded upon the Belief, that in Matters of Justice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in those of War, Men will fight best for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above three Years, unless upon a New Election; and none put out for Miscarriage in his Office, is again admitted to any Employment. The two great Hinges of all Governments, Reward and Punishment, are no where turned with greater Care, nor exercised with more Beauty and Severity. Their Justice is rigorous upon all Offences against the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon Corruption in Judges. Besides this, Inquisition is made into their Ignorance and Weakness, and even into Carelessness and Rashness in their Sentences; and as the first is punished with Death, so these are with Dismission and Disgrace. The Rewards of Honour (besides those of Advancement) are conferred by Patents from the Emperor, expressing Merits and granting Privileges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inscriptions: And to Merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incense, and appointing Priests for the Service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special Privileges from the Crown, and the common Laws or Customs of the Country, that

whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were sacred, like Priests in other Places; so as no Country in the World was ever known to be so cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honour and Respect is no where paid to Nobility and Riches so much, as it is here to Virtue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People: And the Advancement to Office of Persons only for excelling in those Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other Governments. Every one seeking Preferment here, only by Merit, attributes to it that of other Men. Tho' the King be the most absolute in the World, since there are no other Laws in *China* but what he makes; yet all Matters being first digested and represented by his Councils, the Humours and Passions of the Prince enter not into the Forms or Conduct of the Government; but his personal Favours to Men or Women are distributed in the Preferments of his Household, or out of the vast Revenue that is particularly applied to it, for Support of the greatest Expence and Magnificence that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better served and obeyed, more honoured or rather adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Ease and Felicity.

Upon these Foundations and Institutions, by such Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* seems to be fram'd and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason and Contrivance; and in Practice to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all those imaginary Schemes of the *European* Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopia's* or *Oceana's* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the Vastness, the Opulence, the Populoufness of this Region, with the Ease and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the Length of Time this Government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the *Affyrian Monarchy*, which was thirteen hundred Years, and the longest Period of any Government we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treasures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their publick Buildings and Works would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the conquering Testimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinus Kerckerus*, with several other Relations, in *Italian*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*; either by Missionary Friars, or Persons employ'd thither upon Trade, or Embassies upon that Occasion: Yet the whole Government is represented as a Thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family; though some Writers affirm the Number of People in *China*, before the last *Tartar* Wars, to have been above Two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut through the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are so infinite, and of such Lengths, and so perpetually filled with Boats and Vessels of all Kinds, that one Writer believes there are near as many People in these, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as those upon the Land.

'Tis true, that as Physicians say, the highest Degree of Health in a Body, subjects it to the greatest Danger and Violence of some Disease; so the Perfection of this Government or Constitution has had the same Effect, joined with the Accident of their Situation, upon such a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the Hardness and Poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the boldest and the fiercest People in the World, and the most enterprising. On t'other side, the Excellence of the *Chinese* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Ease, Plenty and Luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent Attempts and Invasions of their savage Neighbours. Three several times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great Parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long Establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the Year 1650, they achieved the compleat and intire Conquest of the whole Empire, after a bloody War of above Thirty Years. But the Force of this Constitution

tution and Government appears in no Circumstance or Light so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so great Tempests and Inundations, as six Changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and four Conquests by foreign and barbarous Forces. For under the present *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues still the same, and in the Hands of the *Chinese* Learned; and all the Change that appears to have been made by such a Storm or Revolution, has been only, That a *Tartar* Race sits in the Throne instead of a *Chinese*; and the Cities and strong Places are garrison'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by degrees into the Manners, Customs and Language of the *Chinese*. So great a Respect, or rather Veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable Constitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Usurpers, and Foreign Conquerors, view with Emulation, who shall make greatest Court, and give most Support to it, finding no other Means to secure their own Safety and Ease, by the Obedience of the People, than the Establishment and Preservation of their Ancient Constitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chinese* Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity and Civility, by all we either read or see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish Idolatry; but this itself is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who worship after their Manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village, or Family; and the Temples and Priests belonging to them, are in usual Request among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal; and this without Temples, Idols or Priests. And the Emperor only is allowed to Sacrifice at certain Times, by himself or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*; one dedicated to Heaven, and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to shew how the furthest *East* and *West* may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Constitutions, by passing at one Leap from these of *China*, to those of *Peru*.

S E C T. III.

TIS known enough, that about the Year 1484, *Alonso Sanchez*, Master of a *Spanish* Vessel, that usually traded from those Coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his Passage between these Islands surpriz'd with a furious Storm at *East*, so violent, that he was forced to let his Ship drive before it without any Sail; and so black, that within twenty eight Days he could not take the Height of the Sun. That he was at length cast upon a Shore, but whether Island or Continent he could not tell, but full of savage People. That after infinite Toils, Dangers and Miseries of Hunger and Sickness, he made at length one of the *Tercera* Islands, with only Five Men left of Seventeen he carried out; and meeting there with the famous *Columbus*, made him such Relations, and so pertinent Accounts of his Voyage, as gave Occasion for the Discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, by this Man so renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the Discovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales* having run the same Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any Reason to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced these unknown Paths of that *Western* Ocean, or left the least Foot steps of having discovered those Countries before *Alonso Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the Arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in most Parts no Thought of Business, further than the most natural Pleasures or Necessities

cessities of Life; Nations divided by natural Bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains, or Difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Lust; the Command in Wars given to the Strongest or the Bravest; and in Peace, taken up or exercised by the Boldest among them; and their Lives commonly spent in the most innocent Entertainments of Hunting, Fishing, Feasting, or in the most careless Leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendor of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story so entertaining, as the Relations of the several Learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented by the common Answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast, to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any Part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien neos esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of Montezuma?* As if they thought the whole World was so. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel as his. Among other Tributes imposed on the People, one was of Men to be sacrificed every Year to an ugly deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such Numbers as the King pleased of poor Victims, were laid upon such Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there chosen by Lot, to satisfy such bloody and inhuman Taxes. These were often influenced by the Priests, who when they saw Men grow negligent, either in Respect to themselves, or Devotion to their Idols, would send to tell the King, That the Gods were hungry, and thereupon the common Tribute was raised; so as that Year, the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thousand Men sacrificed to this cruel Superstition. And this was said to have given great Occasion for the easy Conquests of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submissions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The same was observed to happen in *Peru*, by the general Hatred and Aversion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Bastard of the *Inca's* Family, had first by Practices and Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raised himself to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with merciless Cruelty all the Masculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Estate, or near it, after that Line had lasted pure and sacred, and reigned with unspeakable Felicity, both to themselves and their Subjects, for above eight hundred Years.

This Kingdom is said to have extended near seven hundred Leagues in length, from *North* to *South*, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth: 'Tis bounded on the *West* by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the *East* by Mountains impassable for Men or Beasts, and, as some write, even Birds themselves; the Height being such, as makes their Tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the *North* 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the *South* with another, which separates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Megellan* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Mungo Copac*, and his Wife and Sister *Coya Mama*, who are said to have first appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake, which is still sacred with them upon this Occasion.

Before this Time, the People of these Countries are reported to have lived like the Beasts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Provision than for present Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houses, but dwelt in Rocks, or Caves, or Trees, to be secure from wild Beasts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Neigh-

Neighbours. When *Mango Copac*, and his Sister, came first into these naked Lands, as they were Persons of excellent Shape and Beauty, so they were adorned with such Cloaths as continued afterwards the usual Habit of the *Inca's*, by which Name they called themselves. They told the People who came first about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the *Sun*, and that their Father, taking pity of the miserable Condition of Mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial Lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such Laws, Customs and Orders, as their Father the *Sun* had commanded these his Children to teach them. The great Rule they first taught was, That every Man should live according to Reason, and consequently, neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them, because it was against all common Reason, to make one Law for our selves, and another for other People. And this was the great Principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they should worship the *Sun*, who took care of the whole World, gave Life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no Pains of his own, but to go round the World every Day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two Children down on purpose, for the Good and Happiness of Mankind, and to rule them with the same Care and Goodness that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts most necessary for Life, as *Mango Copac*, to sow *Mays* (or the common *Indian Grain*) at certain Seasons; to preserve it against others; to build Houses against Inclemencies of Air, and Danger of wild Beasts; to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families; to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the Shame of Nakedness; to tame and nourish such Creatures as might be of common Use and Sustainance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to spin and weave, both Cotton, and certain coarse Wools of some Beast among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great Numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the *Sun*, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father, the *Sun*, had given it him, and bid him when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he should every time he rested strike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the first Stroke it should go down to the very Top, he should there build a Temple to the *Sun*, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cuzco*, where he founded that City, which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Pevu*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the *High Casco*, and t'other the *Low*, and began here to be a Law-giver to these People. In each of these were at first a thousand Families, which he caused all to be registered, with the Numbers in each. This he did by Strings of several Colours, and Knots of several Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both Accounts were kept of Things and Times, and as much expressed of their Minds, as was necessary in Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor consequently Disputes or Avarice, with their Consequences, ever entered.

He instituted Decurions thro' both these Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a Hundred, a fourth over Five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thousand; and to this last, they gave the Name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Censor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbitrator in small Controversies among those under his Charge. They took care that every one clothed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the Orders given them by the *Inca's*, from their Father the *Sun*; among which one was, That none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after Labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sicknes, or

Inva-

Invalidity, should want, but be maintain'd by the others Pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long Race of the *Inca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever so much as went to see a Neighbour, but with their Work in their Hands, which they followed all the Time the Visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a Strain of refus'd Civility among them, which was, That when any Woman went to see another of equal, or ordinary Birth, she worked at her own Work in the other's House, but if she made a Visit to any of the *Palla's*, (which was the Name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as *Inca's* was that of the Men) then they immediately desired the *Palla* to give them a Piece of her own Work, and the Visit passed in working for her. Idleness, sentenced by the Decurions, was punished by so many Stripes in Publick, and the Disgrace was more sensible than the Pain. Every Colony had one supream Judge, to whom the lower Decurions remitted great and difficult Cases, or to whom (in such case) the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of those under his Charge above a Day and a Night, became guilty of it, and liable to the same Punishment. There were Laws or Orders likewise against Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Disobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women, as he could.) The Punishment of all Crimes, was either corporal Pains, or Death, but commonly the last, upon these two Reasons which they gave; first, That all Crimes, whether great or small, were of the same Nature, and deserved the same Punishment, if they were committed against the Divine Commands, which were sent them down from the *Sun*: Next, That to punish any Man in his Possessions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in Strength and Liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incensed, or necessitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other Side, they never forfeited the Charge or Possessions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonstrated to him the Guilt and Punishment of them for his Warning or Example. These Orders had so great Force and Effect, that many times a whole Year passed without the Execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great Order in the State, was the Difuse of other Possessions than what were necessary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their first great Heroe, or Legislator, which seemed to have been entailed upon their whole Race, in the Course of their Reign: So as in the whole Length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Inca* was ever found guilty or punished for any Crime. Thus particular Qualities have been observed in *Old Rome* to be constant in the same Families for several hundred Years, as Goodness, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerii*; Haughtiness, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People, in that of the *Appii*; which may come from the Force of Blood, of Education, or Example. 'Tis certain no Government was ever established and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater Testimonies, than the *Inca's*, of an excellent Institution, by the Progresses and Successes, both in the Propagation and Extent of Empire, in Force and Plenty, in Greatness and Magnificence of all publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, High-ways, Bridges, and in all Provisions necessary to common Ease, Safety, and Utility of human Life: So as several of the Jesuits, and particularly *Acosta*, are either so just or so presuming, as to prefer the civil Constitutions of *Mungo Copac* before those of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Law-givers so celebrated in the more known Parts of the World.

To every Colony was assigned such a Compass of Land, whereof one Part was appropriated to the *Sun*; a second to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; a third to the peculiar Maintenance of every Family, according to their Number; and a fourth to the *Inca*. In this Order the whole was tilled, and the Harvest or Product laid up in several Granaries; out of which it was distributed by Officers to that Purpose, according to the several

ral Uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every Decurion, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Solicitor, for Relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the Publick Registers, an Account of all that were born, and of all that died under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in, without Leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it (by some Parts or Marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished.) None to Marry out of it, no more than the *Yuca's* out of their own Blood.

The *Yuca* that Reigned, was called *Capa Yuca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Senor*, or *Only Lord*. He ever married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. Once in two Years he assembled all the unmarried *Yuca's*, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years Old, and there in Publick Married all such as he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The same was done among the Vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each People.

Every Family at their Time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, so that all might see their Temperance and Order.

By these and other such Laws and Institutions, *Mango Copac* first settled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing Confluence and Recourse of many several People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Order, by the Sweetness and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Yuca's* was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a just, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like Sacrilege for any common Person so much as to touch the *Yuca* without his Leave; which was given as a Grace to those who served him well, or to new Subjects that submitted to him.

After the Extent of his Kingdom into great Compasses of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary Submission of the People, as to some Evangelical, rather than legal Doctrines or Institutions; *Mango Copac* assembled all his *Curaca's*, and told them, That his Father the *Sun* had commanded him to extend his Institutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the Good and Happiness of Mankind; and for that purpose, with armed Troops to go to those remoter Parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Obedience. That the *Sun* had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the Good and Happiness that was offered him by such Divine Bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did assail them, and then to do it justly in their own Defence.

For this Design, he formed and assembled Troops of Men, armed both with Offensive, and chiefly with Defensive Weapons. He cast them into the Order of Decurions, in the same manner as he had done Families; so every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to one Hundred, a Fourth to five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thousand. There was a Sixth over five Thousand, and a Seventh as a General over ten Thousand; of which number his first Army was composed.

With this and other such Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the same Things he had done first to those who came about him near the great Lake; and offering them the Benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had Instituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Those who submitted were received into the same Rights and Enjoyments with the rest of his Subjects. Those who refused were distressed, and pursued by his Forces till they were necessitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He used no Offensive Weapons against any till they attacked

them, and then Defensive only at first, till the Danger and Slaughter of his Men grew otherwise unavoidable; then he suffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without Mercy, and not to spare even those that yielded themselves, after having so long and obstinately Resisted. Those who submitted after the first Threats, or Distresses, or bloodless Opposition, he received into Grace, suffered them to touch his Sacred Person, made great and common Feasts for them and his own Soldiers together for several Days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloaths to wear, and Corn to sow.

By these Ways, and such Heroick Virtues, and by the Length of his Reign, he so far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Tuca* to be a *Viceroy* (having many Sons grown fit to command;) and in each of them established three Supreme Councils, the First of Justice, the Second of War, and the Third of the Revenue, of which an *Tuca* was likewise President, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the last Period of his Life; upon the Approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldest Son to whom he left his Kingdom; and told them, That for his own part he was going to repose himself with his Father the *Sun*, from whom he came; that he advised and charged them all, to go on in the Paths of Reason and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the same Journey; that by this Course only they would prove themselves to be true Sons of the *Sun*, and be as much Honoured and Esteemed. He gave the same Charge more especially and more earnestly to the *Tuca* his Successor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the *Sun*; and to do it always with Justice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince should go in time to rest with his Father the *Sun*, that he should give the same Instructions and Exhortations to his Successor. And this Form was accordingly used in all the Successions of the Race of the *Tuca's*, which lasted eight hundred Years, with the same Orders, and the greatest Felicity that could be of any State.

I will say nothing of the Greatness, Magnificence and Riches of their Buildings, Palaces, or Temples, especially those of the *Sun*; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feasts, their military Exercises and Honours. But as Testimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was five hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, so that a Carriage might drive through that whole Length without Difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each side, and set with Trees, whose Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that passed.

I shall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that though the Vulgar worshipped only the *Sun*, yet the *Amauta's*, who were their Sages or Philosophers, taught, that the *Sun* was only the great Minister of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a great and sumptuous Temple was dedicated. This Word is interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del Mundo*: Or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and seems to be yet a more refined Notion of the Deity, than that of the *Chinese*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it must, I think, be allowed, that human Nature is the same in these remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great Reaches and Strength of Reason and of Wisdom, as any of ours, and some of their Frames less subject to be shaken by the Passions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which those in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Asia* have been so often and so much exposed. That the same Causes produce every where the
same

same Effects, and that the same Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Consequences or Tributes paid to the same Heroick Virtue, or Transcendent Genius, in what Parts soever, or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to appear.

S E C T. IV.

THE Third Survey I propos'd to make in this Essay upon Heroick Virtue, was that of the *Northern Region*, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxine* and the *Caspian Seas*, the *River Oxus* to the *East*, and the *Danube* to the *West*, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was call'd all by one general Name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwise than by the Defeats or Disgraces received in their Expeditions against these fierce Inhabitants of those barren Countries. Such was the fatal Overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army, by the *Eastern Scythians*, and the shameful Flight of *Darius* from the *Western*.

This vast Region, which extends from the *North-East Ocean*, that bounds *Caraya* and *China* to the *North-West*, that washes the Coasts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and some *Northern Parts of Germany*, tho' compris'd by the Ancients under the common Name of *Scythia*, was distinguish'd into the *Asiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the *River Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous Nations may be call'd the *Eastern Scythians*, who lie on that side of the *Tanais*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the *Western* that lie on this. Among the first the *Massagetæ* were the most known or talk'd of by the ancient Writers; and among the last, the *Getae* and the *Sarmetæ*. The first is now comprehended under the general Name of *Great Tartary*, and the second under those of the *Lesser Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*; the two last styling themselves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vast Territory is inhabited *Northward* by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretend to know, nor from how remote Corners of those Frozen Mountains, some of those fierce Nations first crept out, whose Force and Arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old call'd the *Habitable World*.

Whether it be that the Course of Conquest has run generally from the *North* to the *South*, as from the harder upon the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, because Men commonly Attack with greater Fierceness and Courage than they Defend, being in one spirited by Desire, and in the other usually damped by Fear, I cannot tell; but certain it is, how celebrated soever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of so many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no Part of the World that was ever subject to *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps some little Islands) that has not been ravaged and conquered by some of those *Northern* Nations, whom they reckon'd and despis'd as Barbarous: Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them crected upon the Ruins of the Old; which may justly mortifie the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reasonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wisdom of their Laws, and Force of their Discipline, and may be allow'd for a great and undisputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the Period of that Race in the *Assyrian* Empire, and were Masters of *Asia* for fifteen Years, till they return'd home upon Domestick Occasions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and slain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a Woman, whose Wit and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story;

that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Heroe of the *Eastern Scythians* or *Tartars*, I esteem to have been *Tamerlane*, and, whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest Conqueror that was ever in the World, at least that appears upon any present Records of Story. His Atchievements were great upon *China*, where he subdued many Provinces, and forced their King to such Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impose. He made War against the *Muscovites* with the same Success, and partly by Force, partly by Consent, gained a Passage through their Territories for that vast Army, which he led against *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the World.) He conquered this proud *Turk* and his whole Empire, as far as the *Hellepont*, which he crossed, and made a Visit to the poor *Greek* Emperor at *Constantinople*, who had sent to make Alliance with him upon his first Invasion of *Bajazet*, at whose Mercy this Prince then almost lay, with the small remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he observed this Alliance with the *Greeks*; for having been received at *Constantinople* with all the Submissions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the Greatness and Structure of that noble City, and said, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World, and having the Offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to possess it for his own; yet after many Honours exchanged between these two Princes, he left this City in the Freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Possessions he found them, went back into *Asia*, and in his Return conquered *Syria*, *Persia*, and *India*, where the *Great Moguls* have ever since boasted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all these Conquests he went home, and passed the rest of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and died a fair and natural Death, which was a Strain of Felicity as well as Greatness, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four Renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without Question, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Justice, exact Discipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deserved a Nobler Character than could be allowed by Modern Writers to any Person of a Nation so unlike themselves.

The *Turks* were another Race of these *Eastern Scythians*, their original Countries being placed by some upon the *North-East*, by others upon the *North-West* Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furnish such Numbers as have over-run so great a Part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. But I shall have occasion to say more of them and their Conquests in the next Section.

That Part of *Scythia* that lies between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boristhenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caspian* and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getae*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the Name of *Getae Immortales*, because they believed that when they died, they should go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new Life in another World, at least such of them as lived according to his Orders and Institutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this Name of *Getae* came that of *Gothæ*; and this Part of *Scythia*, in its whole *Northern* Extent, I take to have been the vast Hive out of which issued so many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the several Names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Francks*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at several Times and Places upon the several Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like so many Tempests, tore in Pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the Inhabitants, Language, Customs, Laws, the usual Names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invasions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be possessed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*, the *Southern* Parts of *Spain* or *Andalusia* by the *Vandals*, the *East* or *Catalonia*

Italia by the *Canti* and *Alani*; the rest of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Franks*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and seated themselves in those Parts of *Germany* that were afterwards called by their Names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conquests. The *Scutes* who conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the Names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those Parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the Custom of removing from one Part to another, according to the Seasons or Conveniences of Pasture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Institutions have gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those Times content themselves to lay the Disgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the Numbers and Fierceness of these savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own Disunions and Disorders, that made way for so easy Conquests: But I cannot believe, that the strange Successes and victorious Progresses of these Northern Conquerors, should have been the Effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have lasted so long in *Europe*, should have been framed by unreasonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them some Force of Order, some Reach of Conduct, as well as some Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that so strange Adventures could not be achieved, but by some enchanted Knights.

That which first gave me this Thought, was the Reflection upon those Verses in *Lucan*.

——— *Populus quos despicit Arctos*
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens proma vivis, animiq, capaces
Mortis, & ignarorum reditura parcere vita.

Happy in their Mistake those People whom
The Northern Pole aspects, whom Fear of Death
(The greatest of all Human Fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their Courage prone to rush on Steel,
Their Minds despising Death, they think it mean
To spare a Life that must again return.

By this Passage it appears, that sixteen hundred Years ago those Northern People were distinguish'd from all others, by a Fearfulness of Death, grounded upon the Belief of another Life, which made them despise the Care of preserving this.

Whether such an Opinion were first infused among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his Followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, since the *Goths* he led into the North-west Parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getae*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For those vast *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite several Nations, separated by the common natural Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marshes. Each of these Countries was like a mighty Hive, which by the Vigour of Propagation, and Health of Climate, growing too full of People, threw out some new Swarm at certain Periods of Time, that took Wing, and sought out some new Abode, expelling or subduing the old Inhabitants, and seating themselves in their Rooms, if they liked the Conditions of Place and Commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found some other more agreeable to their present Humours or Dispositions. Sometimes the expelled Nations took

Heart,

Heart, and when they fled from one Country, invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of some cruel Neighbours, upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and so, like Waves, thrust on one the other, for mighty Length Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the strongest and most adventurous of those Nations they first invaded, by their voluntary Accession into the Shares or Hopes of their future Fortunes, and so went on to further Conquests.

The usual Manner of these Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the Growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themselves into two Bands, whereof one stay'd at home to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to seek new Adventures, and possess some other they could gain by Force of Arms, and this was done sometimes by Lot, and sometimes by Agreement between the two Divisions. That Band or Colony that went abroad, chose their Leader among those in some Repute and Esteem for Wisdom or for Courage, and these were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those Countries they conquer'd, and chose for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

† It seems agreed by the curious Enquiries into the Antiquities of the *Runic* Language and Learning, that *Odin* or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different Northern Dialects) was the first and great Hero of the Western *Scythians*. That he led a mighty Swarm of the *Getes* under the Name of *Goths*, from the *Asiatic* *Scythia*, into the farthest North-west Parts of *Europe*: That he seated and spread his Kingdom round the whole *Baltick* Sea, and over all the Islands in it, and extended it Westward to the Ocean, and Southward to the *Elve* (which was anciently esteem'd the Bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vast Country was in the ancient *Gothick* Term call'd *Biarmia*, and is by some Authors term'd *Officina Gentium*, having furnished all those Swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, which so often infested, and at length subdued all the Western Provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that he extended his Conquests even as far as *Franconia* it self; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the first Inventor of, at least the first Engraver of the *Runic* Letters or Characters, sometime so famous, and at last so infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and Imputation of all sorts of Charms, Enchantments or Witchcrafts,

Excerpta ex Edda.

† Hic *Odinus* Fastidicus erat, ut & ejus Coniux unde nomen suum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hic motus causâ ex *Turcia* iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriusq; sexûs. Quascunq; terras peragravunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam hominibus similiores ab universis iudicati, nec prius subisterunt quam terram ingressi essent qua nunc *Saxonia* appellatur, ubi per multos annos *Odinus* vixit, istamq; Regionem hinc possedit, quam cum distribuisset inter Filios, ita ut *Vagdeggo* Orientalem *Saxoniam*, *Beogdo* Westphaliam, *Siggo* *Franconiam* determinavit; Ipse in aliam migravit regionem, qua tunc *Reidgotolandia* dicebatur, & quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terra præfecit filium *Skjuldam* ex quo *Freidlesus* genitus est cujus posterî *Skjoldungar* sive *Skjoldiades* nominantur à quo stirpe *Dania* Reges descenderunt, ista *Reidgotolandia*, nunc *Futlandia* appellatur.

Ex Snorronæ.

Odinus Heros in *Asgordia* prope *Tinain*, Sacrorum Gentilium Summus Antistes, duodecim Seniores qui ceteris pietate & sapientia præstarent Religioni curandæ & Furi dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumera regna ditiorisq; suam redexit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen *Odini* nuncupabant. *Othinus* fratribus suis Regnum *Afgardia* commisit, ipse in *Russiam* profectus & inde in *Saxoniam*, eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in regendum commisit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis. Magisterium publicum *Magia* præcipiendæ instituit: In variis formarum species se transmutare nocerat, tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat, ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram sermone gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, Evigilans se longinquas oras peragrasset, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum *Runis* suis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit, ut sapientie & potentie sue & *Afanorum* per omnes brevi nationes sit debitum, quo evenit ut *Sueci* aliq; populi *Boreales* *Odino* Sacrificia dependenter. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis *Victoriam* contulit, alios in *Waldalde*, id est, aulam *Plutonis* invitavit.

Witchcrafts, to the Use and Force of those strange Characters. That he instituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the Distinction of Seasons, the Divisions of Time, was an invincible Warrior, a wise Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongst which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempests, *Frea* of Pleasure; by whose Names, for an eternal Memory, three Days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into his Story, nor that of his Succession, or the infinite and famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious Search of the Time of his Expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left undoubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that he was Inventor of the *Runic* Characters, some Writers of that Language will make him older than *Evander*, by affirming their *Runic* Letters to have been more ancient than the *Latin*, which were first brought into *Italy* in his Time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those Antiquities, that this Expedition may have been made two Thousand Years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long Periods of Time in use, upon Materials more lasting than any others employed to that Purpose; for instead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, these were engraven upon natural Rocks, in great Numbers and Extent of Lines. But more of this *Runic* Subject will occur upon that of Poetry; and I shall only observe, among the Constitutions of these Norther People, three Principles of a Strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themselves, and which extended very far into the Fortunes and Conquests of their Arms, and into the Force and Duration of their Kingdoms. The first of these is a Principle of Religion or Superstition, the next of Learning, and the last of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the first were deduced from that of *Zamolxis* among the *Getes*, stiled of old, Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Western *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but the Entrance into another Life; that all Men who lived lazy and unactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sickness or by Age, went into vast Caves under Ground, all dark and mry, full of noisom Creatures usual in such Places, and there for ever grovelled in endless Stench and Misery. On the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike Actions and Enterprises, to the Conquest of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Resolutions, they went immediately to the vast Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open House for all such Guests, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feasts and Mirth, carousing every Man in Bowls made of the Skulls of their Enemies they had slain, according to which Numbers every one in these Mansions of Pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of these fierce Mortals, and what Effect it had upon their Thoughts and Passions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched elegantly in those Verses of *Lucan* before recited, so it is lively represented in the Twenty Fifth and Twenty Ninth Stanza of that Song or Epicedium of *Regnor Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which he composed in the *Runic* Language, about eight hundred Years ago, after he was mortally stung by a Serpent, and before the Venom seiz'd upon his Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deserved from the Common-wealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to consider the several Stamps of that Coin, according to several Ages and Climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that such an Alacrity or Pleasure in dying was never express'd in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The two Stanza's are thus translated into *Latin* by *Olaus*,

Stanza XXV.

*Pugnāvimus ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi Patris Scanna
Parata scio in aula,
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.*

Stanza XXIX.

*Fert animus finire,
Irritant me Dysæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cerevisiam cum Afis
In summa sede bibam
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.*

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim* (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to dye, and deserved his Pardon for a Reward) there be not a Vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the Allowance of the different Climates, Fashions, Opinions, and Languages of such distant Countries.

I will not trouble my self with more Passages out of these *Runic* Poems; concerning this superstitious Principle, which is so perfectly represented in these, with the Possession it had taken of the noblest Souls among them; for such this *Ladbrog* appears to have been, by his perpetual Wars and Victories in those Northern Continents, and in *England, Scotland and Ireland*. But I will add a Testimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenstern* the first of the *Swedish* Ambassadors in that Assembly. In Discourse upon this Subject, and Confirmation of this Opinion having been general among the *Goths* of those Countries; he told me, there was still in *Sweden* a Place which was a Memorial of it, and was called *Odin's-Hall*. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompassed on three Sides with steep and ragged Rocks; and that in the Time of the *Gothick* Paganism, Men that were either sick of Diseases they esteemed mortal or incurable, or else grown invalid with Age, and thereby past all Military Action, and fearing to die meanly and basely (as they esteemed it) in their Beds, they usually caused themselves to be brought to the nearest Part of these Rocks, and from thence threw themselves down into the Sea, hoping by the Boldness of such a violent Death, to renew the Pretence of Admission in the Hall of *Odin*, which they had lost, by failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

What Effect such a Principle (suck'd in with Instruction and Education, and well believed) must have upon the Passions and Actions of a People naturally strong and brave, is easy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the Strains of the boldest and firmest Philosophy; for this reached no farther than Constancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infused a Scorn of Life, and a Desire of Death; nay,
Fear

Fear and Aversion even for a natural Death, with Pursuit and Longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations;) so as they took great Delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or such active Sports, and thought as much for the Hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much Pleasure in the supposed Advantages and Consequences of one, as in the real Enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new Motions or Designs, fearless and fierce in the Execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preserve their Lives, longer than to increase the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter.

Their Decisions of Right and Just were by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed by Laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal Judges, and determined by Death or Victory. From hence came all those Jousts, and Tiltings and Tournaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these Parts of the World; their Marriage-Fests were solemnized by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by Wounds, and sometimes by Death, till that Custom was disgraced by the deplorable End of *Henry the Second of France*, and the fatal Lance of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long Use of legal and of single Combats, when the Right of Titles or Lands was difficult; or when a Person accused of any Crime denied absolutely what his Accuser positively affirmed, and no other Proof could on either Side be produced. 'Tis known in Story how long and how frequent this was in use among all the *Gothick* Races, and in the several Kingdoms or Principalities erected by them, even after the Profession of Christianity among 'em. When it grew too infamous upon the Entrance of Learning and Civility, and the Laws were ashamed of allowing Trials of Blood and Violence, yet the Custom could not be extinguish'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye being accounted a just Ground of Fighting in Point of Honour, because it had been so in Point of Law, during the barbarous Ages. This seems to have begun upon the famous Challenge, that passed between *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* which tho' without Effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the bravest Blood of Christendom has been spilt by that Example, especially in *France*, during the several succeeding Reigns, till it seems to have been extinguish'd by the just Severity, and to the just Honour of the present King.

But to return to the bold Authors of these Customs (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations.) Their Bodies indeed were hard and strong, their Minds rough and fierce, their Numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Climate. But besides these Advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Business was War, their Pleasures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Disputes and Processes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, Decays of Age, and a natural or slothful Death; any Violent or Bloody they desired and pursued, and all this from their Opinion of one being succeeded by Miseries, the other by Felicities of a future and a longer Life.

For my part, when I consider the Force of this Principle, I wonder not at the Effects of it, their numerous Conquests, nor Immensity of Countries they subdued, nor that such strange Adventures should have been finished by such enchanted Men. But when Christianity, introduced among them, gave an End to these Delusions, the restless Humour of perpetual Wars and Actions was likewise allayed, and they turned their Thoughts to the Establishment of their several Kingdoms, in the Provinces they had subdued and chosen for their Seats, and applied themselves to the Orders and Constitutions of their civil or political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning was, That all they had among them was applied to the Knowledge and Distinction of Seasons, by the Course of the Stars, and to the Prognosticks of Weather, or else to the Praises of Virtue, which consisted among them only, in Justice to their own Nation, and Valour against their Enemies; and the rest was employ'd in displaying the

the Brave and Heroick Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Prowess and Conquests of their Nation : All their Writings were composed in Verse, which were called *Runes* or *Vises*, and from thence the Term of *Wise* came : And these Poets or Writers being esteemed the Sages among them, were as such always employed in the Attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being used to advise in their Conduct, and to record their Actions, and celebrate their Praises and Triumphs. The Traces of these Customs have been seen within the Compass of this very Age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their Feasts, it was usual to have these kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyrics of their Ancestors bold Exploits. among which, the Number of Men that any of them had slain with their own Hands, was the chief Ingredient in their Praises. By these, they rewarded the Prowess of the Old Men among them; and inflamed the Courage of the Young, to equal the Boldness and Achievements of those that had travelled before them in these Paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in these *Northern* Nations, seemed derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they chose a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the same time the chief Officers to command the several Divisions of their Troops; these were a Council of War to the General, with whom they advised in the whole Progress of their Enterprize; but upon great Occasions, as a pitched Battle, any military Exploit of great Difficulty and Danger, the Choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the Conditions of Peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole Troops, and consulted with all the Soldiers or People they commanded. This *Tacitus* observes to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his Time, to consult of smaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *De Majoribus omnibus*.

If a Leader of these Colonies succeeded in his Attempts, and conquer'd a new Country, where by common Consent they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that Country, while he lived; and when he died, another was chosen to succeed him by a general Election. The Lands of the subdued Territory were divided into greater and smaller Shares, besides that reserved to the Prince and Government. The Great were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had best deserved, and were most esteemed; the Smaller to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives conquered, were wholly despoiled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and suited for Labour and servile Offices, and those of the conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in Matters of State, as they had been before in Matters of War; but in the great Affair, and of common Concernment, all that had the smaller Shares in Land were assembled and advised with. The first great Shares were in Process of Time called Baronies, and the small, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been employed, by the most Learned, as *Erasmus*, *Selden*, *Speelman*, as well as many others, about the two Words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much Pains have been taken, to deduce them from the *Latin*, *Greek*, and even the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Tongues; but I find no Reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both the Original of the *Gothick* or *Northern* Language; or of *Baro* having been a Term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them; and *Feudum*, of a Soldiers Share of Land. I find the first used above eight hundred Years ago, in the Verses mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And tho' Fees or Feuda were in use under later *Roman* Emperors, yet they were derived from the *Gothick* Customs, after so great Numbers of those Nations were introduced into the *Roman* Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire against other more barbarous Invasions. For of all the *Northern* Nations, the *Goths* were esteemed the most civil, orderly, and virtuous,
and

and are for such commended by St. *Austin* and *Salvian*, who make their Conquests to have been given them by the Justice of God, as a Reward of their Virtue, and a Punishment upon the *Roman* Provinces for the Viciousness and Corruptions of their Lives and Governments. So as it is no Wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Customs enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the Word *Baro*, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the Learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections rais'd against their several Conjectures, seem better grounded than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their several Accounts easy to collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the Constitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For tho' by Barons are now meant in *England*, such as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the House of Lords: And Baron in *Spanish* signify only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the several Countries of Christendom; yet there is no Question, but they were originally such Persons as, upon the Conquest of a Country, were by the conquering Prince invest'd in the Possession of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at least such as they held by no other Tenure, but that of military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a certain Number of armed Men. These in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, seem to have had, and some still to retain, a sovereign Power in their Territories, by the Exercise of what is call'd high and low Justice, or the Power of judging criminal as well as civil Causes, and inflicting capital Punishments among those that held under them, either as Vassals or in Fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, tho' the great Barons had not only great Numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* was by *William* the Conqueror divided into Baronies, however the Distinctions may have been long since worn out: But in *Ireland* they still remain, and every County there is divided into so many Baronies, which seem to have been the Shares of the first Barons. And such as these great Proprietors of Land, compos'd in all these *North-West* Regions, one Part in the States of the Country or Kingdom.

Now for the Word *Barons*, tho' it be a Presumption to assert any thing after the Doubts or unresolved Disputes of such learned Men: Yet I shall adventure to give my own Opinion, how differentsoever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guaguini's* Description of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the Year 1581, that in the several Dukedoms, Palatinates, or Principalities, which then compos'd the mighty Empire of *Moscovy*, those Persons who were the chief in Possessions of Lands, Offices, or Dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common Appellation call'd his *Boiarons*, as those of the same Sort or Quality in the present Court of the Great Dukes are now term'd his *Boiars*, which may be a corrupt or particular Dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any Man, that tries how an easy Change is made in the Contraction of *Boiarons* into *Barons*, which is but of the two first Syllables into one, and that with an A long, as *Barons* is commonly us'd: And those Countries above mention'd, having been the Seats of our conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their *Boiarons* grew, with their Conquests, to be the original Barons in all those several Nations or Dominions where they were extended.

From the Divisions, Forms and Institutions already deduced, will naturally arise and plainly appear the Frame and Constitution of the *Gothick* Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or observed in Story; but so universal among these *Northern* Nations, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince, or Duke and his Estates, establish'd in all Parts of *Europe* from the *North-East* of *Poland* and *Hungary* to the *South-West* of *Spain* and *Portugal*, tho' these vast Countries had been subdued by so many several Expeditions of these *Northern* People, at such diverse Times, and under so different Appellations, and it seems to have been invented or instituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Free-

men, which was the Spirit or Character of the *North-West* Nations, distinguishing them from those of the *South* and the *East*, and gave the Name to the *Franks* among them.

I need say nothing of this Constitution, which is so well known in our Island, and was anciently the same with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sweden*, where it still continues, consisting of a King or a Prince who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the Occasions or Affairs of the greatest and common Concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the Possession of Land was the original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entituled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friezland*, the Seat from whence our *Gothick* or *Saxon* Ancestors came into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the *Gothick* Kingdom was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their Time. Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards* or *Milners*; so as the Right of Boroughs seem not to have risen from Regards of Trade, but of Land, and were Places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them. However it be, this Constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wisdom and Equity, and as the truest and justest Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it seems to be a Strain of what *Hevaclitus* said was the only Skill or Knowledge of any Value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of governing all by all.

This seems to have been intended by these *Gothick* Constitutions, and by the Election and Representation of all that possessed Lands; for since a Country is composed of the Land it contains, they esteemed a Nation to be so, of such as were the Possessors of it. And what Prince soever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happiness, or that of the People he governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general Consent and Satisfaction of the Subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the Force of Armies; and then the standing Armies have the Place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or discontented Humours of the Soldiers in general, which has more sudden and fatal Consequences upon the Revolutions of State, than those of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the *Roman*, *Egyptian*, and *Turkish* Empires, appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary Wills, and wild Humours of the *Prætorian* Bands, the *Mamelukes*, and the *Janizaries*. And so I pass from the *Scythian* Conquests and *Gothick* Constitutions, to those of the *Arabians* or *Mohometans* in the World.

S E C T. V.

THE last Survey I propos'd of the Four out-lying (or, if the Learned so please to call them, barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different Nature from all the rest, being built upon Foundations wholly Enthusiastick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reason, and in many Points contrary even to human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conquests or more sudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the Course of it engaged

gaged in perpetual Wars with the Christian Princes, either of the *East* or *West*, of the *Greek* or the *Latin* Churches, both the Original and Progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers, and several well digested Histories or Relations; and therefore I shall give but a very summary Account of both.

About the Year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Condition, illiterate, but of great Spirit and subtil Wit, like those of the Climate or Country where he was born or bred, which was that Part of *Arabia* called the *Happy*, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest Region of the World, and like those blessed Seats so finely painted by the Poet,

*Quas neque concutiant venti, neque nubila nimbis
Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilis aether
Contigit, & late diffuso lumine ridet.*

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Master's Death, having married his Widow, came to be possessed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a *Sergian* Monk, or at least called by that Name, whose vicious and libertine Dispositions of Life had made him leave his Inclosure and Profession, but otherwise a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was subject to Fits of an Epilepsie or Falling-Sickness, and either by the Customs of that Climate, or the Necessity of that Disease, very temperate and abstaining from Wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his Disease, and to disguise it from his Wife and Family, pretended his Fits were Trances into which he was cast at certain Times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his Will, and his true Worship and Laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the World, to teach them, and see them obey'd.

About this Age all the Christian Provinces of the *East* were over-run with *Arianism*, which, however refined or disguised by its Learned Professors and Advocates, either denied or undermined the Divinity of *Christ*, and allowed only his Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Egypt* were filled with great Numbers of the scattered *Jews*, who upon the last Destruction of their Country in *Adrian's* Time, had fled into these Provinces, to avoid the Ruin and even Extinction which was threaten'd their Nation by that Emperor, who after the Desolations he made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Egypt* was inhabited by *Gentiles*, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the Desires and Acquisition of Riches, in order to those Ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three Sorts of Men, and by the Assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheme of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock, the common Opinions and Dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who governed all Things in it. That God had in ancient Times sent *Moses* his first and great Prophet to give his Laws to Mankind, but that they were neither received by the *Gentiles*, nor obey'd by the *Jews* themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the Occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often befell them. That in the later Ages he had sent *Christ*, who was the second Prophet, and greater than *Moses*, to preach his Laws and Observation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleness, Patience and Humility, which had found no better Reception or Success among Men than *Moses* had done. That for this Reason God had now sent his last and greatest Prophet *Mahomet*, to publish his Laws and Commands with more Power, to subdue those to them by Force and Violence who should not willingly

willingly receive them, and for this end to establish a Kingdom upon Earth that should propagate this Divine Law and Worship throughout the World: That as God had designed utter Ruin and Destruction to all that refused them, so to those that professed and obeyed them He had given the Spoils and Possessions of his and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradise hereafter, with all sensual Enjoyments, especially of beautiful Women new created for that purpose; but with more transcendent Degrees of Pleasure and Felicity to those that should die in the Pursuit and Propagation of them, through the rest of the World, which should in time submit or be subdued under them. These, with the severe Prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predestination, were the first and chief Doctrines and Institutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great Applause, and much Confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in those Parts; some contributing to the Rise of his Kingdom, by the Belief of his divine Mission and Authority; many, by finding their chief Principles or religious Opinions contained or allowed in them; but most, by their Voluptuousness and Luxury, their Passions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge being thereby complied with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many several Parts or Chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inspired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Translations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapsody of his Visions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantastical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever passed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divine; which shews the strange Difference of Conceptions among Men.

To be short, this Contagion was so violent, that it spread from *Arabia* into *Egypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increased with such a sudden Growth as well as his Doctrine, that he lived to see them overspread both those Countries, and a great Part of *Persia*; the Decline of the Old *Roman* Empire making easy Way for the powerful Ascent of this new Comet, that appeared with such Wonder and Terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all desolate that opposed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race for Succession, which was in both esteemed Divine among his *Muslimans* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Persia*, and the other of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. Both these, under the common Appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progress, the one to the *East*, and the other to the *West*.

The *Roman* Empire, or rather the Remains of it, seated at *Constantinople*, and afterwards called the *Greek*, was for some Times past most cruelly infested, and in many Parts shaken to Pieces, by the Invasions or IncurSIONS of many barbarous *Northern* Nations, and thereby disabled from any vigorous Opposition to this new and formidable Enemy. Besides, the Divisions among Christians made way for their Conquests, and the great Increase of *Profelytes*, to this new Religion. The *Arians*, persecuted in the *Eastern* Provinces by some of the *Greek* Emperors (of the same Faith with the *Western* or *Roman* Church) made easy Turns to the *Mahometan* Doctrines, that professed Christ to have been so great and so divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed him. The cruel Persecutions of other *Grecian* Princes against those Christians, that would not admit the Use of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worship as much as themselves. The *Jews* were allured by the Profession of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian Faith, and by the great Honour that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moses*, as a Prophet and a Law-giver sent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentilism, in that of Predestination, which was the *Stoick* Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and sought for Refuge in the uncertain Conditions or Events of Life, under tyrannical and cruel Governments. So as some *Roman* Authors observe, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*, made more *Stoicks* in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chryssippus* and *Cleanthes*.

The

The great Extent and Power of the *Persian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose Race continued there till the Time of *Ishmael*, from when the present *Sophies* are derived. This *Ishmael* was an Enthusiast, or at least a Pretender to new Revelations in the *Mahometan* Religion. He professed to reform both their Doctrines and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet's* Followers ought to be owned and believed as his true Successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many Followers by his new and refined Principles, or Professions of Devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same Way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez* about *Charles* the Fifth's Time, and *Cromwell* to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be Great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty Growth in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its Height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and renowned Heroe of this Race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Virtue, Piety, and Native Goodness, as in Power, in Valour, and in Empire. Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Egypt* and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the *Western* Ocean, and over all the considerable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his Time, and by his Victorious Ensigns, that the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into several *Moorish* Kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conquest of *Spain*, invaded the Southern Parts of *France*, and proceeded with the same Success as far as *Tours*, till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by those Exploits raised his Renown so high, as to give him the Ambition of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the Deposition and Extinction of the first Race, which had lasted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Character of any Prince, than of this great *Almanzor*, in some *Spanish* Authors or Translators of his Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flourish'd most; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been translated into their Language, so it seems to have been by the Acuteness and Excellency of those more Southern Wits, in some Parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued great under the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Virtues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to secure themselves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circassian* Slaves. These were brought young from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in past and present Times, been observed to produce the bravest Bodies of Men, and more beautiful of Women, in all the *Eastern* Regions. These Slaves were called *Mamaluks* when they came into *Egypt*, and were brought up with Care, and in all Exercises and Discipline, that might render them the most martial Troops or Bands of Soldiers, that could any where be composed, and so they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of *Mamaluks*, was called their *Sultan*, who was absolute over them, as the General of an Army is in Time of War. They served for some time to support the Government of the *Caliphs*, and enslave the *Egyptians*, till one of the *Sultans* finding his own Power, and the general Disesteem wherein the *Caliph* was fallen, by the effeminate Softness or Luxury of his Life, deposed him first, then slew him, and took upon himself the Government of *Egypt*, under the Name of *Sultan*, and reigned by the sole Force and Support of his *Mamaluks* Troops, which were continually increased by the Merchandise,

chandise, and Transportation of *Circassian* Slaves. This Government lasted, with great Terror in *Egypt*, between two and three hundred Years, during which Time the new *Sultans* were elected, upon the Death or deposing of the old, by the Choice of the *Mumalucs*, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the deceased *Sultans* enjoyed the Estates and Riches left by their Fathers, but by the Constitutions of the Government no Son of a *Sultan* was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected *Sultan*: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Exclusion from the Kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen *Sultan*, that had not been actually sold for a Slave, brought from *Circassia*, and trained up a private Soldier in the *Mumaluc* Bands. Yet of so base Metal were formed several Men who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made so brave a Resistance against the growing Empire of the *Turks*, as their *Mumaluc* did under their *Sultans*, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat of some fierce Tyger with a savage Boar, while the Country that is wasted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned under whose Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among Authors, whether the *Turks* were first called into *Asia* by the *Greek* or the *Persian* Emperors; but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Assistance of their Friends, set up for themselves, embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions (cast wholly for Conquest and Extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race subdued both the *Greek* Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it self in all those vast Dominions as it continues to this Day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the *Mahometan* Belief. So this Empire of the *Turks*, like a fresh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the *Persian* Branch

The chief Principles upon which this fierce Government was founded and raised to such a Height, were first those of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their sensual Paradise and Predestination, were great Incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joined to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods and their Liberties, which were all seized at the Pleasure of the Conqueror.

A second was, a Belief infused of divine Designation of the *Ottoman* Line to reign among them for Extent of their Territories, and Propagation of their Faith. This made him esteemed, at least by Adoption, as a Successor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Law-giver in Civil, and (with the Assistance of his *Mufti*) a supream Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was so far improved among these People, that they held Obedience to be given in all Things to the Will of their *Ottoman* Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him designed; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any Hazard of their Lives against Enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the same Resignation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Destiny, or the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. This gives such an abandoned Submission to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperor's Command, tho' upon the meer Turns of his own Humour, the Suggestions of the Ministers, or the Flatteries and Revenges of those Women he most trusteth, or loveth best.

A Third was, the Division of all Lands in conquered Countries into *Timariots* or Soldier's Shares, besides what was reserved and appropriated to the Emperor; and these Shares being only at Pleasure or for Life, leave him the sole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common Supposition of Power following Land, must by consequence leave him the most absolute of any Sovereign in the World.

A Fourth, the Allowance of no Honours nor Charges, no more than Lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Prince. This applies every Man's Ambition and Avarice to court his present Humour, serve his present Designs, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature foever they are, and how frequently changed.

A Fifth was, the Suppression, and in a manner Extinction of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at least the natural *Turks* and Janizaries, in whom the Strength of it consists. This Ignorance makes Way for the most blind Obedience, which is often shaken by Disputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments of that or some such Nature.

A Sixth was, the Institution of that famous Order of the Janizaries, than which a greater Strain of true and deep Politick will hardly be observed in any Constitution. This consisted of the arbitrary Choice of such Christian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were esteemed most fit for the Emperor's peculiar Service; and the Promise was made by the Shews or Promises of the greatest Growth or Strength of Body, Vigour or Constitution, and Boldness of Courage. These were taken into the Emperor's Care, and trained up in certain Colleges, or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that Purpose, who endeavoured to improve all they could the Advantages of Nature by those of Education and of Discipline. They were all diligently instructed in the *Mahometan* Religion, and in the Veneration of the *Ottoman* Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, slothful, or pusillanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or Drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entered into the Body of Janizaries, who were the Emperor's Guards.

By this Means the Number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the Empire, and weakened by the Loss of such as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their Races. That of *Mussulmans* was increased in the same Proportion, and a mighty Body of chosen Men kept up perpetually in Discipline and Pay, who esteemed themselves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and domestick Servants of the Grand Seignior's Person and Family.

A Seventh was, the great Temperance introduced into the general Customs of the *Turks*, but more particularly of the Janizaries, by the severe Defence and Abstinence of Wine, and by the Provision of one only sort of Food for their Armies, which was Rice. Of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon Occasion enough for several Days, so the Quantity provided for every Expedition is but according to the Number, with no Distinction for the Quality of Men; so that upon a March, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any but General Officers encumbered with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty Advantages in their *German* Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in Proportion to his Command during the Campaign, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers used to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a *Turkish* Army consists only of fighting Men.

The last I shall mention, is the Speediness as well as Severity of their Justice both Civil and Military, which tho' often subject thereby to Mistakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent Persons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men should die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Cast or Frame of their Empire, which seems to have been in all Points the fiercest, and that of the *Turks* was the gentlest, that of *China* the wisest, and that of the *Goths* the bravest in the World.

The Growth and Progress of this *Turkish* Empire, under the *Ottoman* Race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first Centuries, that it raised Fear and Wonder throughout the World; but seems at a Stand for these last hundred Years, having made no Conquest since that of *Hungary*, except the Remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War so bravely maintain-

ed by the small *Venetian* State against so mighty Powers. The Reason of this may be drawn not only from the Periods of Empire, that, like natural Bodies, grow for a certain Time, and to a certain Size, which they are not to exceed; but from some other Causes, both within and without, which seem obvious enough.

The First, a Neglect in the Observance of some of these Orders, which were essential to the Constitutions of their Government. For after the Conquest of *Cyprus*, and the Example of *Selim's* Intemperance in those and other Wines, that Custom and Humour prevailed against their Laws of Abstinence, in that Point so feverely enjoined by *Mabomet*, and so long observed among all his Followers. And tho' the *Turks* and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the Effects in their Bodies and in their Humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakened by their Intemperance, joined to their abandoned Luxury in Point of Women.

Besides, the Institution of Janizaries has been much alter'd by the Corruption of Officers, who have long suffer'd the Christians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the *Turks* to purchase the Preferment of theirs into that Order for Money; by which Means the Choice of this Militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purves of the Parents or Friends.

These two Distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began to make what Changes they pleased in the State, till having been long stuff'd with the Blood of the *Basha's* and *Viziers*, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves; and having deposed and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his Son, the present Emperor, then a Child. But the Distemper ended not there; they fell into new Factions, changed and murdered several *Viziers*, and divided into so powerful Parties, and with so fierce Contentions, that the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an hundred thousand Men, set up for himself (tho' under Pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Movat*) and caused such a Convulsion in this mighty State, that the *Ottoman* Race had ended, if this bold Adventurer had not, upon Confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been surprized and strangled by Order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand *Vizier*, and absolute in the Government. This Man entering the Ministry at fourscore Years old, cruel by Nature, and hardened by Age, to allay the Heat of Blood in that distemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near forty thousand of them in three Years time by private, sudden, and violent Executions, without Form of Laws or Tryals, or hearing any sorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, succeeding in the Place of Grand *Vizier*, found the Empire so dispirited by his Father's Cruelty, and the Militia remaining so spited and distemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an easy War upon the *Venetians*, *Transylvanians*, or the Remainers of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had closed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and restored the Strength of the *Ottoman* Empire to that degree, that the succeeding *Vizier* invaded *Germany*, though against the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at last besieged *Vienna*, which is a Story too fresh and too known to be told here.

Another Reason has been the Neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatness at Sea, so as for many Years they hardly pretend to any Successes on that Element, but commonly say, *That God has given the Earth to the Mussulmans, and the Sea to the Christians.*

The last I shall observe is the excessive Use of Opium, with which they seek to repair the Want of Wine, and to divert their melancholy Reflections upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seignior's or of the Grand *Vizier's* Humour and Commands. But the Effect of this Opium is very transitory;

transitory; and though it allays for the present all melancholy Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is past, they return again, which makes the Use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of those that frequently use it.

The external Reason of the Stand made this last Century, in the Growth of the Turkish Empire, seems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to such strong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the *Persian* Empire to the *East*, upon the *Turks* to the *North*, upon the *Ethiopians* to the *South*, and upon the *German* Empire to the *West*, and turned their Prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian State.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, consisting of such large Territories, such Numbers of Bodies of Warlike Men, when united in any common Cause or Quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for Defence, as the *Turkish* is for Invasion or Conquest. For being composed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes, or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any Foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in such common Cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the *Turkish* Territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner desolated, have no Force but that of their Standing Armies, and their People in general care not either for the Progress of their Victories Abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any Change of Master, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worse constituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of these two different Constitutions had been seen and felt (in all Probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in these late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not crossed Human Appearances. For the Grand Visier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the Confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vast Treasures (there assembled for Shelter from all the adjacent Parts) had not given him a passionate Desire to take the Town by Composition rather than by Storm, which must have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the *Turks* had possessed this Bulwark of *Christendom*, I do not conceive what could have hinder'd them from being Masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another Year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their Invasion, or of both, in two or three Years Time; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of *Christendom*, or how it might have enlarged the *Turkish* Dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other Side, after the Defeat of the Grand Visier's Army, his Death, and that of so many brave Basha's, and other Captains, by the usual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After such Slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many Encounters, and such an Universal Discouragement of their Troops, that could no where withstand the *German* Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependence upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hinder'd them from conquering all before them in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Constantinople* it self, upon the Course of an easy War, in such a Decline of the *Turkish* Empire, with so weak and dispirited Troops as those that remained, a Treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general Conternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous City, upon these Occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of *Christendom*, and seems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterprises on either Side, but rather to fall into the Designs of a Peace which may probably leave *Hungary*

to the Possession as well as Right of the House of *Austria*, and the *Turks* in a Condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the rest of *Christendom*.

Although the *Mahometan* Empires were not raised like others, upon the Foundations, or by the Force of Heroick Virtue, but rather by the Practices of a subtil Man, upon the Simplicity of credulous People; yet the Growth of them has been influenced by several Princes, in whom some Beams at least of that Sun have shined, such as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Solyman the Great*. And because I have named the most Heroick Persons of that Sect, it will be but Justice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the same Time those who appear to have shined the brightest in the several Ages or Countries, and the Lustre of whose Virtues, as well as Greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted Blemishes or Defaults, and who for deserving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the true Records of Fame, which is ever just to the Dead, how partial soever it may be to the Living, from the forced Applauses of Power, or sulsom Adulations of servile Men.

Such as these were among the ancient *Grecians*, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Agesilaus*. Of the Old *Roman* State, the first *Scipio*, *Murcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the *Roman* Emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the *Goths*, *Alavic*, and *Theodorick*. Of the Western Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Charles the Fifth*. Of the *French* Nation, *Pharamond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry the Fourth*, who began three of their Noblest Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Gustavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard the First*, the *Black Prince*, and *Harry the Fifth*. To these I may add seven famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose Exploits and Virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Bellisarius*, the two last great Commanders of the *Roman* Armies, after the Division and Decay of that Mighty State, who did set up the last Trophies, and made the bravest Defences against the Numbers and Fury of those barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their Time tore in Pieces that whole Empire. *George Castriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and excellent Men, the true Champions of *Christendom*, whilst they lived, and Terror of the *Turks*; who with small Forces held at a Bay for so many Years, all the Powers of the *Ottoman* Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble *Spaniard*, worthily surnamed the Great Captain, who by his sole Prowess and Conduct conquered a Crown for his Master, which he might have won for himself, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Virtues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who restored the *Belgick* Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, esteemed generally the best and wisest Commander of his Age, and who at the sudden Point of his Death, as well as in the Course of his Life, gave such Testimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he govern'd. *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, who, by his Wisdom, Courage and Justice, recovered Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner lost to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for Relief of his Confederates, into the Heart of *France*, and seemed to revive the ancient *Roman* Virtue and Discipline in the World, and to bring the Noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Who has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick Virtue, which lead to the Temple of true Honour and Fame, need seek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of those Illustrious Persons here assembled. And so I leave this Crown of never-fading Laurel, in full view of such great and noble Spirits, as shall deserve it, in this or in succeeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it

S E C T. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occasioned in the World by the Conquests and Progresses of these four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in Story: It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the Causes of Conquests as well as the Effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be discovered, tho', like those of great Rivers, they are usually obscure or taken little Notice of, until their Streams increasing by the Influence of many others, make so mighty Inundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this End I shall observe three Things upon the general Course of Conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern Histories.

First, that they have generally proceeded from *North to South*, so as we find none besides those of the *Saracens* that can be said to have failed the contrary Course, and those were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahometan* Persuasion of Predestination, that made them careless of their Lives, and thereby fearless of Dangers. For all the rest, they have run the Course before-mentioned, unless we should admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conquests of *Sesoftris*, who is reported by the Ancients to have subdued all, from *Egypt* to the River *Tauais*: But this we may not allow for Truth, because it must have preceded the Reign of *Ninus*, and so disagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture; and therefore it must be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of ancient Story, as the *Scythians* having subdued and possessed *Asia* so many hundred Years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given so ancient a Beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof some Remnants only are said to have remained in *Alexander's* Time: Yet the Fame was then believ'd, of their having anciently extended their Dominion over all the lesser *Asia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which is the more probable, from that Appellation of *Taurica* that was anciently given her.

But the great Conquests, recorded and undisputed in Story, have been of the *Assyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Persians*, from the *Caspian* Sea, to the utmost Extent of the preceding Empire and of *Egypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Persian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the *Greek* Empire as far as *Parthia* Eastward, and over *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africa* to the South, before the Progress of their Arms towards the North-West. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The second Observation I shall make upon the Subject of Victory and Conquest is, that they have generally been made by the smaller Numbers over the greater, against which I do not remember any Exception in all the famous Battles registered in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, whereof the first is said to have exceeded about a fourth Part in Number, though they were so vast on both Sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the Number of the *Persians* with *Cyrus* were small to those of the *Assyrians*: Those of the *Macedonians* were in no Battle against the *Persians* above forty thousand Men, though sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thousand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country, beat above sixscore thousand *Persians* at *M Marathon*. The *Lacedemonians*, in all the famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thousand *Spartans* in the

the Field at a Time, and seldom above twenty thousand Men with their Allies †. The Romans ever fought with smaller against greater Numbers, unless in the Battles of *Canna* and *Thrasimene*, which were the only famous ones they lost against Foreign Enemies; and *Cæsar's* Army at *Pharsalia*, as well as how many *Marius* was not above forty thousand against three hundred thousand *Cimbri*. The famous Victories of *Ætius* and *Belisarius* against the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty Disproportion of Numbers, as likewise the first Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Persian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chinese*: And *Scanderbeg* never saw together above sixteen thousand Men, in all the renowned Victories he achieved against the *Turks*, though in Numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

† And yet they are recorded never to have asked in Gaul and Germany, were in no Proportion to those he conquered. That of their Enemies were, but only where they were.

To descend to later times, the *English* Victories so renowned at *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agencourt*, were gained with Disadvantages of Numbers out of all Proportion. The great Achievements of *Charles* the Eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the Fourth in *France*, and of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with smaller against greater Numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have so justly rais'd the Reputation and Honour of *Monsieur Turenne* for the greatest Captain of his Time, I do not remember any of them were achiev'd, without Disadvantage of Number: And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the Siege of *Vienna*, which sav'd *Christendom*, and has eternized the Name of the Duke of *Lovain*, was too fresh and great an Example of this Assertion, to need any more, or leave it in Dispute.

From these two Principles of Conquest, having proceeded from the *North* to the *South*, and by smaller over greater Numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Constitutions of Men's Bodies who compose the Armies that achieve them, or to the Dispositions of their Minds. The first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. 'Tis without question, the Northern Bodies are greater and stronger than the Southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous. The Reason whereof is obvious to every Man's Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digestion, and from the Roughness of the Soil, which forces them upon Labour and Hardship. Now the true original Greatness of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the Number of strong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the natural Strength of Governments, all the rest is Art, Discipline, or Infitution.

The next Ingredient into the Composition of conquering Forces, is Fearfulness of Mind, whether it be occasioned by the Temper of the Climate, or Race of which Men are born, or by Custom which inures Men to be insensible of Danger, or by Passions or Opinions that are rais'd in them; for they may all have the same Effect. We see the very Beasts and Birds of some Countries, as well as the Men, are naturally fearless. We see long Service in Armies, or at Sea, makes Men insensible of Dangers. We see the Love of Liberty, Desire of Revenge, and Defence of their Country or Prince, renders them carelefs of Life. The very Confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Successes, from the Esteem and Opinion of their Commanders, or from the Scorn of their Enemies, makes Armies victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Punishment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the Quarrel they are engag'd in. And these are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms; for let the Numbers be what they will, that Army is ever beaten, where the Fright first enters. Few Battles were lost of old, but none since the Use of Gunpowder, by the Greatness of downright Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the Noise and Smoak of Guns both increases Fear, and covers Shame, more than the ancient Use of Arms, so that since those of Fire came in, Battles have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by Soldiers or reasonable Men) that the Battle is lost where the Fright first enters, then the Reason

reason will appear why Victory has generally followed the smaller Numbers, because in a Body composed of more Parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as 'tis likelier to find ten wise Men together than an Hundred, and an hundred fearless Men than a Thousand: And those who have the smaller Forces, endeavour most to supply that Defect by the choice Discipline and Bravery of their Troops; and where the Fight once enters an Army, the greater the Number, the greater the Disorder, and thereby the Loss of the Battle more certain and sudden.

From all this I conclude, that the Composition of Victorious Armies, and the great and true Ground of Conquest, consists first in the Choice of the strongest, ablest, and hardiest Bodies of Men: Next, in the Exactness of Discipline, by which they are inured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And lastly, in the Spirit given them by Love of their Country or their Prince, by Impressions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearless of Death, and so incapable, or at least very difficult, to receive any Fright, or break thereby into Disorder. And I question not, but any brave Prince or General, at the Head of forty thousand Men, who would certainly stand their Ground, and sooner dye than leave it, might fight any Number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Field: For besides that a great Number may fall sooner into Fright and Disorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one Day's Battle, whereas very few in the late Ages have lasted half that Time.

The last Remark I shall make upon this Subject is, that the conquering Nations have generally been those who placed the Strength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horse, which have never, till these later Years, been esteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force seem to consist in other Advantage, besides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their first Charge. Nor is this Opinion less grounded upon Reason than Experience: For besides, that Men are firmer upon their own Feet than those of their Horses, and less in danger of falling into Disorder, which may come from want of Discipline or Courage in the Horses as well as their Riders; it is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the Sides of Horses should have more Effect or Force to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes, Swords or Javelins in their Noses and Breasts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their Rank, and run into Disorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages, or more undisputed. The Battle of *Marathon* was gained by ten thousand Foot, against mighty Numbers of *Persian* Horse as well as Foot. The famous Retreat of *Xenophon*, for such a Length of Country and of Time, was made at the Head of ten thousand *Greeks* in the Face of forty thousand *Persian* Horse; nor had the *Greeks* above a hundred or sixscore Horse in their Camp, which they made use of only to forage, or pursue the *Persian* Horse when they fled in Disorder from the Points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Persian* Horse that ever encountered them. The *Roman* Legions consisted each of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, which was all the Proportion they ever had in their victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vast Numbers of *Spanish*, *Nunidian*, or *Persian* and *Armenian* Horse they were so often engaged with. The Force of the *Gorbick* Nations consisted in their Foot, and of the *Turkish* and *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The noble Conquests of the *English* in *France* were made all by their Foot; and during that Period of Time, when the Crown of *Spain* made so great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the Force and Bravery of their *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot.

There seem to be but two Exceptions against this Rule, which are the ancient Greatness of the *Persians*, and modern of the *French*, whose chief Force have been esteemed to consist in their Horse. But the *Persian* Empire was raised by the Conquest of the Eastern Nations, whose Armies consisted chiefly

chiefly in Horfe, and one againſt the other, the beſt carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies, though the Bravery of their Cavalry has been Great and Noble, as made up of ſo numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom; yet one chief Strength of their Troops muſt be allowed, for the ſeveral late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Switzers*; and in this preſent Reign, *Marſchal Turenne* muſt be acknowledged to have made way for his Maſter's Greatneſs, by improving the Bodies of *French* Foot with Force of Choice and Diſcipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his Time.

I ſhall end this Remark with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan*. One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make ſtill a firm Stand againſt all his victorious Troops. He endeavoured to break them by a deſperate Charge of ſome Squadrons of his *Genſ d'Arms*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breasts of their Horſes, and ſo proof, as he thought, againſt the *Switzers* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horſes, and, armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; they did it ſo deſperately, ſome catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in Pieces with their Broad Swords, that they at laſt made way for themſelves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horſe that could Charge them: And this ſeems an evident Teſtimony, that the Impreſſions of Horſe upon Foot are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that firſt enters, the Action is ſoon decided.

After all that has been ſaid of Conquerors or Conqueſts, this muſt be confeſſed to hold but the ſecond Rank in the Pretenſions to Heroick Virtue, and that the firſt has been allowed to the wiſe Inſtitution of juſt Orders and Laws, which frame ſafe and happy Governments in the World. The Deſigns and Effects of Conqueſts, are but the Slaughter and Ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and deſtroying the World: Thoſe of wiſe and juſt Governments, are preſerving and encreaſing the Lives and Generations of Men, ſecuring their Poſſeſſions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches improving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes of the World.

So the Inſtitutions of *Mſes* leave him a Diviner Character than the Victories of *Jofhua*: Thoſe of *Belus*, *Oſyris* and *Janus*, than the Proweſs of *Ninus*, *Cyrus* and *Sefoſtris*. And if, among the Ancients, ſome Men have been eſteemed Heroes, by the Acheivements of great Conqueſts and Victories; it has been, by the wiſe Inſtitution of Laws and Governments, that others have been honoured and adored as Gods.



O F

P O E T R Y.

THE two common Shrines, to which most Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleasure; and by their Devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into two Sects, and called either busy or idle Men. Whether these Terms differ in Meaning, or only in Sound, I know very well may be disputed, and with Appearance enough, since the covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleasure in his Gains as the voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not pursue his Business unless he was pleased with it, upon the last Account of what he most wishes and desires, nor would care for the Encrease of his Fortunes, unless he thereby proposed that of his Pleasures too, in one kind or other; so that Pleasure may be said to be his End, whether he will allow to find it in his Pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words spent, or (to speak with more Respect to the ancient Philosophers) many Disputes have been raised upon this Argument, I think to little Purpose, and that all has been rather an Exercise of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth; and all Controversies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take Words as they are most commonly spoken and meant, like Coin, as it most currently passes, without raising Scruples upon the Weight of the Alloy, unless the Cheat or the Defect be gross and evident. Few Things in the World, or none, will bear too much Refining; a Thread too fine spun will easily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely filed. The usual Acceptation takes Profit and Pleasure for two different Things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them by several Names of busy and of idle Men, but distinguishes the Faculties of the Mind that are conversant about them, calling the Operations of the first Wisdom, and of the other Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word that is used to express what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French* *Esprit*, both from the *Latin*; but I think Wit more peculiarly signifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runic* Language. To the first of these are attributed the Inventions or Productions of Things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to human Life, either in private Possessions or publick Institutions: To the other, those Writings or Discourses which are the most pleasing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: Yet, according to the Opinion of those that link them together, as the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers themselves, do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them; so those of Poets instruct and profit, as well as please such as are conversant in them, and the happy Mixture of both these makes the Excellency in both these Compositions, and has given Occasion for esteeming, or at least for calling, Heroick Virtue and Poetry *Divine*.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, express the same Opinion of them in those Nations; the *Greek* signifying Makers or Creators, such as raise admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which strike with Wonder and with Pleasure the Eyes and Imaginations of those who

behold them; the *Latin* makes the same Word common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation is the first Attribute and highest Operation of Divine Power, so is Prophecy the greatest Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in those two learned Languages, so the Causes of Poetry are by the Writers of them said to be Divine, and to proceed from a Celestial Fire, or Divine Inspiration; and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many Passages of those Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewise thought divine and supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were ascribed to it.

*Carmina vel Cælo possunt deducere Lunam,
Carminibus Circe Socios mutavit Ulyssis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis.*

But I can easily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to arise from the greatest Excellency of natural Temper, or the greatest Race of native Genius, without exceeding the Reach of what is human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt, debased or dishonoured, by ascribing to it any thing that is in the Compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate Influence from it self. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its Effects than in its Causes, nor any Operation produced by it to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other sort of Wonder than those of Musick, or of natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to Minds little versed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the Force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven by Force of Verses or of Charms, either believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion begun by the Practice of some Poet, upon the Facility of some People, who knowing the Time when an Eclipse would happen, told them he would by his Charms call down the Moon at such an Hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming Description in *Virgil's* eighth Eclogue of all sorts of Charms and Fascinations by Verses, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs employed upon occasion of a violent Passion, from a jealous or disappointed Love; I have recourse to the strong Impressions of Fables and of Poetry, to the easy Mistakes of popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the secret Virtues of several Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am sorry the natural History, or Account of Fascination, has not employed the Pen of some Person of such excellent Wit and deep Thought and Learning as *Casaubon*, who writ that curious and useful Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age in which this Treatise was so seasonably publish'd. 'Tis much to be lamented that he lived not to complete that Work in the second Part he promised; or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in general, as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent so many publick Disorders, and save the Lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding People, who suffer so frequently upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this Kind in my Youth at home; and though the Humour or Fashion be a good deal worn out of the World within thirty or forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote Parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and some other Countries.

But to return to the Charms of Poetry: If the forsaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verses, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the
Town

Town where he was gone, and engaged in a new Amour; if she had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breast; she might, for ought I know, have compassed such Ends by the Power of such Charms, and without any other than very natural Enchantments. For there is no Question but true Poetry may have the Force to raise Passions and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to tempt Joy and Grief, to raise Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldness, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it self; and I easily believe, that the disheartened *Spartans* were new animated, and recovered their lost Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*; that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris*, were changed by the Odes of *Stesichorus* into the greatest Kindness and Esteem; and that many Men were as passionately enamoured by the Charms of *Suppho's* Wit and Poetry, as by those of Beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raises it; and if the Possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Person that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder that such Force should be found in Poetry, since in it are assembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Musick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make so strong Impressions upon humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all, or any of these, needs little Proof or Testimony: The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where some have fallen down-right in Love with the ravishing Beauties of a lovely Object drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter; nay, Painters themselves have fallen in Love with some of their own Productions, and doated on them as on a Mistress or a fond Child; which distinguishes among the *Italians* the several Pieces that are done by the same Hand, into several Degrees of those made, *con Studio*, *con Diligenza*, or *con Amore*, whereof the last are ever the most excellent. But there needs no more Instances of this Kind, than the Stories related and believed by the best Authors, as known and undisputed; of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his Life to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and satisfy his Passion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus* that was there set up, and designed for another sort of Adoration; the other pined away and dy'd for being hinder'd his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Musick are either felt or known by all Men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Passions and the Blood; to raise Joy and Grief, to give Pleasure and Pain, to cure Diseases, and the mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*; to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to compose disturbed Thoughts, to assist and heighten Devotion it self. We need no Recourse to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Musick upon Fishes and Beasts; 'tis enough that we find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Possession, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the Violence of popular Commotions, and caused such Convulsions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more to make him acknowledge it, than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Resolution to condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero's* Eloquence (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn Pale, shake to that degree, that the Papers he held fell out of his Hand, as if he had been frighted with Words that never was so with Blows, and at last change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of these three mighty Powers be united in Poetry, we need not wonder that such Virtues and such Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called Divine; and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the Force of Wit and of Reasoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expressions, may be found

in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Representation or Picture as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Musick; and how far these three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or Magical) I leave it to such Men to consider, whose Thoughts turn to such Speculations as these, or who by their native Temper and Genius are in some degree disposed, or receive the Impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the Table, and say he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Meric Casaubon* should find such charming Pleasures and Emotions, as he describes, upon the reading some Parts of *Lucretius*; that so many should cry, and with downright Tears, at some Tragedies of *Shakespeare*; and so many more should feel such Turns or Curdling of their Blood, upon the reading or hearing some excellent Pieces of Poetry; nor that *Ostavia* fell into a Swoon, at the Recital made by *Virgil* of those Verses in the Sixth of his *Aeneids*.

This is enough to assert the Powers of Poetry, and discover the Ground of these Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inspirations, and gave it so great a Share in the supposed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances seem to lessen the Honour of true Powers and Valour in their Knights, by giving such a part in all their chief Adventures to Enchantment; so the true Excellence and just Esteem of Poetry seems rather debased than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the Northern Nations grew so strong and so general, that about five or six hundred Years ago all the Runick Poetry came to be decried, and those ancient Characters, in which they were written, to be abolished by the Zeal of Bishops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loss, to the Story of those Northern Kingdoms, the Seat of our Ancestors in all the Western Parts of Europe.

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be discovered, by observing to what God this Inspiration was ascribed by the Ancients, which was *Apollo*, or the Sun, esteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Musick and of Poetry. The Mystery of this Fable means, I suppose, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but especially of the Brain, is the true Spring of these Two Parts or Sciences: This was that Celestial Fire, which gave such a pleasing Motion and Agitation to the Minds of those Men, that have been so much admired in the World, that raises such infinite Images of Things so agreeable and delightful to Mankind; by the Influence of this Sun, are produced these golden and inexhausted Mines of Invention, which has furnished the World with Treasures so highly esteemed, and so universally known and used, in all the Regions that have yet been discovered. From this arises that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or Study, by Pains or by Industry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of some hidden Spark of the very first Conception.

But though Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child is, like all others, born Naked, and must be Nourished with Care, Cloathed with Exactness and Elegance, Educated with Industry, Instructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accomplished with Labour and with Time, before it arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain, that no Composition requires so many several Ingredients, or of more different Sorts than this; nor that to excel in any Qualities, there are necessary so many Gifts of Nature, and so many Improvements of Learning and of Art. For there must be an universal Genius, of great Compass as well as great Elevation. There must be a spritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thousand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner,

Corner, and by the Light of that true Poetical Fire, discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the Heat of Invention and Liveliness of Wit, there must be the Coldness of good Sense and Soundness of Judgment, to distinguish between Things and Conceptions, which at first Sight, or upon short Glances, seem alike; to chuse among infinite Productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stilled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing; without the Succours of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true Wonder of Poesy is, that such Contraries must meet to compose it; a Genius both penetrating and solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame and Fabrick of a true Poem, must have something both sublime and just, amazing and agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to invent, a great Calm to judge and correct; there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be employ'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chisel and the File. There must be a General Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required Genius, Judgment, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet that applied himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of Poety, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a just Poem; and after all I have said, 'tis no Wonder, 'tis should be few that appeared in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names. I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain to question the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the first Rank, but to the supremam Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was, without dispute, the most universal Genius that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the most accomplish'd. To the first must be allowed the most fertile Invention, the richest Vein, the most general Knowledge, and the most lively Expression: To the last, the noblest Ideas, the justest Institution, the wisest Conduct, and the choicest Elocution. To speak in the Painter's Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer* the most Spirit, Force and Life; in those of *Virgil*, the best Design, the truest Proportions, and the greatest Grace; the Colouring in both seems equal, and indeed is in both admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Swiftmess; or at least the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined and better allay'd to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think, it must be confessed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful Genius; and that he has been generally so esteem'd, there cannot be a greater Testimony given, than what has been by some observed, that not only the greatest Masters have found in his Works the best and truest Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the noblest Nations have derived from them the Original, or their several Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his Story be true or Fiction. In short, these two immortal Poets must be allowed to have so much excelled in their Kinds, as to have exceeded all Comparison, to have even extinguish'd Emulation, and in a manner confin'd true Poetry, not only to their own Languages, but to their very Persons. And I am apt to believe

lieve so much of the true Genius of Poetry in general, and of its Elevation in these two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compass of a thousand Years; for one Man that is born capable of making such a Poet as *Homer* or *Vergil*, there may not be a Thousand born capable of making as great Generals of Armies, or Ministers of State, as any the most renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour; nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Presumption: Besides, there has been so much Paper blotted upon these Subjects, in this curious and censuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very severe in their Censures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little Purpose; for I know not, why they might not have contented themselves with those given by *Aristotle* and *Horace*, and have translated them rather than commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; so as they seem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any body else. The Truth is, there is something in the Genius of Poetry, too libertine to be confined to so many Rules; and whoever goes about to subject it to such Constraints, loses both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever native, and never learnt, even of the best Masters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent Honey, you should cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest, and like to yield the finest Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They must range through Fields, as well as Gardens, chuse such Flowers as they please, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and distinguish: They must work up their Cells with admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and sever it from the Wax, with such Distinction and Choice, as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification to these great Arbitrary Rulers among the *French* Writers, or our own, to observe the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleasure they have given Mankind; but to comfort them, I do not know there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art laid down by *Aristotle*; nor in *Rome*, after those by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan* may be alledg'd against this Assertion; but the first offered no further than at Idils or Eclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and happy Genius, and to have made some very high Flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Falaciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder some Men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any Man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no further for Instruction than three Lines of *Horace*.

— *Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis Terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, & modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.*

He is a Poet,

*Who vainly anguishes my Breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens.*

Whoever does not affect and move the same present Passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other Times raise Images about you, as a Conjuror is said to do Spirits, Transport you to the Places and to the Persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Measures are never to fault, his Feet never so smooth, or his Sounds never so sweet.

But instead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I shall rather turn my Thoughts to the History of it, and observe the Antiquity, the Uses, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed, to have been the first Sort of Writing that has been used in the World; and in several Nations to have preceded the very Invention or Usage of Letters. This last is certain in *America*, where the first *Spaniards* met with many Strains of Poetry, and left several of them Translated into their Language, which seem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in those Regions. The same is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Grecians* and the *Germans*. *Aristotle* says, the *Agathyrsi* had their Laws all in Verse; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were so; and for the *Grecian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather Reason to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phenicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a Thing known, that *Pherecides* was the first who writ Prose in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the Time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Hesiod* lived some hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Museus*, some Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybil*s, several were before any of those, and in Times as well as Places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* writ, is said to have been in Verse, who were something older than *Cyrus*; and before them, were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrteus*, *Sappho*, *Sesichorus*, and several other Poets famous in their Times. The same Thing is reported of *Chaldea*, *Syria*, and *China*; among the Ancient *Western Goths* (our Ancestors) the *Runic* Poetry seems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wisdom, as well as their Records, their Religious Rites, as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verse.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ, the most ancient is by some Learned Men esteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was written before the Time of *Moses*, and that it was a Translation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldean* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the Place of his Abode, which appears to have been seated between the *Chaldeans* of one Side, and the *Sabeans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other; and by many Passages of that admirable and truly inspired Poem, the Author seems to have lived in some Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates*, or the *Persian* Gulph, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to those Regions. Nor is it easy to find any Traces of the *Mosaical* Rites or Institutions, either in the Divine Worship, or the Morals related to, in those Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praises were much more ancient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moses*; but the Opinion of one Deity, and adored without any Idol or Representation, was professed and received among the ancient *Persians* and *Hetruscaus* and *Chaldeans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldea*, or of *Abraham* who is supposed to have left that Country for the Profession or Worship of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controversy, that the Book of *Job* was written originally in Verse, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Justice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, against the common Arguments of Atheistical Men, who took Occasion to dispute it, from the usual Events of human Things, by which so many ill and impious Men seem happy and prosperous
in

in the Course of their Lives, and so many pious and just Men seem miserable or afflicted. The *Spanish* Translation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) Word for Word; and for which all Translators of the Bible since have had great Regard, gives us the two first Chapters, and the last from the Seventh Verse in Prose, as an Historical Introduction and Conclusion of the Work, and all the rest in Verse, except the Transitions from one Part or Person of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moses* to be the most ancient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moses* may probably have been written before the rest; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praises sung to God upon the Victories or Successes of the *Israelites*, related in both. And I never read the last, without observing in it as true and noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatsoever, in spite of all Disadvantages from Translations into so different Tongues and common Prose. If an Opinion of some learned Men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that *Esdra*s was the Writer or Compiler of the first historical Part of the Old Testament, though from the same divine Inspiration as that of *Moses* and the other Prophets, then the Psalms of *David* would be the first Writings we find in *Hebrew*, and next to them the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Ecclesiastes* when he was old: So that from all Sides, both sacred and profane, it appears that Poetry was the first sort of Writing known and used in the several Nations of the World.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first Thought, that a sort of Stile so regular and so difficult, should have grown in use before the other so easy and so loose: But if we consider what the first End of Writing was, it will seem probable from Reason as well as Experience; for the true and general End was but the Help of Memory, in preserving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away, with the transitory Passage of human Breath and Life. Before the Discourses and Disputes of Philosophers began to busy or amuse the *Grecian* Wits, there was nothing written in Prose but either Laws, some short Sayings of wise Men, or some Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Ancients many Strains of natural and moral Wisdom and Knowledge, and besides these, some short Memorials of Persons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much easier all such Writings should be learnt and remember'd in Verse than in Prose, not only by the Pleasure of Measures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impression to Memory, but by the Order of Feet, which makes a great Facility of tracing one Word after another, by knowing what sort of Foot or Quantity must necessarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and desire to make up.

This made Poetry so necessary, before Letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards; and shews that the great Honour and general Request wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the Pleasure and Delight, but likewise from the Usefulness and Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally Praise, Instruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach, Praise was the Subject of all the Songs and Psalms mentioned in Holy Writ; of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer*, and many others; of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, composed all and designed for the Honour of their Gods; of *Pindar*, *Sesichorus*, and *Tyrtæus* in the Praises of Virtue or virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job* is Instruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller *Greek* Poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras*, are Instructions in Morality; the first Book of *Hesiod* and *Virgil's Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural Philosophy. Story is the proper Subject of Heroick Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; and *Fable*, which is a sort of Story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyric*

Poetry has been chiefly conversant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praise; too; and the Vein of Pastorals and Eclogues has run the same Course, as may be observed in *Theocritus*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who was, I think, the first and last of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Larins*: Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poetry has been composed of all these; but the chief End seems to have been Instruction, and under the Disguise of Fables, or the Pleasure of Story, to shew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes, or Punishment of Vice; by Examples of both to encourage one, and deter Men from the other; to reform ill Custom, correct ill Manners, and moderate all violent Passions. These are the general Subjects of both Parts, though Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary Passions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread so beaten Paths, that to travel in them only raises Dust, and is neither of Pleasure nor of Use.

For the Changes that have happen'd in Poetry, I shall observe one ancient, and the others that are modern will be too remarkable, in the Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The first Change of Poetry was made by translating it into Prose, or cloathing it in those loose Robes or common Veils, that disguised or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactness of its Shape. This was done first by *Æsop* in *Greek*; but the Vein was much more ancient in the Eastern Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may observe in the many Parables used in the Old Testament, as well as in the New. And there is a Book of Fables of the Sort of *Æsop's*, translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so, into that Language out of the ancient *Indian*; but though it seems genuine of the Eastern Countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succession of Poetry in Prose seems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a sort of little Pastoral Romances; and though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples, that I know, of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a Taste of the great Delicacy and Pleasure that was found so generally in those sort of Tales. The last kind of Poetry in Prose, is that which in latter Ages has over-run the World under the Name of Romances, which tho' it seems modern, and a Production of the *Gotthick* Genius, yet the Writing is ancient. The Remainers of *Petronius Arbitr* seem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True History: But the most ancient that passes by the Name is *Heliodorus*, famous for the Author's chusing to lose his Bishoprick, rather than disown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of ancient Poetry in this kind seems to shine most in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I esteem both the greatest Poet and the noblest Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern Language; a Person born capable not only of forming the greatest Ideas, but of leaving the noblest Examples, if the Length of his Life had been equal to the Excellence of his Wit and Virtues.

With him I leave the Discourse of ancient Poetry, and to discover the Decays of this Empire, must turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction, of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change arrived by no smaller Occasions, no more ignoble Revolutions, than those which destroyed the ancient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and erected so many new ones upon their Ruins, by the Invasions and Conquests, or the general Inundations of the *Goths* or *Vandals*, and other barbarous or northern Nations, upon those Parts of *Europe* that had been subject to the *Romans*. After the Conquests made by *Cæsar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the Times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* resorted to the *Roman* Armies, and to the City it self, and habituated themselves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Grecians* had done before, upon the

Conquest of those Countries. This Mixture soon corrupted the *Latin* Tongue, so that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harsh Allay entered into the Style of the *Augustan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had subdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations on both Sides of the *Danube*, the Commerce of those barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verses ascribed to *Adrian*, were in Imitation of the *Runic* Poetry. The *Scythians Puti Pruinas* of *Florus* shews their Race or Climate; and the first Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Allusions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death.

*O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, hvirida, timidula,
Nec ut soles dabis Joca.*

'Tis probable, the old Spirit of Poetry being lost or frightened away by those long and bloody Wars with such barbarous Enemies, this new Ghost began to appear in its Room even about that Age; or else that *Adrian*, who affected that Piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions in those Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the Time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry smell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old Vein quite seared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every Day more and more obscured by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the North, and increasing with the Numbers and Successes of those barbarous People, at length over-shadowed all *Europe* for so long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it self to fail or be dissolved, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three new Languages in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles who were of the conquering Nations, for several Ages used their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with those of *Germany*, where some of the *Goths* had sojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conquest of the more Southern and Western Parts. Where-ever the *Roman* Colonies had remained, and their Language had been generally spoken, the common People used that still, but vitiated with the base Allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain's* Time was called in *France Rustica Romana*, and in *Spain*, during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman* Soldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* most accustomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained for the Defence of *Gaul* against the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the Time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguished (as well as their own) made way for the intire Use of the *Saxon* Language. With these Changes the ancient Poetry was wholly lost in all these Countries, and a new sort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhymes, with an easy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rhythmes*, as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes was properly the Name of the ancient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were invented first or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths* which he planted in the North-West Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But because all the Writings they had among them for many Ages were in Verse, it came to be the common Name of all sorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Composers of them were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewise another Name for them, or for some sorts of them, which was *Vifes* or *Wifes*; and because the Sages of that Nation expressed the best of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in these kind of Writings, they that succeeded best and with most Applause were termed wise Men, the good Sense,

Sense, or Learning, or useful Knowledge contained in them was called *Wisdom*, and the pleasant or facetious *Vein* among them was called *Wit*, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleasing to those that heard or read them.

Of these *Runes*, there was in use among the *Goths* above a hundred several sorts, some composed in longer, some in shorter Lines, some equal, and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities or Feet, which in the pronouncing made many different sorts of original or natural Tunes. Some were framed with Allusions of Words, or Consonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the same Line, or in the Dystick, or by alternate Succession and Resemblance, which made a sort of Gingle that pleased the ruder Ears of that People. And because their Language was composed most of Monosyllables, and of so great Numbers, many must end in the same Sound; another sort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the same Sound; which being the easiest, requiring the less Art, and needing less Spirit (because a certain Chime in the Sounds supplied that Want, and pleased common Ears) this in time grew the most general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhimes or *Runes* pass for the modern Poetry in these Parts of the World.

This was not used only in their modern Languages, but during those ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained and was preserved among the Monks and Priests, to distinguish them by some Shew of Learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree soever, and reverence the Professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even in their own Language; I mean not only the vulgar Laymen, but even the Generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this lasted till the ancient Learning and Languages began to be restored in *Europe* about two hundred Years ago.

The common Vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is termed *Dithirambick*, and was of a raving or rambling sort of Wit or Invention, loose and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Measures or Rules; yet some of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in some Degree, or that natural Inspiration which has been said to arise from some Spark of Poetical Fire wherewith particular Men are born; and, such as it was, it served the Turn, not only to please, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous Vulgar, where it was in use. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths* as much in request and admired, as any of the ancient and most celebrated Poets were among the learned Nations; for among the Blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inspired, and the Charms of their *Runic* Conceptions were generally esteemed divine, or magical at least.

The Subjects of them were various, but commonly the same with those already observed in the true ancient Poetry. Yet this Vein was chiefly employed upon the Records of bold and martial Actions, and the Praises of valiant Men that had fought successfully or died bravely; and these Songs or Ballads were usually sung at Feasts, or in Circles of young or idle Persons, and served to inflame the Humour of War, of Slaughter, and of Spoils among them. More refined Honour or Love had little Part in the Writings, because it had little in the Lives or Actions of those fierce People and bloody Times. Honour among them consisted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Lust.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the rest was but Wild-fire that sparkled or rather crackled awhile, and soon went out with little Pleasure or Gazing of the Beholders; those *Runers* who could not raise Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments: This came in to supply the Defect of that sublime and marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Prose among the learned Ancients. The *Gothick Runers*, to gain and e-

establish the Credit and Admiration of their Rhimes, turned the Use of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them to raise Storms, to calm the Seas, to cause Terror in their Enemies, to transport themselves in the Air, to conjure Spirits, to cure Diseases, and stanch bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or easy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their most ancient *Rimers* affirms of himself and his own Achievements, by Force of these Magical Arms: The Men or Women, who were thought to perform such Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Viises* or *Wises*, the Name of those Verses wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry seem to have been raised all those Trophies of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spanish* Romances, which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them, during their Reign; and after the Conquests of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Christians. From the same perhaps may be derived, all the visionary Tribe of *Fairies*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bulbeggars*, that serve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurfes please, but sometimes, by lasting Impressions, to disquiet the Sleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Discretion; and that, God knows, is a Period of Time which some People arrive to be but very late, and perhaps others never. At least, this Belief prevailed so far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all Sorts of Charms were not only attributed to their *Runes* or *Verses*, but to their very Characters; so that about the eleventh Century they were forbidden and abolished in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil or Ecclesiastical Commands or Constitutions, and what has been since recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetch'd as far as *Iceland* it self.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity, remained even to our own Age, may be observed by any Man that reflects so far as thirty or forty Years; how often avouched, and how generally credited, were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts* and *Enchantments*? In some Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly there were *Longaroes*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember several *Irish* of the same Mind. The Remainders are woven into our very Language; *Mara* in old *Runic* was a *Goblin* that seized upon Men asleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a *Sprite* that came to strangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whose Name was used by his Soldiers when they would fright or surprize their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhiming *Rats to Death*, came I suppose from the same Root.

There were, not longer since than the Time I have mentioned, some Remainders of the *Runic* Poetry among the *Irish*. The great Men of their *Scepts*, among the many Officers of their Family, which continued always in the same Races, had not only a *Physician*, a *Huntsman*, a *Smith* and such like, but a *Poet* and a *Tale teller*: The first recorded and sung the Actions of their Ancestors, and entertained the Company at Feasts; the latter amused them with Tales when they were melancholly and could not sleep: And a very gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me, of his own Experience, that in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he used to be abroad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a-nights, so as he could not well sleep; they would bring him one of these *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a *Damiel*, and such rambling Stuff, and continue it all Night long in such an even Tone that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Physicians give could have so good and so innocent Effect, to make Men sleep, in any Pains or Distempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my Youth, some Persons of our Country to have said Grace in Rhimes, and others their constant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough.

enough, that some Deeds or Conveyances of Land have been so, since the Conquest.

In such poor wretched Weeds as these was Poetry clothed, during those Shades of Ignorance that overspread all *Europe* for so many Ages after the Sunset of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were succeeded by so many new Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a new Face of Customs, Habit, Language, and almost of Nature: But upon the Dawn of a new Day, and the Resurrection of other Sciences, with the two Learned Languages among us, this of Poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike it self, and in Shapes as well as Cloaths, in Humour and in Spirit very different from the Ancient. It was now all in Rhime, after the *Gothick* Fashion; for indeed none of the several Dialects of that Language or Allay would bear the Compofure of such Feet and Measures, as were in use among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and some that attempted it, soon left it off, despairing of Success. Yet in this new Dress, Poetry was not without some Charms, especially those of Grace and Sweetness, and the Ore begun to shine in the Hands and Works of the first Refiners. *Petrarch*, *Ronsard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applause upon the Subjects of Love, Praise, Grief, Reproach. *Ariosto* and *Tasso* enter'd boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for so high Flights began to learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or Disadvantages of new Languages and Customs would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the Contexture of all the ancient Poetry with a very agreeable Mixture, which made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity a Place also in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well as a false had done, and all their Attempts of this kind seem'd rather to debase Religion, than to heighten Poetry. *Spencer* endeavour'd to supply this with Morality, and to make Instruction, instead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very noble and high, but his Design was poor, and his Moral lay so bare, that it lost the Effect; 'tis true the Pill was gilded, but so thin, that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Achievements in *Heroick* Poetry worth recording. The Wits of the Age soon left off such bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins; as if not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyrics, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions; wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters* that cannot succeed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature.

But the Modern Poets, to value this small Coin, and make it pass, though of so much a baser Metal than the Old, gave it a new Mixture from two Veins which were little known or little esteem'd among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairies* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which seldom reached above the Stature of two, or four, or six Lines, and which being so short, were all turned upon Conceit, or some sharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only ancient of this Kind among the *Latins* were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous Wooden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the Decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit, as well as Language, *Martial*, *Ausonius*, and others, fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before restrain'd to one, and dress'd it something more cleanly than it was born. This Vein of Conceit seem'd proper for such Scraps or Splinters into which Poetry was broken, and was so eagerly follow'd, as almost to over-run all that was compos'd in our several Modern Languages; the *Italian*, the *French*, the *Spanish*, as well as *English*, were for a great while full of nothing else but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taste to Composi-

rions which had little of themselves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was flat, and some Life to Colours that were fading; and in short, those who could not furnish Spirit, supplied it with this Salt, which may preserve Things or Bodies that are dead; but is, for ought I know, of little use to the Living, or necessary to Meats that have much or pleasing Tastes of their own. However it were, this Vein first overflowed our Modern Poetry, and with so little Distinction or Judgment, that we would have Conceit as well as Rhime in every two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the short, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was just as if a Building should be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face should be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles; which is all I shall say of it.

Another Vein which has enter'd, and help'd to corrupt our Modern Poesy, is that of Ridicule; as if nothing pleas'd but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different Affections of the Mind; for as Men have no Disposition to laugh at Things they are most pleas'd with, so they are very little pleas'd with many Things they laugh at.

But this Mistake is very general, and such Modern Poets as found no better Way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding Conversation run so much into the same Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it, which was formerly left to those that were called Fools, and were us'd in great Families, only to make the Company laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character, appears in those Lines of *Horace*,

— *Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante solutos,
Qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissa taceve
Qui nequit, Hic Niger est, hunc tu, Romane, carveto.*

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit in one Age, should be so like that of a Black in another.

Rablais seems to have been Father of the Ridicule; a Man of excellent and universal Learning as well as Wit: And though he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Customs of Courts and of Convents, of Processes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; yet he must be confess'd to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule, by saying many Things so malicious, so smutty, and so prophane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious Man, could not have afforded, though he had never so much of that Coin about him; and it were to be wish'd, that the Wits who have followed his Vein had not put too much Value upon a Dress, that better Understandings would not wear (at least in publick) and upon a Compass they gave themselves, which other Men would not take. The matchless Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up so excellent a Composition of Satyr or Ridicule, without those Ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began first in Verse, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*; was pursued by *Scarron* in *French*, with his *Virgil Travesty*; and in *English* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras* and *Cotton*, and with greater Height of *Burlesque* in the *English*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed to all Virtue and good Qualities among Men, which must be dishearten'd, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the Lash of Raillery, and this Vein of ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common Pretence to Merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are

are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among Pebbles is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Besides these two Veins brought in, to supply the Defects of the Modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the Smoothness of Language or Stile, which has at the best but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, and can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy set up by Cardinal Richlieu, to amuse the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking into his Politick and Ministry, brought this in Vogue; and the *French* Wits have for this last Age been in a manner wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with such Success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verse and their Prose. The same Vein has been likewise much cultivated in our Modern *English* Poetry; and by such poor Recruits have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up; with what Success, I leave to be judged by such, as consider it in the former Heights, and the present Declines both of Power and of Honour; but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Mistress, who must ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among these many Decays, there is yet one Sort of Poetry, that seems to have succeeded much better with our Moderns than any of the rest, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French* have all had their different Merit, and received their just Applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our *English* has not in some Kind excelled both the Modern and the Ancient, which has been by Force of a Vein natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign Writers, unless it be *Moliere*, and yet his it self has too much of the Farce, to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespear* was the first that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered to find it appear so little upon any others, being a Subject so proper for them; since Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general; and tho' it represents Dispositions and Customs left common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among Men; for if Humour it self be forced, it loses all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of some of our Poets most celebrated in this Kind.

It may seem a Defect in the ancient Stage, that the Characters introduced were so few, and those so common; as, a covetous old Man, an amorous young, a witty Wench, a crafty Slave, a bragging Soldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets, and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or Climate; so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater Variety of Humour in the Picture, because there is a greater Variety in the Life. This may proceed from the native Plenty of our Soil, the Unequalness of our Climate, as well as the Ease of our Government, and the Liberty of professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish'd. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more Humour, because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride, to shew it.

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they serve hard Masters, they must follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced

forced upon Imitation in small Matters, as well as Obedience in great : So that some Nations look as if they were cast all by one Mould, or cut out all by one Pattern (at least the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another :) They seem all of a sort in their Habits, their Customs, and even their Talk and Conversation, as well as in the Application and Pursuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of Variety amongst us, which arises from our Climate, and the Dispositions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our selves too at several times, and owe to our very Air some ill Qualities, as well as many good. We may allow some Distempers incident to our Climate, since so much Health, Vigour, and Length of Life have been generally ascribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themselves, we shall find the *Britains* observed to live the longest, and the *Egyptians* the shortest of any Nations that were known in those Ages. Besides, I think none will dispute the native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elsewhere as great in Particulars, but no where so in general; they may be (what is said of Diseases) as acute in other Places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have conversed much with Men of other Nations, and such as have been both in great Employments and Esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed among any so much true Genius as among the *English*; no where more Sharpness of Wit, more Pleasantness of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better sort; no where more Goodness of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainness of Sense and of Life, than among the common sort of Country People; nor more blunt Courage and Honesty than among our Sea-Men.

But with all this, our Country must be confess'd to be what a great foreign Physician called it, the Region of Spleen; which may arise a good deal from the great Uncertainty and many sudden Changes of our Weather in all Seasons of the Year. And how much these affect the Heads and Hearts, especially of the finest Tempers, is hard to be believed by Men whose Thoughts are not turned to such Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconstant in our Passions, uncertain in our End and even in our Desires. Besides, our different Opinions in Religion, and the Factions they have rais'd or animated for Fifty Years past, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Customs, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Disguise (with the usual Consequences of them) than were before in our Constitution. From all this it may happen, that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where so many Disputes upon Religion, so many Reasoners upon Government, so many Refiners in Politicks, so many curious Inquisitives, so many Pretenders to Business and State-Employments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth; and yet no where more abandoned Libertines, more refined Luxurists, extravagant Debauches, conceited Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philosophy and in Chymistry. I have had several Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry; have known in the Families of some Friends a Keeper deep in the *Rosycrucia* Principles, and a Laundress firm in those of *Epicurus*. What Effect soever such a Composition or Medley of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it must needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our comical Wits; so that, in my Opinion, there is no Vein of that sort, either ancient or modern, which excels or equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the rest, I cannot but observe, to the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongst us seem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and such as would be easily changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; such I mean as should be designed to form Manners, to restrain Excesses, to encourage Industry, to prevent Mens Experiences beyond their Fortunes, to coun-

countenance Virtue, and raise that true Esteem due to plain Sense and common Honesty.

But to spin off this Thread, which is already grown too long: What Honour and Request the ancient Poetry has lived in, may not only be observed from the universal Reception and Use in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Sythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Esteem of the best and the greatest Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon*, the wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah*, the holiest Men, were the best Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the two most renowned Sages and Law-givers were *Lycurgus* and *Solen*, whereof the last is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the first was so great a Lover of it, that to his Care and Industry we are said (by some Authors) to owe the Collection and Preservation of the loose and scattered Pieces of *Homer* in the Order wherein they have since appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have travelled nor slept without those admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris*, that was inexorable to all other Enemies, relented at the Charms of *Stesichorus* his Muse. Among the *Romans*, the last and great *Scipio* passed the soft Hours of his Life in the Conversation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the Composition of his Comedies. *Cæsar* was an excellent Poet as well as Orator, and composed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, relieving the tedious Difficulties of his March with the Entertainments of his Muse. *Augustus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himself both an Admirer of Poetry, and a Pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach, or his busy Scene allow. 'Tis true, since his Age we have few such Examples of great Princes favouring or assisting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deserving it. Whether it be that the Fierceness of the *Gothick* Humours, or Noise of their perpetual Wars, frightened it away, or that the unequal Mixture of the modern Languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great Heights and Excellency both of Poetry and Musick fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never since recovered the Admiration and Applauses that before attended them. Yet such as they are amongst us, they must be confess'd to be the softest and sweetest, the most general and most innocent Amusements of common Time and Life. They still find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They serve to revive and animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to allay or divert the violent Passions and Perturbations of the greatest and the busiest Men. And both these Effects are of equal Use to human Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager in a Calm or in a Storm, but is so to both when a little agitated by gentle Gales, and so the Mind, when moved by soft and easy Passions and Afflictions. I know very well, that many who pretend to be wise by the Forms of being grave, are apt to despise both Poetry and Musick as Toys and Trifles too light for the Use or Entertainment of serious Men. But whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these Charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own Counsel, for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into question: It may be thought at least an ill Sign, if not an ill Constitution, since some of the Fathers went so far, as to esteem the Love of Musick a Sign of Predestination, as a Thing divine, and reserved for the Felicities of Heaven it self. While this World lasts, I doubt not but the Pleasures and Requests of these two Entertainments will do so too, and happy those that content themselves with those, or any other so easy and so innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Human Life is, at the greatest and the best, but like a froward Child, that must be play'd with and humour'd a little to keep it quiet till it falls asleep, and then the Care is over.

MISCELLANEA.

T H E

THIRD PART.

C O N T A I N I N G

- I. *An ESSAY on POPULAR DISCONTENTS.*
- II. *An ESSAY upon HEALTH and LONG LIFE.*
- III. *A DEFENCE of the ESSAY upon ANCIENT and MODERN LEARNING.*

With some other P I E C E S.



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TO THE
READER.

THE *Two following Essays, Of Popular Discontents, and Of Health and long Life, were written many Years before the Author's Death: They were Revised and Corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a Third Miscellanea, to which some others were to have been added, if the latter part of his Life had been attended with any sufficient Degree of Health.*

For the Third Paper, relating to the Controversie about Ancient and Modern Learning, I cannot well inform the Reader upon what Occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the Author.

*The Two next Papers contain the Heads of Two Essays intended to have been written upon the Different Conditions of Life and Fortune;
and*

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and upon Conversation. I have directed they should both be Printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the First Draughts of any thing from this Author's Hand.

At the End I have added a few Translations from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, or rather Imitations, done by the Author above Thirty Years ago; whereof the First was Printed among other Eclogues of Virgil in the Year 1679, but without any Mention of the Author. They were indeed not intended to have been made publick, till I was informed of several Copies that were got Abroad, and those very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the Reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other Places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious Additions.

JONATHAN SWIFT.



O F

Popular Discontents.

S E C T. I.

AMONG several Differences or Distinctions which curious and baſie, or rather idle Men, have obſerved between the Races of Mankind and thoſe of their Fellow-Creatures, moſt have been by ſome diſputed, and few by all allowed. Thoſe chiefly inſiſted on have been ſomething peculiar in their Shape, Weeping, Laughter, Speech, Reaſon; but the Comptrollers of vulgar Opinion have pretended to find out ſuch a Similitude of Shape in ſome kind of Baboons, or at leaſt ſuch as they call Drills, that leaves little Difference beſides thoſe of Feature in Face, and of Hair on their Bodies, in both which Men themſelves are very different. They obſerve Tears (though not the Convulſions of Face by Weeping) in Stags and Tortoiſes, upon Approach of the fatal Knife; and that they cry at going out of the World, as well as Men at their coming in. For Speech, they pretend to doubt, whether the divers Sounds made by Animals may not have Diversity of Significations, as Words more articulate with us; and whether we can properly judge of their Diversity, ſince we find ſo little in the common Speech of ſome Nations, eſpecially thoſe about the *Cape of good Hope* and the Northern Parts of *Muſcovy*, where they are obſerved to drive their Trade of ſelling Furs without the Uſe of above twenty Words, even with thoſe that underſtand their Language. For the great Number of Words ſeems not natural, but introduced by the Variety of Paſſions, Actions, Poſſeſſions, Buſineſs, Entertainments in more civiliz'd Nations, and by long Courſe of Time under Civil Governments. Beſides, other Creatures are allowed to expreſs their moſt natural Wants and Paſſions by the Sounds they make as well as Men, which is all that is neceſſary in Speech; and none will diſpute Anger, Deſire, Love, Fear, to be livelier expreſs'd by us, than by the Lion, the Horſe, the Bull, the Buck; or Tenderneſs, more than by the Bleating of Ewes to their Lambs, or the Kindneſs of Turtles to their Mates. For articulate Sounds and Words, we meet them in Parrots and ſeveral other Birds; and if theirs are taught them, ſo are ours at firſt to Children; and though we uſually eſteem them in others to be only Repetition or Imitation, yet ſome Inſtances of the contrary have been remarked in our Age; and it appears by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors to have been believed by Ancients, that certain Birds in the *Indies* were commonly known not only to ſpeak as Parrots among us, but to talk and diſcourſe.

For Reason, that of Brutes, as Dogs, Horses, Owls, Foxes, but especially Elephants, is so common a Theam, that it needs no Instances, nor can well be illustrated beyond what *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Montagne*, and many others, have curiously written upon that Subject; nor can any Man's common Life pass, without Occasions of Remark, and even Wonder, upon what they may see every Day of this kind. So that of all those Distinctions mentioned, and usually produced, there is none left unquestioned by the Curious beside that of Laughter, which cannot, I think, or at least I know not to have been disputed, being proper and peculiar to Man, without any Traces or Similitude of it in any other Creature: And if it were always an Expression of good Humour, or being pleased, we should have Reason to value our selves more upon it; but 'tis moved by such different and contrary Objects and Affections, that it has gained little Esteem, since we laugh at Folly as well as Wit, at Accidents that vex us sometimes, as well as others that please us, and at the Malice of Apes, as well as the Innocence of Children; and the Things that please us most, are apt to make other sorts of Motions, both in our Faces and Hearts, and very different from those of Laughter.

But there remains yet one other Difference between us and the rest of our Fellow-Creatures, which though less taken Notice of in the usual Reasonings or Enquiries of this kind, yet seems to challenge a Rank and a Right as due and as undisputed as any of the others, which seems a very ill Effect of a very good Cause, a Thorn that ever grows with a Rose, and a great Debasing of the greatest Prerogative Mankind can pretend to, which is that of Reason: What I meant is, a certain Restlessness of Mind and Thought, which seems universally and inseparably annexed to our very Natures and Constitutions, unsatisfied with what we are, or what we at present possess and enjoy, still raving after something past or to come, and by Grievs, Regrets, Desires or Fears, ever troubling and corrupting the Pleasures of our Senses and of our Imaginations, the Enjoyments of our Fortunes, or the best Production of our Reasons, and thereby the Content and Happiness of our Lives.

This is the true, natural, and common Source of such personal Dissatisfactions, such Domestick Complaints, and such Popular Discontents, as afflict not only our private Lives, Conditions, and Fortunes, but even our Civil States and Governments, and thereby consummate the particular and general Infelicity of Mankind; which is enough complain'd of by all that consider it in the common Actions and Passions of Life, but much more in the Factions, Seditions, Convulsions, and fatal Revolutions that have so frequently, and in all Ages, attended all or most of the Governments in the World.

To these, of old, *Sparta* and *Athens* have been subject, as well as *Carthage* and *Rome*; the smaller Kingdoms of *Epire* and *Macedon*, as well as the great Empires of *Egypt* and *Persia*; the *Monarchies*, *Aristocracies*, and *Democracies* among the Gentiles, and even the *Theocracy* among the *Jews*, though one was instituted by God himself, and many of the others framed by the wisdom of mortal Men. In latter Ages, *Venice* and *Holland* have been infected by these Diseases, as well as *England* and *France*; the Kingdoms of the *Moors* in *Spain*, as well as those of the *Goths*; the Christian Governments, as well as the *Mahometan*; and those of the Reformed, like those of the *Roman* Faith.

This restless Humour, so general and natural to Mankind, is a Weed that grows in all Soils and under all Climates, but seems to thrive most and grow fastest in the best: 'Tis raised easier by the more sprightly Wits and livelier Imaginations, than by grosser and duller Conceptions; nor have the Regions of *Guinea* and *Muscovy* been so much over-run with it, as those of *Italy* and *Greece*. The most speculative Men are the most forecasting and most reflecting; and the more ingenious Men are, they are the more apt to trouble themselves.

From this original Fountain issue those Streams of Faction, that with some Course of Time and Accidents overflow the wisest Constitutions of Governments and Laws, and many times treat the best Princes and truest Patriots,

Patriots, like the worst Tyrants and most seditious Disturbers of their Country; and bring such Men to Scaffolds; that deserved Statues, to violent and untimely Deaths, that were worthy of the longest and the happiest Lives. If such as *Phalaris* and *Agathocles*, as *Marius* and *Catiline*, had fallen Victims to Fashion or to popular Rage, we should have little to wonder or complain; but we find the wisest, the best of Men, have been sacrificed to the same Idols. *Solon* and *Pythagoras* have been allow'd as such in their own and in succeeding Ages; and yet the one was banished and the other murdered by Factions that two ambitious Men had raised in Common-wealths, which those two wise and excellent Men themselves had framed. The two *Gracchi*, the truest Lovers of their Country, were miserably slain: *Scipio* and *Annibal*, the greatest and most glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other Ages, and the best Servants of those two great Common-wealths, were banish'd or disgraced by the Factions of their Countries: And to come nearer home, *Barnesvelt* and *de Witt* in *Holland*; Sir *Thomas Moore*, the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *England*, esteem'd the most extraordinary Persons of their Time, fell all bloody Sacrifices to the Factions of their Courts or their Countries.

There is no Theme so large and so easy, no Discourse so common and so plausible, as the Faults or Corruptions of Governments, the Miscarriages or Complaints of Magistrates; none so easily received, and spread, among good and well-meaning Men, none so mischievously raised and employ'd by ill, nor turned to worse and more disguised Ends. No Governments, no Times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all Men are wise, good, and easily contented. No civil or politic Constitutions, can be perfect or secure, whilst they are compos'd of Men, that are for the most part passionate, interested, unjust, or unthinking, but generally and naturally restless, and unquiet; discontented with the Present and what they have, raving after the Future or something they want, and thereby ever dispos'd and desirous to change.

This makes the first and universal Default of all Governments; and this made the Philosophers of old, instead of seeking or accepting the publick Magistracies or Offices of their Countries, employ their Time and Care to improve Men's Reasons, to temper their Affections, to allay their Passions, to discover the Vanity or the Mischief of Pride and Ambition, of Riches and of Luxury; believing the only Way to make their Countries happy and safe, was to make Men wise and good, just and reasonable. But as Nature will ever be too strong for Art, so these excellent Men succeeded as little in their Design, as Law-givers have done in the Frame of any perfect Government, and all of them left the World much as they found it, even unquiet, subject to Changes and Revolutions, as our Minds are to Discontents, and our Bodies to Diseases.

Another Cause of Distempers in State, and Discontents under all Governments, is the unequal Condition that must necessarily fall to the Share of so many and so different Men that compose them. In great Multitudes, few in comparison are born to great Titles or great Estates; few can be call'd to publick Charges and Employments of Dignity or Power, and few by their Industry and Conduct arrive at great Degrees of Wealth and Fortune; and every Man speaks of the Fair as his own Market goes in it. All are easily satisfied with themselves and their own Merit, though they are not so with their Fortune; and when they see others in better Condition whom they esteem less deserving, they lay it upon the ill Constitution of Government, the Partiality or Humour of Princes, the Negligence or Corruption of Ministers. The common sort of People always find Fault with the Times, and some must always have Reason, for the Merchant gains by Peace, and the Soldiers by War; the Shepherd by wet Seasons, and the Plough-man by dry: When the City fills, the Country grows empty; and while Trade increases in one Place, it decays in another. In such Variety of Conditions and Courses of Life, Mens Designs and Interests must be opposite ene to another,

ther, and both cannot succeed alike: Whether the Winner laughs or no, the Loser will complain, and rather than quarrel at his own Skill or Fortune, will do it with the Dice, or those he plays with, or the Master of the House. When any body is angry, some body must be in Fault; and those of Seasons which cannot be remedied, of Accidents that could not be prevented, of Mischances that could not be foreseen, are often laid upon the Government, and, whether right or wrong, have the same Effect of raising or encreasing the common and popular Discontents.

Besides the natural Propension, and the inevitable Occasions of Complaint from the Dispositions of Men, or Accidents of Fortune; there are others that proceed from the very Nature of Government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very just Exceptions. The Republicks of *Athens*, *Carthage* and *Rome*, so renowned in the World, and which have furnished Story with the greatest Actions and Persons upon the Records of Time, were but long Courses of Disorder and Vicissitude, perpetually rolling between the Oppression of Nobles, the Seditions of People, the Insolence of Soldiers, or Tyranny of Commanders. All Places and Ages of the World yield the same Examples; and if we travel as far as *China* and *Peru*, to find the best composed Frames of Government that seem to have been in the World, yet we meet with none that has not been subject to the same Convulsions, fallen at one time or other under the same Convulsions of State, either by Civil Dissensions, or by Foreign Invasions.

But how can it otherwise fall out, when the very *Idea's* of Government have been liable to Exceptions, as well as their actual Frames and Constitutions? The Republick of *Plato*, the Principality of *Hobbs*, the Rotation of *Oceana*, have been all indicted and found guilty of many Faults, or of great Infirmities. Nay, the very Kinds of Government have never yet been out of Dispute, but equal Faults have by some or other been laid to the Charge of them all: An absolute Monarchy ruins the People; one limited endangers the Prince; an Aristocracy is subject to Emulation of the Great, and Oppressions of the meaner sort; a Democracy to popular Tumults and Convulsions; and as Tyranny commonly ends in popular Tumults, so do these often in Tyranny, whilst Factions are so violent that they will trust any thing else rather than one another.

So as a perfect Scheme of Government seems as endless and as useless a Search, as that of the universal Medicine, or the Philosophers Stone; never any of them out of our Fancy, never any like to be in our Possession.

Could we suppose a Body Politick framed perfect in its first Conception or Institution, yet it must fall into Decays, not only from the Force of Accidents, but even from the very Rust of Time; and at certain Periods must be refurbished up, or reduced to its first Principles, by the Appearance and Exercise of some great Virtues or some great Severities. This the *Florentines* in their Republick termed *Ripigliare il Stato*; and the *Romans* often attempted it by introducing *Agrarian* Laws, but could never achieve it; they rather inflamed their Dissensions by new Feuds between the richer and poorer sort.

This is one universal Division in all States, which is between the Innocent and Criminals; and another between such as are in some measure contented with what they possess by Inheritance, or what they expect from their own Abilities, Industry, or Parsimony; and others, who dissatisfied with what they have, and not trusting to those innocent Ways of acquiring more, must fall to others, and pass from just to unjust, from peaceable to violent. The first desire Safety, and to keep what they have; the second are content with Dangers, in hope to get what others legally possess: One loves the present State and Government, and endeavours to secure it; the other desires to end this Game, and shuffle for a new: One loves fixed Laws, and the other arbitrary Power; yet the last, when they have gained enough by Factions and Disorders, by Rapine and Violence, come then to change their Principles with their Fortunes, and grow Friends to establish'd Orders and fixed Laws.

Laws. So the *Normans* of old, when they had divided the Spoils of the *English* Lands and Possessions, grew bold Defenders of the ancient *Saxon* Customs, or common Laws of the Kingdom, against the Encroachments of their own Kings. So of later Days it was observed, that *Cromwell's* Officers in the Army, who were at first for burning all Records, for levelling of Lands while they had none of their own, yet when afterwards they were grown rich and landed Men, they fell into the Praise of the *English* Laws, and to cry up *Magna Charta*, as our Ancestors had done with much better Grace.

But Laws serve to keep Men in Order when they are first well agreed and instituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Discontents, Disorders and Civil Dissensions, much more frequently arise from Want or Mischance in the last than in the former. Some excellent Law-giver, or Senate, may invent and frame some excellent Constitution of Government; but none can provide that all Magistrates or Officers necessary to conduct or support it shall be wise Men or good; or if they are both, shall have such Care and Industry, such Application and Vigour as their Offices require. Now, were the Constitution of any Government never so perfect, the Laws never so just; yet if the Admiration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid or too remiss, too negligent or severe, there will be more just Occasions given of Discontent and Complaint, than from any Weakness or Fault in the original Conception or Institution of Government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much Reason as other Themes of the like Nature, That those are generally the best Governments where the best Men govern; and let the Sort or Scheme be what it will, those are ill Governments where ill Men govern, and are generally employ'd in the Offices of State. Yet this is an Evil, to which all Things under the Sun are subject, not only by Accident; but even by natural Dispositions, which can very hardly be alter'd, nor ever were, that we read of, unless in that ancient Government of the *Chinese* Empire, established upon the deepest and wisest Foundations of any that appears in Story.

How can a Prince always chuse well such as he employs, when Mens Dispositions are so easily mistaken, and their Abilities too? How deceitful are Appearances? How false are Men's Professions? How hidden are their Hearts? How disguis'd their Principles? How uncertain their Humours? Many Men are good and esteem'd when they are private, ill and hated when they are in Office; honest and contented when they are poor, covetous and violent when they grow rich: They are bold one Day, and cautious another; active at one time of their Lives, and lazy the rest; sometimes pursue their Ambition, and sometimes their Pleasure; nay, among Souldiers, some are brave one Day, and Cowards another, as great Captains have told me on their own Experience and Observation. Gravity often pass'es for Wisdom, Wit for Ability; what Men say for what they think, and Boldness of Talk for Boldness of Heart; yet they are often found to be very different. Nothing is so easily cheated, nor so commonly mistaken, as vulgar Opinion; and many Men *Come out*, when they *Come into* great and publick Employments; the Weakness of whose Heads or Hearts would never have been discovered, if they had kept within their private Spheres of Life.

Besides, Princes or States cannot run into every Corner of their Dominions, to look out Persons fit for their Service, or that of the Publick: They cannot see far with their own Eyes, nor hear with their own Ears; and must for the most part do both with those of other Men, or else chuse among such smaller Numbers as are most in their Way; and these are such, generally, as make their Court, or give their Attendance, in order to advance themselves to Honours, to Fortunes, to Places and Employments; and are usually the least worthy of them, and better Servants to themselves than the Government. The Needy, the Ambitious, the Half-witted, the Proud, the Covetous, are ever restless to get into publick Employments, and many others that are uneasy or ill entertained at home. The Forward, the Busy,

the Bold, the Sufficient, pursue their Game with more Passion, Endeavour, Application, and thereby often succeed where better Men would fail. In the Course of my Observation, I have found no Talent of so much Advantage among Men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent and restless Passion and Pursuit for one or t'other: And whoever sets his Heart and his Thoughts wholly upon some one Thing, must have very little Wit, or very little Luck to fail. Yet all these cover their Ends with most worthy Preferences, and those noble Sayings, *That Men are not born for themselves, and must sacrifice their Lives for the Publick, as well as their Time and their Health*: And those who think nothing less are so used to say such fine Things, that such who truly believe them are almost ashamed to own it. In the mean time, the Noble, the Wise, the Rich, those that are easie in their Conditions or their Minds, those who know most of the World and themselves, are not only careless, but often averse from entering into Publick Charges or Employments, unless upon the Necessities of their Country, Commands of their Prince, or Instances of their Friends. What is to be done in this Case, when such as offer themselves, and pursue, are not worth having, and such as are most worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There's yet one Difficulty more, which sometimes arrives like an ill Season or great Barroness in a Country: Some Ages produce many great Men and few great Occasions; other Times, on the contrary, raise great Occasions, and few or no great Men: And that sometimes happens to a Country, which was said by the Fool of *Brederode*; who going about the Fields, with the Motions of one sowing Corn, was asked what he sowed? He said, I sow Fools; t'other replied, Why do you not sow Wisemen? Why, said the Fool, *C'est que la Terre ne les porte pas*. In some Places and Times, the Races of Men may be so decay'd, by the Infirmities of Birth itself, from the Diseases or Disaffection of Parents; may be so depraved by the Viciousness or Negligence of Education, by licentious Customs, and Luxuries of Youth, by ill Examples of Princes, Parents and Magistrates, or by lewd and corrupt Principles, generally infused and received among a People, that it may be hard for the best Princes or Ministers to find Subjects fit for the Command of Armies, or great Charges of the State; and if these are ill supplied, there will be always too just Occasion given for Exception and Complaints against the Government, though it be never so well framed and instituted.

These Defects and Infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the most dangerous. For when, upon any of these Occasions, Complaints and Discontents are sown among well-meaning Men, they are sure to be cultivated by others that are ill and interested, and who cover their own Ends under those of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves upon Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men upon the Simple and the Good; these easily follow, and are caught, while the others lay Trains, and pursue a Game, wherein they design no other Share, than of Toil and Danger to their Company, but the Gain and the Quarry wholly to themselves.

They blow up Sparks that fall in by Chance, or could not be avoided, or else throw them in where-ever they find the Stubble is dry: They find out Miscarriages where-ever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel first with the Officers, and then with the Prince or the State; sometimes with the Execution of Laws, and at others with the Institutions, how ancient and sacred soever. They make Fears pass for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; represent Misfortunes for Faults, and Mole-hills for Mountains; and by the Persuasions of the Vulgar, and Pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of their Country, at the same time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and set up their own. This raises a Faction between those Subjects that would support it, and those that would ruin it; or rather between those that possess the Honours

nours and Advantages of it, and those that under Pretence of Reforming, design only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the rest.

When the Fire is kindled, both Sides enflame it; all Care of the Publick is laid aside, and nothing is pursued but the Interest of the Factions: All Regard of Merit is lost in Persons employ'd, and those only chosen, that are true to the Party; and all the Talent required, is, to be Hot, to be Heady, to be Violent, of one side or other. When these Storms are raised, the Wife and the Good are either disgraced or laid aside, or retire of themselves, and leave the Scene free to such as are most eager or most active to get upon the Stage, or find most Men ready to help them up.

From these Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at last Seditions, which so often end in some fatal Periods of the best Governments, in so strong Convulsions and Revolutions of State; and many times make way for new Institutions and Forms, never intended by those who first began or promoted them; and often determine either in setting up some Tyranny at Home, or bringing in some Conquest from Abroad. For the Animosities and Hatred of the Factions grow so great, that they will submit to any Power, the most Arbitrary and Foreign, rather than yield to an opposite Party at Home; and are of the Mind of a great Man in one of our Neighbour Countries, who upon such a Conjunction said, If he must be eaten up, he would rather it should be by Wolves than by Rats.

It imports little, from what poor small Springs the Torrents of Faction first arise, if they are fed with Care and improved by Industry, and meet with Dispositions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the *Prasini* and *Veneti* was as Violent and Fatal at *Constantinople*, as that of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy*; though one began only upon the divided Opinions and Affections, about two publick Theatres, or Play-Houses, called the *Blew*, and the *Sea-Green*: Whereas t'other pretended the Right of Investing Bishops to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the Beginnings of Factions are, the Consequences are the same, and the Ends too of those chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the same Part in different Masks, and to pursue private Passions or Interests, under publick Pretences.

Upon the Survey of these Dispositions in Mankind, and the Conditions of Government, it seems much more reasonable to pity, than to envy the Fortunes and Dignities of Princes or great Ministers of State; and to lessen or excuse their venial Faults, or at least their Misfortunes, rather than to encrease or make them worse by ill Colours, and Representations. For, as every Prince should govern as He would desire to be governed if he were a Subject, so every Subject should obey as he would desire to be obeyed if he were a Prince; since this Moral Principle, of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the most undisputed and universally allowed of any other in the World, how ill soever it may be practised by particular Men.

It would be hard to leave Princes and States with so ill Prospects and Perspectives of Ease or Success in the Administration of their Governments, as these Reflections must afford them; and therefore I will not end this Essay, without some Offers at their Safety, by fixing some Marks like Lights upon a Coast, by which their Ship may avoid at least known Rocks or Sands, where Wrecks or Dangers have been usually observed: For, to those that come from Heaven by Storms, or the fatal Periods decreed above, all the World must submit.

The first Safety of Princes and States, lies in avoiding all Councils or Designs of Innovation in Ancient and Establish'd Forms and Laws, especially those concerning Liberty, Property, and Religion (which are the Possessions Men will ever have most at Heart) and thereby leaving the Channel of known and common Justice clear and undisturbed.

The Second, in pursuing the true and common Interest of the Nation they govern, without espousing those of any Party or Faction; or if these are so formed in a State, that they must incline to one or other, then to chuse
and

and favour that which is most Popular, or wherein the greatest or strongest part of the People appear to be engaged. For, as the End of Government seems to be *Salus Populi*, so the Strength of the Government is the Consent of the People; which made that Maxim of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*: That is, the Governours, who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either People or Armies, by which they Govern.

A Third, is the countenancing and introducing as far as is possible the Customs and Habits of Industry and Parsimony into the Countries they govern; for frugal and industrious Men are usually safe and friendly to the establish'd Government, as the idle and expensive are dangerous from their Humours or Necessities.

The last consists in preventing Dangers from Abroad; for foreign Dangers raise Fears at Home, and Fears among the People raise Jealousies of the Prince or State, and give them ill Opinions, either of their Abilities, or their good Intentions. Men are apt to think well of themselves and of their Nation, of their Courage and their Strength; and if they see it in Danger, they lay the Fault upon the Weakness, ill Conduct, or Corruption of their Governours, the ill Orders of State, ill Choice of Officers, or ill Discipline of Armies; and nothing makes a Discontent or Sedition so fatal at Home, as an Invasion, or the Threats and Prospect of one from Abroad.

Upon these four Wheels, the Chariot of State may in all Appearance drive easy and safe, or at least not be too much shaken by the usual Roughness of Ways, unequal Humours of Men, or any common Accidents: Further is not to be provided; for though the beginnings of great Fires are often discovered, and thereby others easily prevented with Care; yet some may be thrown in from Engines far off, and out of Sight; others may fall from Heaven; and 'tis hard to determine whether some Constellations of Celestial Bodies, or Inflammations of Air from Meteors or Comets, may not have a powerful Effect upon the Minds, as well as Bodies of Men, upon the Distempers and Diseases of both, and thereby upon Heats and Humours of vulgar Minds, and the Commotions and Seditions of a People who happen to be most subjected to their Influence: In such Cases when the Flame breaks out, all that can be done is to remove as fast as can be all Materials that are like to increase it, to employ all Ways and Methods of quenching it, to repair the Breaches and Losses it has occasioned, and to bear with Patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

S E C T. II.

I Cannot leave this Subject of Popular Discontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate Country has been infected by them, and their fatal Consequences, in the Miseries and deplorable Effects of so many Foreign and Civil Wars, as these have occasioned, and seem still to threaten: How of ten they have ruined or changed the Crown; how much Blood they have drawn of the bravest Subjects; how they have ravaged and defaced the noblest Island of the World, and which seems, from the happy Situation, the Temper of Climate, the Fertility of Soil, the Numbers and native Courage of the Inhabitants, to have been destined by God and Nature, for the greatest Happiness and Security at Home, and to give Laws, or Ballance at least, to all their Neighbours Abroad.

These Popular Discontents, with the Factions and Dissensions they have raised, made way for the *Roman*, *Saxon*, and *Norman* Conquests. These drew so much Blood, and made so great Desolations in the Barons Wars, during the Reigns of several Kings, till the Time of *Edward* the Third, upon Disputes

spites between Prerogative and Liberty, or the Rights of the Crown, and those of the Subject. These involved the Nation in perpetual Commotions or Civil Wars, from the Reign of *Richard* the Second to *Henry* the Seventh, upon the Disputes of Right and Title to the Crown, between the two Houses, or the Races of *Tork* and *Lancafter*, while the Popular Discontents at the present Reign, made way for the Succession of a new Pretender, more than any Regards of Right or Justice in their Title, which served only to cover the Bent and Humour of the People to such a Change. In the time of *Henry* the Eighth began the Differences of Religion, which tore the Nation into two mighty Factions, and under the Names of Papist and Protestant, struggled in their Bowels with many various Events and many Consequences, many fatal Effects and more fatal Dangers, till the *Spanish* Invasion in 1688. After which, the Balance of the Parties grew so unequal in Weight and Number, as to calm and secure the rest of *Queen Elizabeth's* Time: Yet before the End of their Reign began a new Faction in the State to appear and swell against the Establish'd Government of the Church, under Pretence of a further Reformation, after the Examples of *Geneva* or *Strasburgh*, from whence the chief of this Party, during the Flight or Banishment from the Cruelties of *Queen Mary's* Reign, drew their Protection and their Opinions, in Defiance of Ecclesiastical Powers and Dignities, as well as several Ceremonies, such as the Surplice, the Altar, and the Cross, with others yet more indifferent. This Faction increased in Number, and popular Vogue or Esteem, all the Reign of *King James*; and seeming to look either dangerously or unkindly upon the Crown, gave occasion to the Court of endeavouring to introduce into the Church and State some Opinions the most contrary to those of the Puritan, or Dissenting Faction; as that of Divine Right, and thereby more Arbitrary Power in Kings; and that of Passive Obedience in the Subjects. These Opinions or Pretences divided the Nation into Parties, so equal in Number or in Strength, by the Weight of the Establish'd Government on the one hand, and the popular Humour on the other, as produced those long Miseries, and fatal Revolutions of the Crown and Nation, between 1641 and 1660, when His Majesty's happy Restoration seemed to have given a final Period to all new Commotions or Revolutions in this Kingdom, and to all Discontents that were considerable enough to raise or foment any new Divisions. How they have been since revived, and so well improved; for what Ends, and with what Consequences upon the Safety, Honour, and Power of this Kingdom, let those Answer either to God or Man, who have been the Authors or Promoters of such Wise Councils, and such Noble Designs. 'Tis enough for me to have endeavoured the Union of my Country, whilst I continued in publick Employments; and to have left the busy Scene, in the fullest Career of Favour and of Fortune, rather than have any Part in the Divisions or Factions of our Nation, when I saw them grow incurable. A true and honest Physician is excused for leaving his Patient when he finds the Disease grown desperate, and can by his Attendance expect only to receive his own Fees, without any Hopes or Appearance of deserving them, or contributing further to his Health or Recovery.

A weak or unequal Faction in any State, may serve perhaps to enliven or animate the Vigour of a Government; but when it grows equal, or near proportioned in Strength or Number, and irreconcilable by the Animosity of the Parties, it cannot end without some violent Crisis and Convulsion of the State, and hardly without some new Revolution, and perhaps final Ruin of the Government, in case a Foreign Invasion enters upon the Breaches of Civil Distractions.

But such fatal Effects of popular Discontents, either past or to come, in this floating Island, will be a worthy Subject of some better History than has been yet written of *England*. I shall here only regret one unhappy Effect of our Discontents and Divisions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to disturb our Peace; which is, that they divert our greatest Councils from falling upon the Consultations

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and Pursuits of several Acts and Institutions, which seem to be the most useful and necessary for the common Interest and publick Good of the Kingdom, without Regard to any Partialities, which busie the Councils as well as Actions of all factious Times.

I shall therefore trace upon this Paper the rough Draught of some such Notions as I have had long and often in my Head, but never found a Season to pursue them, nor of late Years ever believed it could fall out in the Course of my Life. And having long since retired from all publick Employments, I shall with this Essay take Leave of all publick Thoughts.

The first Act I esteem of greatest and most general Use, if not Necessity, is, That whereas the Safety, Honour and Wealth of this Kingdom depends chiefly on our Naval Forces, a distinct and perpetual Revenue may be applied, and appropriated by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of Fifty Men of War, with ten thousand Seamen, to be always either at Sea, or ready in Port to sail upon all Occasions; that Navy to be so proportioned, by the several Rates of Ships, as may serve in Peace to secure our Trade from the Danger of all *Turkish* Pyracies, or sudden Insults or Insolencies of our Neighbours; may assert the Dominion and Safety of the *Narrow Seas*; and in time of War, may, with the Addition of thirty capital Ships more, compose a Fleet strong enough, with the Blessing of God and a just Cause, to fight a fair Battle with any Fleet the strongest of our Neighbours can pretend to set out: For I am of Opinion, That fourscore *English* Men of War well mann'd, with the Conduct of good Officers, and Hearts of our Seamen, may boldly engage the greatest of them, whenever they come to a close Fight; which the Built of our Ships, and Courage of our Seamen, is more proper and able to maintain than any other Nation of the World. The constant Charge of fifty such Ships may amount to six hundred thousand Pounds a Year; and if this exceeded the current Charge, the rest might be applied to repair old or build new Ships. One half might be appropriated to this Use out of the Customs, and the other half raised by some clear Tax upon the Houses or Lands of each Parish, collected by the Church-wardens each half Year, and by them paid unto the Sheriff of each Country, and by him into the Treasury of the Navy. This should be fixed in some Place of the City, and managed by three Commissioners, who should upon Salaries (and without Fees) be sworn to issue it out to no other Uses than those above-mentioned, and incur the Penalties of Treason in case they failed. Such a Tax would be insensible, and pass but as a small Quit-rent, which every Man would be content to pay towards the Guard of the Seas; the Money would circulate at home among our selves, and would secure and increase the vast Wealth of our Trade. But it is unaccountable what Treasures it would save this Nation, by preventing so many Wars or Quarrels abroad, as we have been exposed to by our Neighbours Insolencies, upon our being disarmed or ill provided at Sea. Nor would such a Fleet constantly maintained be of small Effect to poise any Factions or Discontents at home, but would at least leave us to compose our own Differences, or decide our Quarrels without the dangerous Intervention or Invasion of any foreign Power.

The second is, That whereas the Strength and Wealth of any Country consists chiefly in the Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, and these are much encouraged and increased by the Security of what Estates Men shall be able to gain by their Industry and Parsimony, or of what Foreigners shall be desirous to bring from abroad, upon any Dangers or Dislikes of their own Countries or Governments; an Act may pass for publick Registries of Land, by which all Purchasers or Mortgagees may be secured of all Monies they shall lay out upon such Occasions. I dare hardly venture to say how great Sums of Money I could have sent over during my Ambassies abroad, if I could have proposed any safe and easy Ways of securing them for the Owners, whereof many were resolved to follow their Effects, if they might have had this just Encouragement. I know very well how many Arguments will be raised against such an Act, and chiefly by the Lawyers, whose unreason-
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ble Gains arise from such Suits and Disputes as would be avoided by such an Institution. For this reason they will ever entangle any such Proposal not only with many Difficulties, but by their nice and subtil Reasonings will pretend even Impossibilities. I shall not here trouble my self to answer all I have heard, and all I believe they can say upon this Subject, farther than by one common Maxim, That whatever has been may be; and since we know this to have been practis'd with infinite Advantage ever since *Charles* the Fifth's Time, both in the *Spanish* and *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, no Man can pretend to doubt but with the same Sense, Application, and publick Intentions in our Government, it may likewise be establish'd here. There is something equivalent to it in *France*, which they call *Vendre par Decret*, and which ends all Disputes or Pretences; as likewise in *Scotland*: So as 'tis a very hard Calumny upon our Soil or Climate, to affirm that so excellent a Fruit which prospers among all our Neighbours, will not grow here.

Besides, there needs no more than to make such a Registry only voluntary, to avoid all the Difficulties that can be rais'd, and which are not too captious or too trivial to take Notice of. The Difference of Value between those Lands Men should chuse to register, and those left loose, would soon evince the Benefit of such an Act, as well as the Money it would draw from abroad.

One Argument I have met with from some Persons who always value themselves to their Country by Jealousies of the Crown, and that is the Encrease of Offices in the King's Disposal: But rather than such a Thing should fail, and if all Scruples must be satisfied, the Registers in each County may be chosen by the County Court, and their Patents may be always granted during good Behaviour.

Another Act which seems necessary or agreeable to our Constitution, and at all Seasons, both of Health and Distempers in the State, is a Provision for the better employing all those vast Sums of Monies, which are either rais'd every Year in this Kingdom for the Maintenance of the Poor, or bestow'd freely upon such charitable Uses. A great Part of this Treasure is now embezzled, lavished, or feasted away by Collectors and other Officers, or else so employ'd as rather to encrease than relieve the Poor; whereas if it were laid out in erecting Work-houses in each County, or in raising a Stock to find continual Work for such as should fill them (if any more speedy Way should be found to build them) not only the impotent Poor might be relieved, but the idle and able might be forced to labour, and others who wanted it might find Employment: And if this were turned chiefly upon our Woollen Manufacture (which ought to be ever the Staple Trade of *England*, as that of *Linnen* ought to be of *Ireland*) it would soon improve to such a Height as to our-sell our Neighbours, and thereby advance the Proportion of our exported Commodities to such a degree, as would by the Return encrease the Treasure of this Kingdom above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other Means, than a mighty Over-balance of our exported to our imported Commodities. All other Cares or Projects to bring in Coin or Bullion, are either insignificant or temporary, if not wholly vain, and sometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought that some more effectual Way might be found out for preventing or suppressing of common Thefts and Robberies (which so often endanger or disquiet the Inhabitants, and insect the Trade of this Kingdom) than those which are of common use among us. The sanguinary Laws upon these Occasions, as they are not of ancient Date, so they seem not to agree with the Mildness and Clemency of our Government in the rest of its Composition. Besides, they deprive us of so many Subjects, whose Lives are every Year cut off in great Numbers, and which might otherwise be of use to the Kingdom, whose Strength consists in the Number, and Riches, and the Labour of the Inhabitants. But the worst Part of this Custom or Institution is, that they have hitherto proved without Effect, and have nei-

ther extinguish'd the Humour and Practice of such Crimes, nor lessen'd the Number of such Criminals amongst us; Nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever should, in a Nation whose known and general Character is, to be more fearless of Death and Dangers than any other, and more impatient of Labour or of Hardships, either in suffering the Want, or making the Provision of such Food and Cloaths as they find or esteem necessary for the Sustainance of their Lives, or for the Health, and Strength, and Vigour of their Bodies. This appears among all our Troops that serve abroad, as indeed their only weak Side, which makes the Care of the Belly the most necessary Piece of Conduct in the Commander of an *English* Army, who will never fail of fighting well if they are well fed. For these Reasons it may seem probable, that the more natural and effectual Way in our Nation to prevent or suppress Thefts and Robberies, were, to change the usual Punishment by short and easy Deaths, into some others of painful and uneasy Lives, which they will find much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to suffer than the other. Therefore a Liberty might at least be left to the Judges and the Bench, according to the Difference of Persons, Crimes and Circumstances, to inflict either Death, or some notorious Mark, by sitting the Nose, or such Brands upon the Cheeks, which can never be effaced by Time or Art; and such Persons to be condemned either to Slavery in our Plantations abroad, or Labour in Work-houses at home; and this either for their Lives, or certain Numbers of Years, according to the Degrees of their Crimes. However, the distinguish'd Marks of their Guilt would be not only perpetual Ignominy, but discover them upon Escapes, and warn others of their Danger where-ever they are encounter'd.

I do not esteem it wholly improbable, that some such Laws as these fore-mentioned may at one time or other be considered, at least in some Parliament that shall be at Leisure from the Necessity or Urgency of more pressing Affairs, and shall be cool and undistemper'd from those Heats of Faction or Animosity of Parties, as have in our Age been so usual within those Walls, and in so great a measure diverted the Regards and Debates of publick and lasting Institutions, to those of temporary Provisions or Expedients upon present Occasions and Conjunctures in the Courses or Changes of our Government, or Distempers of the State. But there are some other Institutions I am content to trace out upon this Paper, that would make me appear either visionary or impertinent, if I should imagine they could either be resolved in our Age and Country, or be made farther Use of, than for the present Humour of our Times to censure and to ridicule them: Yet I will so much expose my self to both, as to confess I esteem them of great Consequence and publick Utility to the Constitution of our Kingdom, either for the present or succeeding Ages, which ought to be the Care of Laws and publick Institutions; and so I shall leave them for the next *Utopian* Scheme, that shall be drawn by as good a Man and as great a Wit as the last was left us.

The first is, that no Man should hold or enjoy at a time more than one Civil Office or Military Command in the Kingdom: Which is grounded upon this Principle, That as the Life of all Governments is the due Execution of them, so the Life and Perfection of all Governments is the due Administration; and that by the different Degrees of this, the several Forms of the other are either raised or debas'd more than by any Difference in their original Institutions: So that perhaps it may pass among so many other Maxims in the Politick, *That those are the best Governments which are best administer'd, and where all Offices are supplied by Persons chosen to them with just Distinction of Merit, and Capacity for discharging them, and of Application to do it honestly and sufficiently.* That which seems, in my Age, to have in great measure deprived our Government of this Advantage, has not been only the Partiality of Princes and Ministers in the Choice of Persons employ'd, or their Negligence and Want of Distinction, upon which it is usually laid; but also the common

common Ambition or Avarice of those who are chosen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an Office, apply their Thoughts to the Execution of it, but are presently diverted by the Designs of getting another, and a Third; and very often he that has three, is as unquiet and discontented, and thereby grows as troublesome a Pretender, as when he had none at all. Whereas, if every Man were sure to have but one at a Time, he would, by his Application and Sufficiency in that, endeavour to deserve a greater in some kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One Objection may be made against such a Law, and but one alone that I know of, besides those of particular Interest; which is, That many Offices in State are of so small Revenue as not to furnish a Man with what is sufficient for the Support of his Life, or Discharge of his Place. But the Degrees of what is called Sufficient or Necessary are very many, and differ according to the Humour and Conceptions of several Men; and there is no Office so small, that some or other will not be content to execute, for the Profit, the Credit, or perhaps for the Business or Amusement, which some are as needy of as they are of the other two. Besides, if Offices were single, there would be more Persons employ'd in a State, and thereby the fewer left of that restless Temper, which raises those private Discontents, that under the Mask of publick Good, of reforming Abuses, or redressing Grievances (to which perhaps the Nature of all Government is incident) raise Factions that ripen into the greatest Disturbances and Revolutions.

The Second of these three Imaginary Constitutions is raised by the Speculation, how much the Number of Inhabitants falls below what the Extent of our Territory, and Fertility of our Soil, makes it capable of entertaining and supporting with all Necessaries and Conveniences of Life. Our People have not only been drained by many Civil or Foreign Wars, and one furious devouring Pestilence, within these fifty Years, but by great Numbers of *English* resorting into *Ireland* upon the Desolations arrived there. Yet these are transitory Taxes upon the Bodies of Men, as the Expences of War are upon their Estates; arrive casually, and continue but for certain Periods. There are others perpetual, and which are, like constant Rents, paid every Year out of the Stock of People in this Kingdom; such as are drained off by furnishing the Colonies of so many Plantations in the *West-Indies*, and so great Navigations into the *East*, as well as the *South*; which Climates are very dangerous and fatal to Tempers born and bred in one so different as ours. Besides, the vast Trade by Sea we drive into all Parts of the World, by the Inclemency of Seasons, the Inconstancy and Rage of that Element, with the venturous Humour of our Mariners, costs this Island many brave Lives every Year, which, if they staid at Home, might serve the present Age, and go far to supply the next. The only Way of recovering such Losses, is by the Invitation of Foreigners, and the Increase of Natives among us.

The first is to be made by the easiness of Naturalization, and or Freedom in our Corporations, by allowing such Liberty in different Professions of Religion, as cannot be dangerous to the Government. By a Registry of Lands, which may furnish easy Securities for Money, that shall be brought over by Strangers; but chiefly by the Wisdom, Steadiness, and Safety of our Government, which makes the great Resort of Men, who live under Arbitrary Laws and Taxes, or in Countries subject to sudden and frequent Invasions of Ambitious and Powerful Neighbours.

For the Increase of our Natives, it seems as reasonable a Case among us, as it has been in so many other Constitutions of Laws, especially the ancient *Jews* and *Romans*, who were the most Populous of any other Nations, upon such Extent of Territory as they possess'd in *Syria* and *Italy*.

This Care is reduced into those two Points, upon which all Laws seem to turn, Reward, and Punishment: The first is provided by Privileges granted to a certain number of Children, and by Maintenance allotted out of the Publick, to such as too much burthen poor Families: For these, Publick

Workhouses in each Country would be a certain Provision, which might furnish Work for all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal Persons, and thereby infinitely encrease the Stock of Riches of the Nation, which arises more out of the Labour of Men, than the Growth of the Soil. The other Hinge of Punishment might turn upon a Law, whereby all Men who did not marry by the Age of Five and Twenty, should pay the third Part of their Revenue to some publick Uses, such as the Building of Ships and publick Workhouses, and raising a Stock for Maintaining them. This seems more necessary in our Age, from the late Humour (introduced by Licentiousness) of so many Mens Marrying late or never, and would not only encrease our People, but also turn the Vein of that we call Natural to that of Legal Propagation, which has ever been encouraged and honoured, as the other has been disfavoured by all Institutions of Government.

The next of my Visions upon this publick Theme, concerns the improving our Races of Nobility and Gentry, as 'other does encreasing the Number of our People in general. I will not say they are much impaired within these forty or fifty Years, though I have heard others lament it, by their Observation of many successive Parliaments, wherein they have served, but no Man I suppose will doubt they are capable of being improved, or think that Care might not as well be taken for Men by publick Institutions, as it is for the Races of other Creatures by private Endeavours. The Weakness of Children, both in their Bodies and Minds, proceeds not only from such Constitutions or Qualities in the Parents, but also from the ill Consequences upon Generation, by Marriages contracted without Affection, Choice or Inclination; (which is allowed by Naturalists upon Reason as well as Experience.) These Contracts would never be made, but by Men's Avarice, and Greediness of Portions with the Women they marry, which is grown among us to that Degree, as to surmount and extinguish all other Regards or Desires: So that our Marriages are made, just like other common Bargains and Sales, by the meer Consideration of Interest or Gain, without any of Love or Esteem, of Birth or of Beauty it self, which ought to be the true Ingredients of all Happy Compositions in this kind, and of all generous Productions. Yet this Custom is of no ancient Date in *England*, and I think I remember, within less than fifty Years, the first Noble Families that married into the City for downright Money, and thereby introduced by degrees this publick Grievance, which has since ruined so many Estates by the necessity of giving great Portions to Daughters; impaired many Families by the weak or mean Productions of Marriages, made without any of that Warmth and Spirit that is given them, by Force of Inclination and Personal Choice; and extinguish'd many great Ones by the Aversion of the Persons who should have continued them. I know no Remedy for this Evil under our Sun, but a Law providing that no Woman of what Quality soever shall have the Value of above Two Thousand Pounds for her Portion in Marriage, unless she be an Heiress; and that no such, above the Value of Two Hundred Pounds a Year, shall marry to any but younger Brothers.

By this, Mens general Hopes of making their Fortunes by Wives, would be turned to other Courses, and Endeavours more useful to the Publick; Young Women would not be exposed by the Want of Fortunes, and despair of marrying without them: Noble Families would not be exhausted by Competition with those of meaner Allay, in the Point of Portions: Marriages would be made upon more natural Motives, and more generous Considerations, than meer dirty Interest, and Encrease of Riches, without Measure or End. Shape and Beauty, Birth and Education, Wit and Understanding, gentle Nature and agreeable Humour, Honour and Virtue, would come in for their Share in such Contracts, as must always have so great an Influence upon all Mens Lives, and their Posterity too. Besides, some little Damps would be given to that pestilent Humour and general Mistake of placing all Felicity in the endless Degrees of Riches, which, beyond a certain

tain Proportion suited to each Rank, neither conduce to Health nor Pleasure, to Ease nor Conscience. The Love of Money is the Root of all Evil: Which is a Truth that both Morals and Politicks, Philosophy and Divinity, Reason and Experience, all agree in; and which makes the common Disquiets of private Life, and the Disturbances of Publick Governments.

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra Fames?*

I have not heard any Part of our ancient Constitutions so much complained of, as the Judicature of the House of Lords, as it is of late and usually exercised; which if carried on a little farther, and taken notice of by the House of Commons, as much as it seems to be resented by many of their Members, may, for ought I know, at one time or other, occasion a Breach between the two Houses: An Accident that would be at all times pernicious, but might in some Conjunctions prove fatal to the publick Affairs and Interests of the Kingdom.

I will not enter upon the Question, Whether this Judicature has been as ancient as the Conqueror's Time; or whether it has been exercised in Civil Causes only since the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; both which I have known asserted by intelligent Persons. But let the Antiquity be what it will, and the Complaints against it never so just, I do not see how the Course or Abuses of it can be changed or remedied, but by the House of Peers. And for this Reason, as well as many others, it would be wise and generous, by some Rules of their own, to give some Redress to the Complaints which are made upon this Occasion. Whether this may be done by Restriction of Cases that shall be admitted to come before them, as to Number or Quality; or by giving more Consideration to the Opinion of the Judges, or Weight to their Voices; I leave to those who better know the Constitutions and Forms of that House than I do. But this must be allowed, That till the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Peerage of *England* was very different from what it has been since, or is at present, by the Number and Quality of the Peers; and for that reason, by the Credit they had in the Kingdom. For, besides that they were anciently few, and of very Noble Families, they were generally possessed of great Estates, which rendered them less subject to Corruption: And Men were better content to have their Rights and Possessions determined by Persons who had great ones of their own to lose, and which they were in danger of by the ill Administration of their Offices.

Now, besides the Points of Right or Antiquity, and some others a little controverted between the Lords and Commons, the vulgar Complaints against the present Exercise of this Judicature, are; First, the Number of the Peers being very great, in proportion to what it formerly was; then, the Youth of so many Peers as sit in Judgment upon the weightiest Causes, wherein Knowledge and Experience seem necessary to judge; and the last, That too many in that House have very small, and some perhaps no Estate of Land in *England*, contrary to the Original Institution.

The two first of these Complaints might be remedied, if the Lords should please to make it an Order of their House, That no Person should have a Voice in the Judgment of any Cause, before he were Thirty Years of Age. The last cannot be remedied otherwise than by Course of Time, and a fixed Resolution in the Crown to create no Baron who shall not at the same time entail Four Thousand Pounds a Year upon that Honour whilst it continues in his Family; a Viscount, Five; an Earl, Six; a Marquis, Seven; and a Duke, Eight. By this the Respect and Honour of the Peerage of *England* would be in some Measure restored, not only in Points that concern their Judicature, but in that Interest and Influence among the People, by which they have often been so great a Support to the Crown in the Reigns of wise and good Kings, and to the Liberties of the People in the unfortunate Times of weak Princes, or evil and ambitious Ministers.

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These Speculations, how imaginary soever, are at least grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual Interest of the Nation, without any Regards of Parties and Factions, of the Necessities of particular Times or Occasions of Government. And such constant Interests of *England* there are, which last through all Successions of Kings, or Revolutions of State. Of this Kind, and the most general as well as most necessary, are, The Greatness of our Naval Forces; the Balance of our Neighbouring Powers; and our own Union, by the Extinction of Factions among us. For our Nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but it self; and if the Number and Weight of it roll one way, upon the greatest Changes that can happen, yet *England* will still be safe; which is the End of all publick Institutions, as it was of the *Roman* Laws; *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. To this, all differing Opinions, Passions and Interests should strike Sail, and like proud swelling Streams, though running different Courses, should yet all make haste into the Sea of common Safety, from whence their Springs are said to be derived; and which would otherwise overflow and lay waste the Countries where they pass. Without this Pretence at least, no Faction would ever swell so high as to endanger a State; for all of them gain their Power and Number to their Party, by pretending to be derived from Regards of common Safety, and of tending towards it in the surest or directest Course.

The Comparison between a State and a Ship has been so illustrated by Poets and Orators, that 'tis hard to find any Point wherein they differ; and yet they seem to do it in this, That in great Storms and rough Seas, if all the Men and Lading roll to one Side, the Ship will be in danger of Oversetting by their Weight: But on the contrary, in the Storms of State, if the Body of the People, with the Bulk of Estates, roll on one Way, the Nation will be safe. For the rest, the Similitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a Ship goes to Sea, bound to a certain Port, with a great Cargo, and a numerous Crew who have a Share in the Lading as well as Safety of the Vessel; let the Weather and the Gale be never so fair, yet if, in the Course she steers, the Ships Crew apprehend they see a Breach of Waters, which they are sure must come from Rocks or Sands, that will endanger the Ship unless the Pilot changes his Course: If the Captain, the Master, the Pilot, with some other of the Officers, tell them they are Fools or ignorant, and not fit to advise; That there is no Danger, and it belongs to themselves to steer what Course they please, or judge to be safe; and that the Business of the Crew is only to obey: If however the Crew persist in their Apprehensions of the Danger, and the Officers of the Ship in the Pursuit of their Course, till the Seamen will neither stand to their Tackle, hand Sails, or suffer the Pilot to steer as he pleases; what can become of this Ship, but that either the Crew must be convinced by the Captain and Officers, of their Skill and Care, and Safety of their Course; or these must comply with the common Apprehensions and Humours of the Seamen; or else they must come at last to fall together by the Ears, and so throw one another over-board, and leave the Ship in the Direction of the strongest, and perhaps to perish, in case of hard Weather, for want of Hands.

Just so in a State, Divisions of Opinion, though upon Points of common Interest or Safety, yet if pursued to the Height, and with Heat or Obstinacy enough on both Sides, must end in Blows and Civil Arms, and by their Success leave all in the Power of the strongest, rather than the wisest or the best Intentions; or perhaps expose it to the last Calamity of a Foreign Conquest. But nothing besides the Uniting of Parties upon one common Bottom, can save a State in a Tempestuous Season; and every one, both of the Officers and Crew, are equally concerned in the Safety of the Ship, as in their own, since in that alone theirs are certainly involved.

And thus I have done with these idle politick Visions, and at the same time with all publick Thoughts as well as Employments: Very sorry that the Speculations of my Mind, or Actions of my Life, have been of no greater Service to my Country, which no Man, I am sure, has loved better, or esteemed more; though my own Temper, and the Distempers of our Nation, prevailed with me to leave their Service sooner than perhaps was either necessary for me, or common with other Men. But my Age now, as well as my Temper and long fixed Resolutions, has made me unfit for any farther Flights; which I leave to younger and abler Persons: Wishing them the same Intentions and greater Successes, and Conjunctions more favourable to such publick and generous Thoughts and Designs.



O F

H E A L T H

A N D

L O N G L I F E.

I Can truly say, that of all the Paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my Time, I have never written any thing for the Publick without the Intention of some publick Good. Whether I have succeeded or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themselves. Good Intentions are at least the Seed of good Actions; and every Man ought to sow them, and leave it to the Soil and the Seasons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gathers the Fruit.

I have chosen those Subjects of these Essays, wherein I take Human Life to be most concerned, and which are of most common Use, or most necessary Knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform Men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the Occasion to consider more than they do.

This is a sort of Instruction that no Man can dislike, since it comes from himself, and is made without Envy or Fear, Constraint or Obligation, which make us commonly dislike what is taught us by others. All Men would be glad to be their own Masters, and should not be sorry to be their own Scholars, when they pay no more for their Learning than their own Thoughts, which they have commonly more store of about them than they know what to do with, and which, if they do not apply to something of good Use, nor employ about something of ill, they will trifle away upon something vain or impertinent: Their Thoughts will be but waking Dreams, as their Dreams are sleeping Thoughts. Yet of all sorts of Instructions, the best is gained from our own Thoughts as well as Experience: For though a Man may grow learned by other Mens Thoughts, yet he will grow wise or happy only by his own; the Use of other Mens towards these Ends, is but to serve for one's own Reflections; otherwise they are but like Meat swallowed down for Pleasure or Greediness, which only charges the Stomach, or fumes into the Brain, if it be not well digested, and thereby turned into the very Mass or Substance of the Body that receives it.

Some Writers in casting up the Goods most desirable in Life, have given them this Rank, Health, Beauty, and Riches. Of the first I find no Dispute, but to the two others much may be said: For Beauty is a Good that

makes

makes others happy rather than one's self; and how Riches should claim so high a Rank I cannot tell, when so great, so wise, and so good a Part of Mankind have in all Ages preferred Poverty before them. The *Therapeutæ* and *Ebionites* among the *Jews*, the primitive Monks and modern Friars among Christians, so many *Dervises* among the *Mohometans*, the *Brachmans* among the *Indians*, and all the ancient Philosophers; who, whatever else they differed in, agreed in this of despising Riches, and at best esteeming them an unnecessary Trouble or Encumbrance of Life: So that when they are to be reckoned among Goods or Evils, is yet left in Doubt.

When I was young, and in some idle Company, it was proposed that every one should tell what their three Wishes should be, if they were sure to be granted: Some were very pleasant, and some very extravagant; mine were Health, and Peace, and fair Weather; which, though out of the way among young Men, yet perhaps might pass well enough among old: They are all of a Strain, for Health in the Body is like Peace in the State and Serenity in the Air: The Sun, in our Climate at least, has something so reviving, that a fair Day is a kind of a sensual Pleasure, and of all others the most innocent.

Peace is a publick Blessing, without which no Man is safe in his Fortunes, his Liberty, or his Life: Neither Innocence or Laws are a Guard or Defence; no Possessions are enjoyed but in Danger or Fear, which equally lose the Pleasure and Ease of all that Fortune can give us. Health is the Soul that animates all Enjoyments of Life, which fade and are tasteless, if not dead, without it: A Man starves at the best and the greatest Tables, makes Faces at the noblest and most delicate Wines, is old and impotent in *Sevagli* of the most sparkling Beauties, poor and wretched in the midst of the greatest Treasures and Fortunes: With common Diseases Strength grows decrepit, Youth loses all Vigour, and Beauty all Charms; Musick grows harsh, and Conversation disagreeable; Palaces are Prisons, or of equal Confinement; Riches are useless, Honour and Attendance are cumbersome, and Crowns themselves are a Burthen: But if Diseases are painful and violent, they equal all Conditions of Life, make no difference between a Prince and a Beggar; and a Fit of the Stone or the Colick puts a King to the Rack, and makes him as miserable as he can do the meanest, the worst, and most criminal of his Subjects.

To know that the Passions or Distempers of the Mind make our Lives unhappy, in spite of all Accidents and Favours of Fortune, a Man perhaps must be a Philosopher; and requires much Thought, and Study, and deep Reflections. To be a *Stoick*, and grow insensible of Pain, as well as Poverty or Disgrace, one must be perhaps something more or less than a Man, renounce common Nature, oppose common Truth and constant Experience. But there needs little Learning or Study, more than common Thought and Observation, to find out, that ill Health loses not only the Enjoyments of Fortune, but the Pleasures of Sense, and even of Imagination; and hinders the common Operations both of Body and Mind from being easy and free. Let Philosophers reason and differ about the chief Good or Happiness of Man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they please; but there is no Mistake so gross, or Opinion so impertinent (how common soever) as to think Pleasures arise from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the Impression given us of Objects, rather than from the Disposition of the Organs that receive them. The various Effects of the same Objects upon different Persons, or upon the same Persons at different Times, make the contrary most evident. Some Distempers make Things look yellow, others double what we see; the commonest alter our Tastes and our Smells, and the very Foulness of Ears changes Sounds. The Difference of Tempers, as well as of Age, may have the same Effect, by the many Degrees of Perfection or Imperfection in our original Tempers, as well as of Strength or Decay, from the Differences of Health and of Years. From all which 'tis easy, without being a great Naturalist, to conclude, that our Percepti-

ons are formed, and our Imaginations raised upon them, in a very great measure, by the Dispositions of the Organs through which the several Objects make their Impressions; and that these vary according to the different Frame and Temper of the others; as the Sound of the same Breath passing through an Oaten Pipe, a Flute, or a Trumpet.

But to leave Philosophy, and return to Health. Whatever is true in Point of Happiness depending upon the Temper of the Mind, 'tis certain that Pleasures depend upon the Temper of the Body; and that to enjoy them, a Man must be well himself, as the Vessel must be found to have your Wine sweet; for otherwise, let it be never so pleasant and so generous, it loses the Taste; and pour in never so much, it all turns sour, and were better to let alone. Whoever will eat well, must have a Stomach; who will resist the Pleasure of Drinks, must have his Mouth in Taste; who will enjoy a beautiful Woman, must be in Vigour himself; Nay, to find any Felicity, or take any Pleasure in the greatest Advantages of Honour and Fortune, a Man must be in Health. Who would not be covetous, and with Reason, if this could be purchased with Gold? Who not ambitious, if it were at the Command of Power, or restored by Honour? But alas! a *White Staff* will not help gouty Feet to walk better than a common Cane; nor a *Blue Ribband* bind up a Wound so well as a Fillet: The Glitter of Gold or of Diamonds will but hurt sore Eyes, instead of curing them; and an aking Head will be no more eased by wearing a Crown than a common Night-cap.

If Health be such a Blessing, and the very Source of all Pleasure, it may be worth the Pains to discover the Regions where it grows, the Springs that feed it, the Customs and Methods by which 'tis best cultivated and preserved. Towards this End, it will be necessary to consider the Examples or Instances we meet with of Health and long Life, which is the Consequence of it; and to observe the Places, the Customs, and the Conditions of those who enjoy'd them in any degree extraordinary; from whence we may best guess at the Causes, and make the truest Conclusions.

Of what passed before the Flood, we know little from Scripture it self, besides the Length of their Lives; so as I shall only observe upon that Period of Time, that Men are thought neither to have eat Flesh nor drunk Wine before it ended: For to *Noah* first seems to have been given the Liberty of feeding upon living Creatures, and the Prerogative of planting the Vine. Since that Time we meet with little Mention of very long Lives in any Stories either Sacred or Prophane, besides the *Patriarchs* of the *Hebrews*, the *Brachmans* among the old *Indians*, and the *Brazilians* at the Time that Country was discovered by the *Europeans*. Many of these were said then to have lived two hundred, some three hundred Years. The same Terms of Life are attributed to the old *Brachmans*; and how long those of the *Patriarchs* were is recorded in Scripture. Upon all these I shall observe, that the *Patriarchs* Abodes were not in Cities, but in open Countries and Fields: That their Lives were Pastoral, or employed in some sort of Agriculture: That they were of the same Race, to which their Marriages were generally confined: That their Diet was simple, as that of the Ancients is generally represented, among whom Flesh or Wine was seldom used but at Sacrifices or solemn Feasts. The *Brachmans* were all of the same Races, lived in Fields and in Woods after the Course of their Studies was ended, and fed only upon Rice, Milk, or Herbs. The *Brazilians*, when first discovered, lived the most natural original Lives of Mankind, so frequently described in ancient Countries, before Laws, or Property, or Arts made Entrance among them; and so their Customs may be concluded to have been yet more simple than either of the other two. They lived without Business or Labour, further than for their necessary Food, by gathering Fruits, Herbs, and Plants: They knew no Drink but Water; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common Thirst or Appetite; were not troubled with either
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publick or domestick Cares, nor knew any Pleasures but the most simple and natural.

From all these Examples and Customs it may probably be concluded, that the common Ingredients of Health and long Life (where Births are not impair'd from the Conception by any derived Infirmities of the Race they come from) are, great Temperance, open Air, easy Labour, little Care, Simplicity of Diet, rather Fruits and Plants than Flesh, which easier corrupts; and Water, which preserves the radical Moisture, without too much increasing the radical Heat: Whereas Sickness, Decay, and Death proceed commonly from the one preying too fast upon the other, and at length wholly extinguishing it.

I have sometimes wondered, that the Regions of so much Health and so long Lives were all under very hot Climates; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the strongest and most vigorous Bodies. But weaker Constitutions may last as long as the strong, if better preserv'd from Accidents; so *Venice* Glafs, as long as an earthen Pitcher, if carefully kept; and for one Life that ends by meer Decay of Nature or Age, Millions are intercepted by Accidents from without or Diseases within; by untimely Deaths or Decays; from the Effects of Excess and Luxury, immoderate Repletion or Exercise; the preying of our Minds upon our Bodies by long Passions or consuming Cares, as well as those Accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps most betray'd to all these Dangers by great Strength and Vigour of Constitution, by more Appetite and larger Fare in colder Climates: In the warm, Excesses are found more pernicious to Health, and so more avoided; and if Experience and Reflection do not cause Temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the Faintness of Appetite. I can find no better Account of a Story Sir *Francis Bacon* tells, of a very old Man, whose Customs and Diet he enquired; but he said he observed none besides eating before he was hungry and drinking before he was dry; for by that Rule he was sure never to eat or drink much at a Time. Besides, the Warmth of Air keeps the Pores open, and by continual Perspiration breathes out those Humours which breed most Diseases, if in cooler Climates it be not helpt by Exercise. And this I take to be the Reason of our *Engliss* Constitutions finding so much Benefit by the Air of *Montpelier*, especially in long Colds or Consumptions, or other lingering Diseases; though I have known some who attributed restoring of their Health there as much to the Fruits as the Air of that Place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the Climate of *Brazil* more propitious to Health than in other Countries: For, besides what was observed among the Natives upon the first *European* Discoveries, I remember Don *Francisco de Melo*, a *Portugal* Ambassador in *England*, told me, it was frequent in his Country for Men spent with Age or other Decays, so as they could not hope for above a Year or two of Life, to ship themselves away in a *Brazil* Fleet, and after their Arrival there to go on a great Length, sometimes of twenty or thirty Years, or more, by the Force of that Vigour they recovered with that Remove. Whether such an Effect might grow from the Air, or the Fruits of that Climate, or by approaching nearer the Sun, which is the Fountain of Life and Heat, when their natural Heat was so far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old Man's Life were worth the Pains, I cannot tell: Perhaps the Play is not worth the Candle.

I do not remember, either in Story or modern Observation, any Examples of long Life common to any Parts of *Europe*, which the Temper of the Climate has probably made the Scene of Luxury and Excesses in Diet. *Greece* and *Rome* were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for those Customs, when they were not known in *Asia* nor *Africk*; and how guilty our colder Climates are in this Point, beyond the warmer of *Spain* and *Italy*, is but too well known. It is common among *Spaniards* of the best Quality, not to have tasted pure Wine at forty Years old. 'Tis an Honour to their Laws, that a Man loses his Testimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and

I never was more pleas'd with any Reply, than that of a *Spaniard*; who having been asked whether he had a good Dinner at a Friend's Houſe, ſaid, *Si Sennor a via ſabrado*; Yes, Sir, for there was ſomething leiſt. The great Trade in *Italy*, and Reſort of Strangers, eſpecially of *Germans*, has made the Uſe of Wine ſomething more frequent there, though not much among the Perſons of Rank, who are obſerv'd to live longer at *Rome* and *Madrid*, than in any other Towns of *Europe*, where the Qualities of the Air force them upon the greateſt Temperance, as well as Care and Precaution. We read of many Kings very long liv'd in *Spain*, one I remember that reign'd above ſeventy Years. But *Philip de Comines* obſerves, that none in *France* had lived to threeſcore, from *Charlemain's* Time to that of *Lewis* the Eleventh: Whereas in *England*, from the Conqueſt to the End of Queen *Elizabeth* (which is a much ſhorter Period of Time) there have reign'd five Kings and one Queen, whereof two lived ſixty five Years, two ſixty eight, and two reach'd at leaſt the ſeventieth Year of their Age. I wonder'd upon this Subject when *Monſieur Pomponne*, *French* Ambaſſador in my Time at the *Hague*, a Perſon of gr-at Worth and Learning, as well as Obſervation, told me there, that in his Life he had never heard of any Man in *France* that arriv'd at a hundred Years; and I could imagine no Reaſon for it, unleſs it be that the Excellence of their Climate, ſubject neither to much Cold nor Heat, gave them ſuch a Livelineſs of Temper and Humour, as diſpos'd them to more Pleaſures of all Kinds than in other Countries. And I doubt Pleaſures too long continued, or rather too frequently repeated, may ſpend the Spirits, and thereby Life too faſt, to leave it very long; like blowing a Fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but laſt the leſs. For as Pleaſures periſh themſelves in the uſing, like Flowers that fade with gathering; ſo 'tis neither natural nor ſafe to continue them long, to renew them without Appetite, or ever to provoke them by Arts or Imagination where Nature does not call; who can beſt tell us when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were ſo wiſe as to conſult her. But a ſhort Life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with Sorrow or Pain.

For the Honour of our Climate it has been obſerv'd by ancient Authors, that the *Britains* were longer liv'd than any other Nation to them known. And in modern Times there have been more and greater Examples of this kind than in any other Countries of *Europe*. The Story of old *Parr* is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of *Darbyſhire* to the Court in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, and lived to a hundred and fifty three Years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the Change of Country Air and Diet for that of the Town had not carried him off, perhaps untimely at that very Age. The late *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was a Perſon of great Learning and Obſervation, as well as of Truth, told me ſeveral Stories very extraordinary upon this Subject; one, of a Counteſs of *Deſmond*, married out of *England* in *Edward* the Fourth's Time, and who lived ſar in King *James's* Reign, and was counted to have died ſome Years above a hundred and forty; at which Age ſhe came from *Briſtol* to *London* to beg ſome Relief at Court, having long been very poor by the Ruin of that *Iriſh* Family into which ſhe was married.

Another he told me was of a Beggar at a Bookſeller's Shop, where he was ſome Weeks after the Death of Prince *Henry*; and obſerving thoſe that paſſ'd by, he was ſaying to his Company, That never ſuch a Mourning had been ſeen in *England*: This Beggar ſaid, No, never ſince the Death of Prince *Arthur*. My Lord *Leiceſter* ſurpriz'd, ask'd what ſhe meant, and whether ſhe remember'd it: She ſaid, very well: And upon his more curious Enquiry told him that her Name was *Rainsford*, of a good Family in *Oxfordſhire*: That when ſhe was about twenty Years old, upon the Falſeneſs of a Lover ſhe fell diſtract-ed; how long ſhe had been ſo, nor what paſſ'd at that Time, ſhe knew not: That when ſhe was thought well enough to go abroad, ſhe was ſain to beg for her Living: That ſhe was ſome time at this Trade before ſhe

recovered any Memory of what she had been, or where bred: That when this Memory returned, she went down into her Country, but hardly found the Memory of any of her Friends she had left there; and so returned to a Parish in *Southwark*, where she had some small Allowance among other Poor, and had been for many Years; and once a Week walked into the City, and took what Alms were given her. My Lord *Leicester* told me, He sent to inquire at the Parish, and found their Account agree with the Woman's: Upon which he order'd her to call at his House once a Week, which she did for some Time; after which he heard no more of her. This Story raised some Discourse upon a Remark of some in the Company, That mad People are apt to live long. They alledg'd Examples of their own Knowledge: But the Result was, that if it were true, it must proceed from the natural Vigour of their Tempers, which disposed them to Passions so violent, as ended in Frenzies: And from the great Abstinence and Hardships of Diet they are forced upon by the Methods of their Cure, and Severity of those who had them in Care; no other Drink but Water being allowed them, and very little Meat.

The last Story I shall mention from that Noble Person, upon this Subject, was of a Morrice-dancer in *Herefordshire*; whereof he said, he had a Pamphlet still in his Library, written by a very ingenious Gentleman of that Country: And which gave an Account, how such a Year of King *James's* Reign, there were about the Country a Sett of Morrice-dancers, composed of Ten Men who danced, a Maid *Marian*, and a Tabor and Pipe; and how these Twelve one with another made up Twelve hundred Years. 'Tis not so much, that so many in one small County should live to that Age, as that they should be in Vigour and in Humour to travel and to dance.

I have in my Life met with two of above a hundred and twelve; whereof the Woman had passed her Life in Service; and the Man in common Labour, till he grew old and fell upon the Parish. But I met with one who had gone a much greater Length, which made me more curious in my Enquiries. 'Twas an old Man who begged usually at a lonely Inn upon the Road in *Staffordshire*; who told me, He was a hundred twenty four Years old: That he had been a Soldier in the *Cales* Voyage under the Earl of *Essex*, of which he gave me a sensible Account. That after his Return, He fell to labour in his own Parish, which was about a Mile from the Place where I met him. That he continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when he broke one of his Ribs, by a Fall from a Cart, and being thereby disabled, he fell to beg. This agreeing with what the Master of the House told me was reported and believed by all his Neighbours, I asked him what his usual Food was; He said, Milk, Bread and Cheese, and Flesh, when it was given him. I asked what he used to drink; He said, O Sir, we have the best Water in our Parish that is in all the Neighbourhood: Whether he never drank any thing else? He said, Yes, if any Body gave it him, but not otherwise. And the Host told me, He had got many a Pound in his House, but never spent one Penny. I asked him, if he had any Neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his Fellow-Soldier at *Cales*, and was three Years older; but he had been most of his Time in a good Service, and had something to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my Life, above a hundred Years old, brought as Witnesses upon Tryals of Titles, and Bounds of Land: But have observed most of them to have been of *Darbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, or *Torkshire*, and none above the Rank of common Farmers. The oldest I ever knew any Persons of Quality, or indeed any Gentleman either at home or abroad, was fourscore and twelve. This added to all the former Recites or Observations, either of long-lived Races or Persons in any Age or Country, makes it easy to conclude, that Health and long Life are usually Blessings of the Poor, not of the Rich, and the Fruits of Temperance, rather than of Luxury and Excess. And indeed if a rich Man does not in many Things live like

like a Poor, he will certainly be the worse for his Riches: If he does not use Exercise, which is but voluntary Labour; if he does not restrain Appetite by Choice, as the other does by Necessity: If he does not practise sometimes even Abstinence and Fasting, which is the last Extream of Want and Poverty: If his Cares and his Troubles encrease with his Riches, or his Passions with his Pleasures; he will certainly impair in Health, whilst he improves his Fortunes, and lose more than he gains by the Bargain; since Health is the best of all human Possessions, and without which the rest are not relished or kindly enjoyed.

It is observable in Story, that the ancient Philosophers lived generally very long; which may be attributed to their great Temperance, and their Freedom from common Passions, as well as Cares of the World. But the Friars in many Orders seem to equal them in all these, and yet are not observed to live long: So as some other Reason may be assigned: I can give none, unless it be the great and constant Confinement of the last, and Liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their Persons to their Cloisters (which is not universal among them) but their Condition of Life, so tied to Rules, and so absolutely subject to their Superiours Commands, besides, the very Confinement of their Minds and Thoughts to a certain Compass of Notions, Speculations and Opinions. The Philosophers took the greatest Liberty that could be; and allowed their Thoughts, their Studies and Inventions, the most unconfin'd Range over the whole Universe. They both began and continued their Profession and Condition of Life at their own Choice, as well as their Abodes. Whereas among the Friars, though they may be voluntary at first, yet after their Vows made, they grow necessary, and thereby confin'd. Now 'tis certain, that as nothing damps or depresses the Spirits like great Subjection or Slavery, either of Body or Mind; so nothing nourishes, revives and fortifies them like great Liberty. Which may possibly enter among other Reasons, of what has been observed about long Life being found more in *England*, than in others of our Neighbour Countries.

Upon the general and particular Surveys already made, it may seem that the mountainous or barren Countries are usually the Scenes of Health and long Life: That they have been found rather in the Hills of *Palestine* and *Arcadia*, than in the Plains of *Babylon* or of *Thessaly*: And among us in *England*, rather upon the Peak of *Darbyshire*, and the Heaths of *Staffordshire*, than the fertile Soils of other Countries, that abound more in People and in Riches. Whether this proceeds from the Air being clearer of gross and damp Exhalations, or from the meaner Condition, and thereby harder Fare, and more simple Diet; or from the stronger Nourishment of those Grains and Roots which grow in dry Soils; I will not determine: But think it is evident from common Experience, that the Natives and Inhabitants of hilly and barren Countries, have not only more Health in general, but also more Vigour than those of the Plains, or fertile Soils; and usually exceed them even in Size and Stature. So the largest Bodies of Men that are found in these Parts of *Europe*, are the *Switzers*, the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and the Northern *Irish*. I remember King *Charles* the Second (a Prince of much and various Knowledge, and curious Observation) upon this Subject, falling in Discourse, asked me, What could be the Reason, that in mountainous Countries the Men were commonly larger, and yet the Cattle of all sorts smaller than in others. I could think of none, unless it were, that Appetite being more in both, from the Air of such Places, it happened, that by the Care of Parents in the Education of Children, these seldom wanted Food of some sort or other, enough to supply Nature, and satisfy Appetite, during the Age of their Growth, which must be the greater, by the Sharpness of Hunger, and Strength of Digestion in drier Airs: For Milk, Roots, and Oats, abound in such Countries, though there may be Scarcity of other Food or Grain. But the Cattle, from the Shortness of Pasture and of Fodder, have hardly enough to feed in Summer; and very often want in Winter, even necessary Food for Sustainance of Life; many are starved, and the

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rest stunted in their Growth, which after a certain Age never advances. Whether this be a good Reason, or a better may be found, I believe one Part of it will not be contested by any Man that tries; which is, that the open dry Air of hilly Countries gives more Stomach than that of Plains and Vallies, in which Cities are commonly built, for the Convenience of Water, of Trade, and the Plenty of Fruits and Grains produced by the Earth, with much greater Increase and less Labour, in softer than in harder Grounds. The Faintness of Appetite in such Places, especially in great Cities, makes the many Endeavours to relieve and provoke it by Art, where Nature fails: And this is one great Ground of Luxury, and so many, and various, and extravagant Inventions to heighten and improve it: Which may serve perhaps for some Refinement in Pleasure; but not at all for any Advantages of Health or of Life: On the contrary, all the great Cities, celebrated most, by the Concourse of Mankind, and by the Inventions and Customs of the greatest and most delicate Luxury, are the Scenes of the most frequent and violent Plagues, as well as other Diseases. Such are in our Age, *Grand-Cairo, Constantinople, Naples, and Rome*; though the exact and constant Care in this last, helps them commonly to escape better than the others.

This introduces the Use, and indeed the Necessity, of Physick in great Towns and very populous Countries; which remoter and more barren or desolate Places are scarce acquainted with. For in the Course of common Life, a Man must either often Exercise, or Fast, or take Physick, or be sick; and the Choice seems left to every one as he likes. The two first are the best Methods and Means of preserving Health: The Use of Physick is for restoring it, and curing those Diseases which are generally caused by the Want or Neglect of the others; but is neither necessary, nor perhaps useful, for confirming Health, or to the Length of Life, being generally a Force upon Nature; though the End of it seems to be rather assisting Nature, than opposing it in its Course.

How ancient, how general the Study or Profession of this Science has been in the World, and how various the Practice, may be worth a little Enquiry and Observation, since it so nearly concerns our Healths and Lives. *Greece* must be allowed to have been the Mother of this, as much or more than of other Sciences, most whereof were transplanted thither from more ancient and more Eastern Nations. But this seems to have first risen there, and with good Reason: For *Greece* having been the first Scene of Luxury we meet with in Story, and having thereby occasioned more Diseases, seemed to owe the World that Justice of providing the Remedies. Among the more simple and original Customs and Lives of other Nations it entered late, and was introduced by the *Grecians*. In Ancient *Babylon*, how great and populous soever, no Physicians were known, nor other Methods for the Cure of Diseases, besides Abstinence, Patience, Domestick Care; or when these succeeded not, exposing the Patient in the Market, to receive the Instruction of any Persons that passed by, and pretended by Experience or Enquiries to have learned any Remedies for such an Illness. The *Persian* Emperors sent into *Greece* for the Physicians they needed, upon some Extremity at first, but afterwards kept them residing with them. In *Old Rome* they were long unknown; and after having enter'd there, and continued for some time, they were all banish'd, and return'd not in many Years, till their Fondness of all the *Grecian* Arts and Customs restored this, and introduced all the rest among them; where they continu'd in Use and Esteem, during the Greatness of that Empire. With the Rise and Progress of the fierce Northern Powers and Arms, this, as well as all other Learning, was in a manner extinguish'd in *Europe*. But when the *Saracen* Empire grew to such a Height in the more Eastern and Southern Parts of the World, all Arts and Sciences, following the Traces of Greatness and Security in States or Governments, began to flourish there, and this among the rest. The *Arabians* seem to have first retrieved and restored it in the *Mahometan* Dominions; and the *Jews* in *Europe*, who were long the chief Professors of it in the *Gothick* Kingdoms; having

having been always a Nation very Mercurial, of great Genius and Application to all sorts of Learning after their Dispersion; till they were discouraged by the Persecutions of their Religion and their Persons, among most of the Christian States. In the vast Territories of *India* there are few Physicians, or little esteemed, besides some *Europeans*, or else of the Race either of *Jews* or *Arabs*.

Through these Hands and Places this Science has passed with greatest Honour and Applause: Among others it has been less used or esteemed.

For the Antiquity of it, and Original in *Greece*, we must have Recourse to *Æsculapius*, who lived in the Age before the *Trojan War*, and whose Son *Macaon* is mentioned to have assisted there; but whether as a Physician or a Surgeon, I do not find: How simple the Beginnings of this Art were, may be observed by the Story, or Tradition of *Æsculapius* going about the Country with a Dog and a She-Goat always following him; both which he used much in his Cures; the first for licking all ulcered Wounds, and Goat's Milk for Diseases of the Stomach and the Lungs. We find little more recorded of either his Methods or Medicines; though he was so successful by his Skill, or so admir'd for the Novelty of his Profession, as to have been honoured with Statues, esteemed Son of *Apollo*, and worshipped as a God.

Whoever has accounted the God of Physick, the Prince of this Science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been *Hippocrates*. He flourished in the Time of the first renowned Philosophers of *Greece* (the chief of whom was *Democritus*) and his Writings are the most ancient of any that remain to Posterity: For those of *Democritus* and others of that Age are all lost, tho' many were preserved till the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and perhaps something later; and 'tis probable were suppress'd by the pious Zeal of some Fathers, under the first Christian Emperor. Those of *Hippocrates* escaped this Fate of his Age, by being esteemed so useful to human Life, as well as the most Excellent upon all Subjects he treats. For he was a great Philosopher and Naturalist, before he began the Study of Physick, to which both those are perhaps necessary. His Rules and Methods continued in Practice as well as Esteem, without any Dispute, for many Ages, till the Time of *Galen*: And I have heard a great Physician say, That his Aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontroll'd of any that Science has produced. I will judge but of one, which in my Opinion has the greatest Race and Height both of Sense and Judgment that I have read in so few Words, and the best expressed. *Arts longa, vita brevis, Experientia fallax, Occasio præceps, Judicium difficile*. By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable Person, we may easily judge how great a Genius he was, and how perfectly he understood both Nature and Art.

In the Time of *Adrian*, *Galen* began to change the Practice and Methods of Physick, derived to that Age from *Hippocrates*; and those of his new Institution continue generally observed to our Time. Yet *Paracelsus*, about two hundred Years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole Scheme of *Galen*, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the Use of Chymical Medicines; and has not wanted his Followers and Admirers ever since, who have in some measure compounded with the *Galenists*, and brought a mixt Use of Chymical Medicines into the present Practice.

Doctor *Harvey* gave the first Credit, if not Rise, to the Opinion about the Circulation of the Blood, which was expected to bring in great and general Innovations into the whole Practice of Physick; but has had no such Effect. Whether the Opinion has not had the Luck to be so well believed as proved: Sense and Experience having not well agreed with Reason and Speculation: Or, whether the Scheme has not been pursued so far, as to draw it into Practice: Or, whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some Propositions in the Mathematicks, how true and demonstrative soever, I will not pretend to determine.

These great Changes or Revolutions in the Physical Empire have given Ground to many Attacks that have been made against it, upon the Score of its

its Uncertainty, by several wise and learned Men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. *Montagne* has written a great deal, and very ingeniously, upon this Point; and some sharp *Italians*: And many Physicians are too free upon the Subject, in the Conversation of their Friends. But as the noble *Athensian* Inscription told *Demetrius*; That he was in so much a God, as he acknowledged himself to be a Man: So we may say of Physicians, that they are the greater, in so much as they know and confess the Weakness of their Art. 'Tis certain however, that the Study of Physick is not achieved in any eminent degree, without very great Advancements in other Sciences: So that whatever the Profession is, the Professors have been generally very much esteemed upon that Account, as well as of their own Art, as the most learned Men of their Ages; and thereby shared with the two other great Professions in those Advantages most commonly valued, and most eagerly pursued; whereof the Divines seem to have had the most Honour, the Lawyers the most Money, and the Physicians the most Learning. I have known in my Time, at least five or six, that besides their general Learning, were the greatest Wits in the Compass of my Conversation. And whatever can be said of the Uncertainty of their Art, or Disagreement of its Professors; they may, I believe, confidently undertake; that when Divines arrive at certainty in their Schemes of Divinity; or Lawyers in those of Law; or Politicians in those of Civil Government: The Physicians will do it likewise in the Methods and Practice of Physick; and have the Honour of finding out the universal Medicine, at least as soon, as the Chymists shall the Philosopher's Stone.

The great Defects in this excellent Science, seem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the Professors Application (especially since *Galen's* Time) running so much upon Method, and so little upon Medicine; and in this to have added themselves so much to Composition, and neglected too much the Use of Simples, as well as the Enquiries and Records of Specifick Remedies

Upon this Occasion, I have sometimes wonder'd why a Registry has not been kept in the Colleges of Physicians, of all such as have been invented by any Professors of every Age, found out by Study or by Chance, learned by Enquiry, and approved by their Practice and Experience. This would supply the want of Skill and Study: Arts would be improved by the Experience of many Ages, and derived by the Succession of Ancestors. As many Professions are tied to certain Races in several Nations, so this of Physick has been in some; by which Parents were induced to the Cares of improving and augmenting their Knowledge, as others do their Estates; because they were to descend to their Posterity, and not die with themselves, as Learning does in vulgar Hands. How many Methods as well as Remedies are lost, for want of this Custom in the Course of Ages! And which perhaps were of greater Effect, and of more common Benefit than those that, succeeding in their Places, have worn out the Memory of the former, either by Chance or Negligence, or different Humours of Persons and Times.

Among the *Romans* there were four Things much in use, whereof some are so far out of Practice in ours, and other late Ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their Names: These were, *Bathing*, *Fumigation*, *Friktion*, and *Jaluzion*. The First, though not wholly disused amongst us, yet is turned out of the Service of Health, to that of Pleasure; but may be of excellent Effect in both. It not only opens the Pores, provokes Sweat, and thereby allays Heat; supples the Joints and Sinews; unwearies and refreshes more than any thing, after too great Labour and Exercise; but is of great Effect in some acute Pains, as of the Stone and Colick; and disposes to Sleep, when many other Remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good Effects of any Natural Baths may be imitated by the Artificial, if composed with Care and Skill of able Naturalists or Physicians.

Fumigation, or the Use of Scents, is not, that I know, at all practised in our modern Physick, nor the Power and Virtues of them considered among us: Yet they may have as much to do Good, for ought I know, as to do Harm,

and contribute to Health as well as to Diseases; which is too much felt by Experience in all that are infectious, and by the Operations of some Poisons that are received only by the Smell. How reviving as well as pleasing some Scents of Herbs or Flowers are, is obvious to all: How great Virtues they may have in Diseases, especially of the Head, is known to few, but may be easily conjectured by any thinking Man. What is recorded of *Democritus*, is worth remarking upon this Subject; That being spent with Age, and just at the Point of Death; and his Sister bewailing that he should not live till the Feast of *Ceres*, which was to be kept three or four Days after; he called for Leaves of new Bread to be brought him, and with the Steam of them under his Nose prolonged his Life till the Feast was past, and then died. Whether a Man may live some time, or how long, by the Steam of Meat, I cannot tell: But the Justice was great, if not the Truth, in that Story of a Cook, who observing a Man to use it often in his Shop, and asking Money because he confessed to save his Dinner by it, was adjudged to be paid by the Chinking of his Coin. I remember, that walking in a long Gallery of the *Indian House at Amsterdam*, where vast Quantities of Mace, Cloves and Nutmegs were kept in great open Chests ranged all along one Side of the Room, I found something so reviving by the perfumed Air, that I took Notice of it to the Company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were sensible of the same Effect. Which is enough to shew the Power of Smells and their Operations both upon Health and Humour.

Friktion is of great and excellent Use, and of very general Practice in the Eastern Countries, especially after their frequent Bathings: It opens the Pores, and is the best Way of all forced Perspiration; is very proper and effectual in all Swellings and Pains of the Joints, or others in the Flesh, which are not to be drawn to a Head and break. 'Tis a Saying among the *Indians*, That none can be much troubled with the Gout who have Slaves enough to rub them; and is the best natural Account of some Stories I have heard of Persons who were said to cure several Diseases by Stroaking.

Jactations were used for some Amusement and Allay in great and constant Pains, and to relieve that Intranquillity which attends most Diseases, and makes Men often impatient of lying still in their Beds. Besides, they help or occasion Sleep, as we find by the common Use and Experience of rocking froward Children in Cradles, or dandling them in their Nurfes Arms. I remember an old Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, who had been accustomed to Hammocks in *Brazil*, and used them frequently all his Life after, upon the Pains he suffered by the Stone or Gout; and thought he found Ease and was allured to sleep by the constant Motion or Swinging of those airy Beds, which was assisted by a Servant, if they moved too little by the Springs upon which they hung.

In *Egypt* of old, and at this Time in *Barbary*, the general Method of Cures in most Diseases is by burning with a hot Iron; so as the Bodies of their Slaves are found often to have many Scars upon them remaining of those Operations. But this and other Uses and Effects of Fire I have taken Notice enough of in an Essay upon the *Indian Cure by Moxa* in the Gout.

The ancient native *Irish*, and the *Americans*, at the Time of the first *European Discoveries* and Conquests there, knew nothing of Physick beyond the Virtues of Herbs and Plants. And in this the most polish'd Nation agrees in a great measure with those that were esteem'd most barbarous; and where the Learning and Voluptuousness are as great as were the native Simplicity and Ignorance of the others. For in *China*, though their Physicians are admirable in the Knowledge of the Pulse, and by that, in discovering the Causes of all inward Diseases; yet their Practice extends little further in the Cures beyond the Methods of Diet, and the Virtues of Herbs and Plants either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the Course of my Life, I have often pleas'd or entertain'd my self with observing the various and fantastical Changes of the Diseases generally complained of, and of the Remedies in common Vogue, which were like Birds of Passage,

Passage, very much seen or heard of at one Season, and disappeared at another, and commonly succeeded by some of a very different Kind. When I was very young, nothing was so much feared or talk'd of as Rickets among Children, and Consumptions among young People of both Sexes. After these the Spleen came in play, and grew a formal Disease: Then the Scurvy, which was the general Complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various Guises. After these, and for a Time, nothing was so much talked of as the Ferment of the Blood, which passed for the Cause of all sorts of Ailments, that neither Physicians nor Patients knew well what to make of. And to all these succeeded Vapours, which serve the same Turn, and furnish Occasion of Complaint among Persons whose Bodies or Minds ail something, but they know not what; and among the *Chinese* would pass for Mists of the Mind or Fumes of the Brain, rather than Indispositions of any other Parts. Yet these employ our Physicians, perhaps more than other Diseases, who are fain to humour such Patients in their Fancies of being ill, and to prescribe some Remedies, for fear of losing their Practice to others that pretend more Skill in finding out the Cause of Diseases, or Care in advising Remedies, which neither they nor their Parents find any Effect of, besides some Gains to one, and Amusement to the other. This, I suppose, may have contributed much to the Mode of going to the Waters either cold or hot upon so many Occasions, or else upon none besides that of Entertainment, and which commonly may have no other Effect. And 'tis well if this be the worst of the frequent Use of those Waters, which, though commonly innocent, yet are sometimes dangerous, if the Temper of the Person or Cause of the Indisposition be unhappily mistaken, especially in People of Age.

As Diseases have changed Vogue, so have Remedies in my Time and Observation. I remember at one time the taking of Tobacco, at another the drinking of warm Beer, proved for universal Remedies; then swallowing of Pebble-Stones, in Imitation of Falconers curing Hawks. One Doctor pretended to help all Heats and Fevers, by drinking as much cold Spring-Water as the Patient could bear; at another time, swallowing a Spoonful of Powder of Sea-bisquet after Meals was infallible for all Indigestion, and so preventing Diseases. Then Coffee and Tea began their successive Reigns. The Infusion or Powder of Steel have had their Turns, and certain Drops of several Names and Compositions: But none that I find have established their Authority, either long or generally, by any constant and sensible Successes of their Reign, but have rather passed like a Mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the most convenient or graceful while it lasts; and begins to dislike in both those Respects when it goes out of Fashion.

Thus Men are apt to play with their Healths and their Lives, as they do with their Cloaths; which may be the better excused, since both are so transitory, so subject to be spoiled with common Use, to be torn by Accidents, and at best to be so soon worn out. Yet the usual Practice of Physick among us runs still the same Course, and turns in a manner wholly upon Evacuation, either by Bleeding, Vomits, or some sort of Purgation; though it be not often agreed among Physicians in what Cases or what Degrees any of these are necessary; nor among other Men, whether any of them are necessary or no. *Montagne* questions whether Purging ever be so, and from many ingenious Reasons: The *Chinese* never let Blood; and for the other, 'tis very probable that Nature knows her own Wants and Times so well, and so easily finds her own Relief that Way, as to need little Assistance, and not well to receive the common Violences that are offered her. I remember three in my Life and Observation who were as downright killed with Vomits as they could have been with Daggers; and I can say for my self, upon an Accident very near mortal, when I was young, that sending for the two best Physicians of the Town, the first prescribed me a Vomit, and immediately sent it me: I had the Grace or Sense to refuse it till the other came, who told me if I had taken it I could not have lived half an Hour. I observed a Consult of Physicians, in a Fever of one of my near Friends, perplexed

plexed to the last degree whether to let him Blood or no, and not able to resolve, till the Course of the Disease had declared it self, and thereby determined them. Another of my Friends was so often let Blood by his first Physician, that a second who was sent for questioned whether he would recover it : The first persisted, that Blood must be drawn till some Good appeared; the other affirmed, that in such Diseases the whole Mass was corrupted, but would purify again when the Accident was past, like Wine after a Fermentation, which makes all in the Vessel thick and foul for a Season, but when that is past, grows clear again of it self. So much is certain, that it depends a great deal upon the Temper of the Patient, the Nature of the Disease in its first Causes, upon the Skill and Care of the Physician to decide whether any of these Violences upon Nature are necessary or no, and whether they are like to do Good or Harm.

The rest of our common Practice consists in various Compositions of innocent Ingredients, which feed the Hopes of the Patient, and the Apothecary's Gains, but leave Nature to her Course, who is the sovereign Physician in most Diseases, and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch Accidents ; where they know no Specifick Remedies, to prescribe Diets ; and above all to prevent Disorders from the Stomach, and take Care that Nature be not employed in the Kitchen, when she should be in the Field to resist her Enemy ; and that she should not be weakened in her Spirits and Strength, when they are most necessary to support and relieve her. 'Tis true, Physicians must be in danger of losing their Credit with the Vulgar, if they should often tell a Patient he has no need of Physick, and prescribe only Rules of Diet or common Use ; most People would think they had lost their Fee : But the first Excellence of a Physician's Skill and Care, is discovered by resolving whether it be best in the Case to administer any Physick or none, to trust to Nature or to Art ; and the next, to give such Prescriptions, as if they do no Good, may be sure to do no Harm.

In the midst of such Uncertainties of Health and of Physick, for my own part I have in the general Course of my Life, and of many acute Diseases, as well as some habitual, trusted to God Almighty, to Nature, to Temperance or Abstinence, and the Use of common Remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like Proverbs by long Observation and Experience, either of my own, or such Persons as have fallen in the Way of my Observation or Enquiry.

Among the Plants of our Soil and Climate, those I esteem of greatest Virtue and most friendly to Health are *Sage*, *Rue*, *Saffron*, *Alehoof*, *Garlick* and *Eldar*. *Sage* deserves not only the just Reputation it has been always in, of a very wholesom Herb in common Uses, and generally known ; but is admirable in Consumptive Coughs, of which I have cured some very desperate, by a Draught every Morning of Spring Water, with a Handful of *Sage* boiled in it, and continued for a Month. I do not question that if it were used as Tea, it would have at least in all kinds as good an Effect upon Health, if not of so much Entertainment to the Taste, being perhaps not so agreeable ; and I had Reason to believe when I was in *Holland*, that vast Quantities of *Sage* were carried to the *Indies* yearly, as well as of Tea brought over from those Countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent Use for all Illness of the Stomach, that proceed from cold or moist Humours ; a great Digerter and Restorer of Appetite ; dispels Wind, helps Perspiration, drives out ill Humours, and thereby comes to be so much prescribed, and so commonly used in pestilent Airs, and upon Apprehensions of any Contagion. The only Ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent Use, which may lessen and impair the natural Heat of the Stomach, by the greater Heat of an Herb very hot and dry ; and therefore the Juice made up with Sugar into small Pills, and swallowed only two or three at Nights or Mornings, and only when there is Occasion, is the most innocent Way of using it.

Saffron is of all others the safest and most simple Cordial, the greatest Reviver of the Heart and Chearer of the Spirits, and cannot be of too common

mon Use in Diet, any more than in Medicine. The Spirit of *Saffron* is of all others the noblest and most innocent, and yet of the greatest Virtue. I have known it restore a Man out of the very Agonies of Death, when left by all Physicians as wholly desperate. But the Use of this and all Spirits ought to be employ'd only in Cases very urgent, either of Decays or Pains; for all Spirits have the same Effect with that mentioned of *Rue*, which is by frequent Use to destroy, and at last to extinguish the natural Heat of the Stomach; as the frequent drinking Wine at Meals does in a degree, and with Time, but that of all strong Waters more sensibly and more dangerously. Yet a long Custom of either cannot be suddenly broken without Danger too, and must be changed with Time, with lessening the Proportions by degrees, with shorter first, and then with longer Intermittions.

Aleboof, or *Ground-Ivy*, is, in my Opinion, of the most excellent and most general Use and Virtue of any Plants we have among us. 'Tis allowed to be most sovereign for the Eyes, admirable in Frenzies, either taken inwardly or outwardly applied. Besides, if there be a Specifick Remedy or Prevention of the Stone, I take it to be the constant Use of *Aleboof-Ale*, whereof I have known several Experiences by others, and can, I thank God, alledge my own for about ten Years past. This is the Plant with which all our Ancestors made their common Drink, when the Inhabitants of this Island were esteem'd the longest Livers of any in the known World; and the Stone is said to have first come amongst us after Hops were introduced here, and the Staleness of Beer brought into Custom by preserving it long. 'Tis known enough, how much this Plant has been decri'd, how generally soever it has been received in these maritime Northern Parts; and the chief Reason which I believe gave it Vogue at first, was the preserving Beer upon long Sea-Voyages: But for common Health, I am apt to think the Use of Heath or Broom had been of much more Advantage, though none yet invented of so great and general as that of *Aleboof*, which is certainly the greatest Cleanser of any Plant known among us; and which in old *English* signified that which was necessary to the making of Ale, the common or rather universal Drink heretofore of our Nation.

Garlick has of all our Plants the greatest Strength, affords most Nourishment, and supplies most Spirits to those who eat little Flesh, as the poorer People seldom do in the hotter, and especially the more Eastern Climates: So that the Labour of the World seems to be performed by the Force and Virtue of *Garlick*, *Leeks*, and *Onions*, no other Food of Herbs or Plants yielding Strength enough for much Labour. *Garlick* is of great Virtue in all Colicks, a great Strengtheners of the Stomach upon Decays or Indigestion, and I believe is (if at least there be any such) a Specifick Remedy of the Gout. I have known great Testimonies of this kind within my Acquaintance, and have never used it my self upon this Occasion, without an Opinion of some Success or Advantage. But I could never long enough bear the Constraint of a Diet I found not very agreeable my self, and at least fancied offensive to the Company I conversed with.

Besides, this Disease is to me so hereditary, and come into my Veins from so many Ancestors, that I have reason to despair of any Cure but the last, and content my self to fence against it by Temperance and Patience, without Hopes of conquering such an inveterate Enemy. Therefore I leave the Use of *Garlick* to such as are inveigled into the Gout by the Pleasure of too much Drinking, the ill Effects whereof are not more relieved by any other Diet than by this Plant, which is so great a Dryer and Opener, especially by Perspiration. Nor is it less used in many Parts abroad as Physick than as Food. In several Provinces of *France* 'tis usual to fall into a Diet of *Garlick* for a Fortnight or three Weeks, upon the first fresh Butter of the Spring; and the common People esteem it a Preservative against the Diseases of the ensuing Year; and a Broth of *Garlick* or *Onions* is so generally used the next Day after a Debauch, as to be called *Soupe a Lyvrogne*. This is enough to shew the Use as well as Virtues of this Northern Spice, which is in mighty Re-

quest

quest among the *Indians* themselves, in the midst of so many others, that enrich and perfume those noble Regions.

Eldar is of great Virtue in all Indispositions arising from any watry Humours: And not only the Flowers and Berries, but even the green Bark, are used with Effect, and perhaps equal Success in their several Seasons. I have been told of some great Cures of the Gout, by the succeeding Use of all three throughout the Year: But I have been always too libertine for any great and long Subjections, to make the Tryals. The Spirit of *Eldar* is sovereign in Colicks; and the Use of it in general, very beneficial in Scurvies and Dropsies; though in the last, I esteem Broom yet of more Virtue, either brewed in common Drink, or the Ashes taken in White Wine every Morning: Which may perhaps pass for a Specifick Remedy; whereof we may justly complain, that after so long Experience of so learned a Profession as Physick, we yet know so very few.

That which has passed of later Years, for the most allowed in this kind, has been the *Quinquina*, or Jesuits Powder in Fevers, but especially Agues. I can say nothing of it upon any Experience of my own, nor many within my Knowledge. I remember its Entrance upon our Stage with some Disadvantage, and the Repute of leaving no Cures, without Danger of worse Returns. But the Credit of it seems now to be established by common Use and Prescription, and to be improved by new and singular Preparations; whereof I have very good and particular Reasons to affirm, that they are all Amusements; and, that what Virtue there is in this Remedy, lies in the naked Simple it self, as it comes over from the *Indies*, and in the Choice of that which is least dried, or perished by the Voyage.

The next Specifick I esteem to be that little Insect called *Millepedes*: The Powder whereof made up into little Balls with fresh Butter, I never knew fail of curing any sore Throat: It must lie at the Root of the Tongue, and melt down at leisure upon going to Bed. I have been assured that Doctor *Mayerne* used it as a certain Cure for all Cancers in the Breast; and should be very tedious if I should tell here, how much the Use of it has been extolled by several within my Knowledge, upon the admirable Effects for the Eyes, the Scurvy, and the Gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient Physicians affirm of it in those three Words.

<i>Digerit,</i> It Digests,	<i>Aperit,</i> It Opens,	<i>Abstergit.</i> It Cleanses,
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For Rheums in the Eyes and the Head, I take a Leaf of *Tobacco* put into the Nostrils for an Hour each Morning, to be a Specifick Medicine: Or *Betany*, if the other be too strong or offensive. The Effect of both is to draw Rheums off the Head, through their proper and natural Channel. And old Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* told me, he had by this preserved his Eyes to so great an Age, after the Danger of losing them at thirty Years old: And I have ever since used it with the same Success, after great Reasons near that Age to apprehend the Loss or Decays of mine.

In Times and Places of great Contagion, the strongest Preservative yet known, is a Piece of *Myrrh* held in the Mouth, when, or where the Danger is most apprehended; which I have both practised and taught many others with Success, in several Places where cruel Plagues have raged: Tho' in such Cases, after all, the best and safest is to run away as soon as one can. Yet, upon this Occasion, I think *Myrrh* may pass for a Specifick in Prevention; and may for ought I know be of Use in Remedies, as the greatest Enemy of Corruption; which is known by the Use of Embalming in the *East*.

For all Illnesses of Stomach, or Indigestions, proceeding from hot and sharp Humours; to which my whole Family has been much subject, as well as very many of my Acquaintance; and for which, Powder of Crabs-Eyes and Claws, and burnt Egg-Shells are often prescribed as Sweetners of any sharp

sharp Humours. I have never found any thing of much or certain Effect, besides the eating of *Strawberries*, common *Cheerries*, white *Figs*, soft *Peaches*, or *Grapes*, before every Meal, during their Seasons; and when those are past, *Apples* after Meals; but all must be very ripe. And this, by my own and all my Friends Experience who have try'd it, I reckon for a Specifick Medicine in this Illness so frequently complain'd of: At least, for the two first, I never knew them fail; and the usual Quantity is about forty *Cheerries*, without swallowing either Skin or Stone. I observe this the rather, because the Recourse commonly made in this Case to strong Waters, I esteem very pernicious, and which inevitably destroys the Stomach with frequent Use. The best, at least most innocent, of all distill'd Liquors is *Milk-Water*, made with *Balm*, *Carduus*, *Mint*, and *Wormwood*; which has many good Effects in Illnesses of the Stomach, and none ill. The best and safest strong Water, if any be so, for common Use, I esteem to be that made of *Juniper Berries*, especially in Accidents of Stone and Colick.

Of all Cordials, I esteem my *Lady Ken's Powder* the best, the most innocent, and the most universal; Though the common Practice of Physick abounds in nothing more, and the Virtue seems to be little else, besides an Allusion of the Name to the Heart.

Upon the Gout I have writ what I had known or practis'd, in an Essay of *Moxa*; and upon the Spleen, what I had observed in a Chapter, upon the Dispositions of the People in the *Netherlands*. I shall only add for the Help of my Fellow-Sufferers in the first; that besides what is contained in that former Essay, and since those Pains have grown more diffus'd, and less fix'd in one Point, so as to be burned with *Moxa*, which never failed of giving me present Ease; I have found the most Benefit from three Methods. The first, is that of moving the Joint where the Pain begins, as long as I am able in my Bed; which I have often done, and counted five or six hundred times or more, till I found first a great Heat, and then Perspiration in the Part: The Heat spends or disperses the Humour within, and the Perspiration drives it out; and I have escap'd many Threats of ill Fits by these Motions: If they go on, the only Peltice or Plaster I have dealt with, is Wool from the Belly of a fat Sheep, which has often given me Ease in a very little time. If the Pains grow sharp, and the Swellings so diffus'd, as not to be burned with *Moxa*; the best Remedy I have found, is from a Piece of Scarlet dipt in scalding Brandy, laid upon the afflicted Part, and the Heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the Scarlet as hot as can be endured. And from this I have often found the same Success as from *Moxa*, and without breaking the Skin, or leaving any Sore.

To what I have said in another Place of the Spleen, I shall only add here, That whatever the Spleen is; whether a Disease of the Part so called, or of People that ail something, but they know not what; it is certainly a very ill Ingredient into any other Disease, and very often dangerous. For as Hope is the sovereign Balm of Life, and the best Cordial in all Distempers both of Body or Mind; so Fear, and Regret, and melancholly Apprehensions, which are the usual Effects of the Spleen, with the Distractions, Disquiets, or at least Intranquillity they occasion, are the worst Accidents that can attend any Disease; and make them often Mortal, which would otherwise pass, and have had but a common Course. I have known the most busy Ministers of State, most fortunate Courtiers, most vigorous Youths, most beautiful Virgins in the Strength or Flower of their Age, sink under common Distempers, by the Force of such Weights, and the cruel Damps and Disturbances thereby given their Spirits and their Blood. 'Tis no matter what is made the Occasion, if well improved by Spleen and melancholly Apprehensions: A disappointed Hope, a Blot of Honour, a Strain of Conscience, an unfortunate Love, an aking Jealousy, a repining Grief, will serve the Turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious Physician, who told me in the Fanatick Times, he found most of his Patients so disturbed by Troubles of Conscience, that

he was forced to play the Divine with them before he could begin the Physician: Whose greatest Skill perhaps often lies in the infusing of Hopes, and inducing some Composure and Tranquillity of Mind, before they enter upon the other Operations of their Art: And this ought to be the first Endeavour of the Patient too; without which, all other Medicines may lose their Virtue.

The two great Blessings of Life are, in my Opinion, *Health* and *good Humour*; and none contribute more to one another; without *Health*, all will allow Life to be but a Burthen; and the several Conditions of Fortune to be all wearisome, dull, or disagreeable without *good Humour*: Nor does any seem to contribute towards the true Happiness of Life, but as it serves to increase that Treasure, or to preserve it. Whatever other Differences are commonly apprehended in the several Conditions of Fortune, none perhaps will be found so true or so great, as what is made by those two Circumstances, so little regarded in the common Course or Pursuits of mortal Men.

Whether long Life be a Blessing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how 'tis like to be attended. *Socrates* used to say, that 'twas pleasant to grow old with good Health and a good Friend; and he might have Reason. A Man may be content to live, while he is no Trouble to himself or his Friends, but after that, 'tis hard if he be not content to die. I knew and esteemed a Person Abroad, who used to say, a Man must be a mean Wretch, that desired to live after threescore Years old. But so much I doubt is certain; that in Life as in Wine, he that will drink it good, must not draw it to the Dregs.

Where this happens, one Comfort of Age may be, that whereas younger Men are usually in Pain, when they are not in Pleasure; old Men find a sort of Pleasure, whenever they are out of Pain. And as Young Men often lose or impair their present Enjoyments, by raving after what is to come, by vain Hopes, or fruitless Fears; so Old Men relieve the Wants of their Age, by pleasing Reflections upon what is past. Therefore Men, in the Health and Vigour of their Age, should endeavour to fill their Lives with Reading, with Travel, with the best Conversation, and the worthiest Actions, either in their Publick or Private Stations; that they may have something agreeable left to feed on, when they are old, by pleasing Remembrances.

But, as they are only the clean Beasts which chew the Cud, when they have fed enough; so they must be clean and virtuous Men, that can reflect with Pleasure upon the past Accidents or Courses of their Lives. Besides, Men who grow old with good Sense, or good Fortunes, and good Nature, cannot want the Pleasure of pleasing others, by assisting with their Gifts, their Credit, their Advice, such as deserve it; as well as their Care of Children, Kindness to Friends, and Bounty to Servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy Creature, than an ill-natured old Man, who is neither capable of receiving Pleasures, nor sensible of doing them to others; and in such a Condition, 'tis time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this Essay, whatever has fallen in my Way or Thoughts to observe concerning Life and Health, and which I conceived might be of any publick Use to be known or considered: The Plainness wherewith 'tis written, easily shews, there could be no other Intention: And it may at least pass like a *Darbyshire* Charm, which is used among sick Cattle, with these Words; If it does thee no Good, it will do thee no Harm.

To sum up all; the first Principle of Health and long Life, is derived from the Strength of our Race or our Birth, which gave Occasion to that saying, *Gaudeant bene nati*: Let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our Power to govern: So that the best Cares or Provisions for Life and Health that are left us, consist in the discreet and temperate Government of Diet and Exercise: In both which, all Excess is to be avoided, especially in the common Use of Wine: Whereof the first Glass may pass

for.

for Health, the second for good Humour, the third for our Friends; but the fourth is for our Enemies.

For Temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its Character and Virtues in the Essay of *Moxa*, so as to need no more upon that Subject here.

When in default or despite of all these Cares, or by Effects of ill Airs and Seasons, acute or strong Diseases may arise; Recourse must be had to the best Physicians that are in reach; whose Success will depend upon Thought and Care, as much as Skill. In all Diseases of Body or Mind, 'tis happy to have an able Physician for a Friend, or a discreet Friend for a Physician; which is so great a Blessing, that the Wise Man will have it to proceed only from God, where he says, *A faithful Friend is the Medicine of Life, and he that fears the Lord shall find him.*



S O M E

T H O U G H T S

Upon Reviewing the

E S S A Y

O F

Ancient and Modern L E A R N I N G.

I Have been induced by several Motives to take a further Survey of the Controversy arisen of late Years concerning the Excellence of Ancient or Modern Learning. First, the common Interest of Learning in general, and particularly in our Universities; and to prevent the Discouragement of Scholars, in all Degrees, from reading the Ancient Authors, who must be acknowledged to have been the Foundation of all Modern Learning, whatever the Superstructure may have been. Next, a just Indignation at the Insolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming those Heroes among the Ancients, whose Memory has been sacred and admired for so many Ages; as *Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus*, &c. This, I confess, gave me the same kind of Horror I should have had, in seeing some young barbarous *Goths or Vandals* breaking or defacing the admirable Statues of those ancient Heroes of *Greece or Rome*, which had so long preserved their Memories honoured, and almost adored, for so many Generations.

My last Motive was, to vindicate the Credit of our Nation, as others have done that of the *French*, from the Imputation of this Injustice and Presumption that the Modern Advocates have used in this Case. For which end it will be necessary to relate the whole State of this Controversy.

It is by themselves confess'd, that till the New Philosophy had gotten Ground in these Parts of the World, which is about fifty or sixty Years Date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the Ancients; those that did, were only some Physicians, as *Paracelsus* and his Disciples, who introduced new Notions in Physick, and new Methods of Practice, in opposition to the *Galenic*; and this chiefly from Chymical Medicines or Operations. But these were not able to maintain their Pretence long; the Credit of their Cures as well as their Reasons soon decaying with the Novelty of them, which had given them Vogue at first.

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Des-Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the Ancients, by a new Scheme or Body of Philosophy, which I am apt to think he had a mind to impose upon the World, as *N. Stradamus* did his Prophecies, only for their own Amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves: For *Des-Cartes*, among his Friends, always called his Philosophy, *His Romance*. Which makes it as pleasant to hear young Scholars possess'd with all his Notions, as to see Boys taking *Anadis*, and the *Mirror of Knighthood*, for true Stories.

The next that set up for the Excellency of the new Learning above the old, were some of *Grifham* College, after the Institution of that Society by King *Charles* the Second: These began early to debate and pursue this Pre-ference, and were followed by the *French* Academy, who took up the Controversy more at large, and descended to many Particulars: Monsieur *Fontenelle* gave the Academy the Preference in Poetry and Oratory, as well as in Philosophy and Mathematicks; and Monsieur *Perrault*, in Painting and Architecture, as well as Oratory and Poetry; setting up the Bishop of *Meaux* against *Pericles* and *Thucydides*; the Bishop of *Niemes* against *Isocrates*: *F. Bourdelone* against *Nicias*; *Balsac* against *Cicero*; *Voiture* against *Pliny*; *Boileau* against *Horace*; and *Corneille* against all the ancient and famous Dramatick Poets.

About five or six Years ago, these Modern Pretences were opposed in *An Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning*; and the *Miscellanea* (whereof that Essay was a Part) being translated into *French*, the Members of that Academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a Stranger should lay such an Infamy upon some of their Society, as Want of Reverence for the Ancients, and the Presumption of preferring the Moderns before them; that they fell into great Indignation against the few Criminals among them; they began to pelt them with Satyrs and Epigrams in writing, and with bitter Railleries in their Discourses and Conversations; and led them such a Life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled Opinions; which had perhaps been taken up at first, only to make their Court, and at second-hand to flatter those who had flatter'd their King.

Upon the *Miscellanea's* first Printing in *Paris*, Monsieur *Boileau* made this short Satyr.

*Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des Vers,
Qu'en certain lieu de l'Univers
L'on traite d'Auteurs froids, de Poetes steriles,
Les Homeres & les Virgiles:
Cela ne sauroit être, l'en se mocque de vous,
Reprit Apollon en courroux;
On peut on avancer une telle infamie?
Est-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinambous?
C'est a Paris. C'est donc a l'Hôpital de sous:
Non, c'est au Louvre en pleine Academie.*

Upon the same Occasion, and about the same Time, Monsieur *Racine* made this other, which more particularly touched Monsieur *Perrault*, as the first did Monsieur *Fontenelle*.

*D'où vient, que Cicéron, Platon, Virgile, Homere,
Et tous ces grands Auteurs que l'univers révère,
Traduits en vos écrits nous paroissent si fots,
Perrault? C'est qu'en prêtant a ces esprits sublimes
Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rymes,
Vous les fais tous paroître des Perraults.*

Some of the *French* Academy took the Care to send these, and other such Picces into *England*, and other Countries, to clear their Reputation from the Slander

Slander drawn upon them by two or three of their Body; and treated the Reverence of the Ancients as something sacred, and the Want of it as barbarous and prophane.

Monsieur *Perrault*, to escape the rest of this Storm, soon changed his Party, professing it upon all Occasions; and to shew the Truth of his Conversion, publish'd among other small Pieces the Dialogue in *Homer* between *Hector* and *Andromache*, which he had translated into *French*, and presented to the Academy, *March* the 3d, 1693, after a Speech made them upon this Subject, wherein are these Lines, both the Verses and the Speech being since printed together.

“ Whatever Care I have taken to praise *Homer* upon all Occasions, and
 “ to acknowledge him for the most excellent, the vastest, and the noblest
 “ Genius that has ever been in Poesy; yet, because I have taken the Liberty of
 “ remarking some Defaults in his Works, Men have risen up against me, as
 “ if I had committed some High-Treason; and that which ought to have
 “ been regarded but as the Part of a Grammarian, has been taken up as an
 “ audacious Enterprize, which deserved all the Scorn and Indignation of
 “ *Parnassus*.

“ Now, that I may not be believed to have so ill a Taste, as to be insen-
 “ sible of the Beauties of this excellent Poet, and to admire what is admir-
 “ able in him, I have translated one of the finest Passages of his *Iliads*: I
 “ thought, if the Protestations I have so often made to honour the Author
 “ of this Poem could not persuade the World, yet this Translation might
 “ do it, since it is that one would not take the Pains to translate into *French*
 “ a Piece of *Greek* Poesy, unless one extremely esteemed it.

By this it appears with what Indignation and Scorn this new Opinion of our modern Admirers has been used in *France*, and how penitent a Recantation Monsieur *Perrault* thought fit to make for his former Errors; so as those who have since followed and defended him or his first Opinions, seem to have been decoyed into the Net by another Duck, that flew away as soon as they were caught. Therefore the late Objections against that Essay, and in favour of the Moderns, seem to have been writ without any Intelligence of what passed at *Paris* before or about that Time, having had the ill Fortune to be deserted in *France*, and not countenanced that I know of in *England*. For the learned Author of the *Antediluvian* World, though most concerned in that Essay upon this Subject, has been so far from defending this new Assertion, that he has since published his *Archæologia*, and therein shewn both his great Knowledge and Esteem of the ancient Learning, and proved thereby that whoever knows it must esteem it; and left such modern Advocates for an Evidence of the contrary, that whoever despises it, in comparison of the new, does not know it.

The modern Advocates to destroy the Monuments of ancient Learning, first think it necessary to shew what mean contemptible Men were the Founders of it, and fall foul upon *Pythagoras*, the seven Sages, *Empedocles* and *Democritus*.

For *Pythagoras*, they are so gracious as to give him some Quarter, and allow him to be a wiser Man than the Fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant Age and Country: In short, they are content he should pass for a Law-giver, but by no means for a Philosopher. Now the good Judgment shewn in this wise Censure of so great a Man, will easily appear to all that know him. *Pythagoras* was indeed desired to frame the Institutions of a Civil State in a small Town of *Italy* where he lived; but that he had the Misfortune to perish by a Sedition in the Government he had formed; so that there remain no Records or Traces of any of his Civil Institutions. Whereas, on the other side, he has in all Ages, from his own till our Time, by all learned Nations and Persons, even Christians as well as Pagans, been esteemed the Prince of Philosophers, and to have excelled in all Natural and Moral Knowledge, as well as Civil and Mathematical: From him *Socrates* derived the Principles of Virtue and Morality, as well as *Plato* both these, and most
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of his Natural Speculations. Nor was the Memory of any other Philosopher so adored by all his Followers; nor any of their Instructions so successful in forming the Lives of the most excellent Men, whereof three were bred up together under a *Pythagorean* Philosopher at *Thebes*, who were not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps succeeding Ages; which were *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Philip of Macedon*.

To discredit all the Fountains from which *Pythagoras* is said to have drawn his admirable Knowledge, they cannot guess to what Purpose he should have gone to *Delphos*, nor that *Apollo's* Priestesses there should have been famous for discovering Secrets in Natural or Mathematical Matters, or Moral Truths. In this they discover their deep Knowledge of Antiquity, taking the Oracle of *Delphos* to have been managed by some frantick or fanatick Wenches; whereas the *Pythia's* there were only Engines managed by the Priests of *Delphos*, who, like those of *Egypt*, were a College or Society of wise and learned Men in all sorts of Sciences, though the Use of them was in a manner wholly applied to the Honour and Service of their Oracle. And we may guess at the rest by the last High-Priest we know of at *Delphos*, I mean *Plutarch*, the best and most learned Man of his Age, if we may judge by the Writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the sage Councils, the wise Answers, or ingenious and ambiguous Evasions of these *Delphick* Priests, that the Credit of that Oracle should have continued for so long a Course of Time, as from the Age of the *Argonauts* (and how much before no Man knows) to the latter End at least of *Trajan's* Reign, wherein *Plutarch* writ: And how great the Credit was wherein that Oracle was preserved by the wise Conduct of their Priests, may be gathered from the vast Riches which were there heaped up, from the Offerings of the *Grecian*, and so many distant Nations. For before the Seizure made of the Temple of *Delphos* by the *Phoceans*, they were reported by some ancient Authors to have been as great as those which *Alexander* found in the Palaces and Treasuries of the Kings of *Persia*; and 'tis agreed, that the *Phoceans*, to pay their Armies in the sacred War, made bold at once with such a Part of those Treasures as amounted to above ten thousand Talents.

I have been sometimes apt to think, from the prodigious Thunders, and Lightnings, and Storms, by which this Temple is said, in the best ancient Authors, to have been defended from the *Persians* and the *Gauls*, that the Priests of *Delphos* had some admirable Knowledge of that kind, which was called Magical; or that they knew the Use and Force of Gun-powder so many Ages since, and reserved it, as they did the Effects of all their Sciences, for the Service of their God: Nor if it were so, would it be stranger, that such an Invention should have been found out then by the Priests of *Delphos*, than that it was so of late by a poor *German* Frier.

For the seven *Sages*, who are treated like the wise Men of *Gotham*, and I doubt by such as are alike acquainted with both, I shall say nothing in their Defence, but direct the Reader to the Essay it self.

For *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, I confess, the modern Advocates could not have done their Cause or themselves more Right, than in chusing these two great Men of the Ancients, after *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, for the Objects of their Scorn; for none among them had ever so great Esteem, and almost Veneration, as these four. The two last were the Heads or Founders of the *Ionick* and *Italic* Sects of Philosophers, and brought not only Astronomy and Mathematicks, but Natural and Moral Philosophy first among the *Grecians*, whom we may observe in *Homer's* Time to have been as barbarous as the *Thracians*, governed by nothing but Will and Passion, Violence, Cruelty, and sottish Superstition.

Empedocles was the Glory and the Boast of *Sicily*, and of whom his Countryman *Diodorus*, who was most particular in the Story of all that was wonderful in that Island, says, that the Birth of *Empedocles* had been Glory enough to *Sicily*, though nothing else great or excellent had been produced there. He was an admirable Poet, and thought even to have approached

Homer,

Homer, in a Poem he writ of Natural Philofophy, and from which *Aristotle* is believed to have drawn the Body of his, fo much followed afterwards in the World. He firft invented the Art of Oratory, and the Rules of it. He was an admirable Phyfician, and flopt a Plague at *Agrigentum* by the Difpofal of Fires, which purged the Air. He performed fuch Cures of desperate Difcafes, that for this, and his foretelling many ftrange Events, his Citizens would have given him Divine Honours. He had fo much Credit in his State, that he changed the Form and Number of their great Council, and was offered the Principality of *Agrigentum*, but refufed it, being as excellent in his Morals as in all other Sciences.

Democritus was the Founder of that Sect which made fo much Noife afterwards in the World under the Name of *Epicurus*, who owed him both his Atoms and his Vacuum in his Natural Philofophy, and his Tranquillity of Mind in his Morals. He fpent a vaft Patrimony in Purfuit of Learning, by his Travels, to learn of the *Magi* in *Chaldea*, the Priests of *Egypt*, as far as thofe of *Meroë*, and the *Gymnofophifts* of *India*. He was admirable in Phyfick, in the Knowledge of Natural Caufes and Events. He left many Writings in all forts of Sciences, whereof one, *Of the World*, was fold for an hundred Talents: And 'tis obvious to guefs at the Value of the reft by that of this one; for it may be prefumed with Appearance enough, that what Perfon fover has written one excellent Book, will never write an ill one; as, on t'other fide, whoever has writ and publifhed one foolifh Book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of *Democritus*, but from that excellent Epiftle of *Hippocrates* to *Demagerus*, with an Account of the Wifdom of *Democritus*, and the Folly of the *Aberitus*; the Teftimony of one fo great Man might have left fome little Refpect for the other. But this is a juft Return upon him, after two thoufand Years; *Democritus* laughed at the World, and our modern Learned laugh at *Democritus*.

I think the Excellency of the ancient or modern Sciences may be further concluded from the Greatnefs and Excellency of thofe Effects that have been produced by thofe Caufes; and to this End I might be allowed to describe, or rather tranfcribe out of the beft ancient Authors, the Accounts that are left us of the Walls of *Babylon*, with the Palace and Temple of *Belus*, built by the *Affyrians*: The Town and Fortrefs of *Echatan*, by the *Medes*: The City and Palace of *Perfepolis*, by the *Persians*: The Pyramids and Obelisks of *Egypt*, the Temple of *Vulcan* there, with the Lake and Labyrinth of *Mævis*: The *Coloffus* of *Rhodes*: The Station for two hundred Gallies at *Carrhage*, built upon two hundred Arches in the Sea, with Galleries over them to hold their Stores: The Amphitheatres and Aqueducts at *Rome*: The Bridge of *Trajan* over the *Danube*: The feven Towers at *Byzantium*, when it was taken and ruined by *Severus*; built with fuch admirable Art, that any Words fpooken at the firft, were convey'd from one to t'other till the very laft, tho' all at Difftances between them.

Thefe and many other Productions of the Ancients, tho' perhaps as little valued by the Moderns as their Worthies; yet, I confefs, are beyond my Comprehenfion how they could be effected, without fome other Mathematical Skill and Engines than have been fince known in the World.

I might add upon the Subject of Naval Fabrick, wherein we feem moft juftly to have Advantage, the two prodigious Ships or Gallies built, the one by *Hiero* at *Syracufe*, and fent from thence into *Egypt*, wherein were not only contained all Apartments for a Prince's Palace and Attendants, but a Garden with natural Flowers, and Fruits, and Fifh-ponds, and other ufual Ornaments of great Palaces. The other was built by *Ptolomy Philopater* at *Alexandria*; and befides Room for the King's Court, Attendants, and Guards, contained four thoufand Men at the Oar.

I might further relate from the moft credited Authors, thofe long and ftupendous Defences that were made at *Tyre* againft all the Forces of *Alexander*, at *Rhodes* againft *Demetrius*, and at *Syracufe* againft the *Roman* Powers, by the fole Force of Mathematical Skill and Engines, which raifed fuch vaft Weights

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into the Air with such Ease, and directed their Fall with such Certainty, as might have almost given Credit to that bold Word of *Archimedes*; Give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the Earth.

But 'tis enough to give these Instances of the wonderful Effects and Operations of the ancient Sciences, and thereby Occasion of Enquiry, and I am sure Entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the modern Advocates yield, tho' very unwillingly, the Pre-eminence of the Ancients in Poetry, Oratory, Painting, Statuary and Architecture; I shall proceed to examine the Account they give of those Sciences, wherein they affirm the Moderns to excell the Ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the Invention of Instruments; Chymistry; Anatomy; Natural History of Minerals, Plants, and Animals; Astronomy and Opticks; Musick; Physick; Natural Philosophy; Philology; and Theology: Of all which I shall take a short Survey.——

Here, it is supposed, the Knowledge of the Ancients and Moderns in the Sciences last mentioned was to have been compared; but whether the Author designed to have gone through such a Work himself, or intended these Papers only for Hints to some body else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own Hand, as before.

Though it may easily be conjectured, from the wonderful Productions of the Ancients, how great their Sciences were, especially in the Mathematicks, which is of all other the most valuable to the Use and Benefit of Mankind; yet we have all the Testimonies besides, that can be given, of the Height they were at among the *Egyptians*, from the ingenious Confessions of the *Greek* Authors, as well as from the Voyages that were made into *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Babylon*, and even the *Indies*, by those who are allowed for the greatest among the *Greek* Lawgivers and Philosophers; whereof so distinct an Account has been given in that Essay of the *Miscellanea* (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern Learning. But the modern Advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the Records or Histories of those Nations remaining, but what was left us by the *Greeks*; and conclude the Infancy of the *Egyptians* in other Sciences, because they left no Account of their own History, or the Reigns of their Kings.

I might content my self with what has been already made so plain in this Matter, by shewing how those ancient Eastern Nations were generally without Learning, except what was possess'd by the Priests, and preserved as sacred in their Colleges and Temples; so that when those came to be ruined, their Learning was so too. It has been also demonstrated in the same Essay, how all the Traces and Memorials of Learning and Story may be lost in a Nation by the Conquest of barbarous People, great Plagues, and great Inundations; and for instance, how little is known in *Ireland* of what is so generally believed, of Learning having flourished there. And how little we should know, even of ancient *Greece* or *Italy*, or other Parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, if the two learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin* had not been preserved, and continued in Credit and in Use among the few Pretenders to any sort of Learning in those Parts of the World, upon the Ravages and Destructions in them by the barbarous Northern Nations.

But to put this Matter past Dispute, I shall shew more particularly when and how the ancient Learning decay'd in those Nations where it so much flourished in the Height of their Empires, and fell or declined with the Loss of their Liberties, or Subjection to new Conquerors.

I will not determine, from what Antiquity of Time Learning flourished among the *Egyptians* or *Assyrians*; because these Moderns will not allow the plainest Accounts given us by the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, of the Duration of those Empires, though not contrary to the Periods allowed us by the Scriptures: But the Reasons they give for not believing them, seem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of: As first, That we have no Account of the

the *Assyrian* Kings in Scripture, till *Tiglath-Pilefer*, and others; whereas the Scriptures take no notice of the Story, of either *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Tyrrians*, or *Sydenian* Governments, but as they had at some certain times a Relation to the Affairs of the *Jews* or their Common-wealth. And as it has never succeeded with so many learned Men, that have spent their whole Time and Pains, to agree the Sacred with the Profane Chronology (not to except Sir *John Masbam's* great Industry) so I never expect to see it done to any Purpose. Their next Reason is, because we have no Account of the Actions of so many *Assyrian* Kings, as are reckoned from *Semiramis* to *Sardanapalus*; they cannot conceive, that their Lives were past in their Palaces, and the Entertainments of Leisure and Pleasure, during the uninterrupted Felicity, as well as vast Extent of their Empire, beyond the Desires or encreasing, or the Fears of losing any part of it, while the the excellent Orders at first established were observed; and thereby, as well as by their Princes seldom appearing out of their vast Palaces and Paradises (or Gardens and Parks about them) the Adoration of these Kings was preserved among their Subjects.

Now I confess, a Man of an easy and quiet Temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what Kings in such a Posture of Fortune and Power should do, more than to preserve the Order and Quiet of their Kingdoms; or how they should furnish their Ages with more Story, than of their Magnificence in their Buildings and Treasures; nor do we find much more recorded of *Solomon's* long and happy Reign among the *Jews*: Nor are they, in the *Miscellanea*, employ'd in Gardening all that Time, though the first Accounts of Gardening are there deduced from *Assyria*. But suppose those idle Kings, besides the Entertainment of Luxury and Pleasure, should have spent their Time (or what lay upon their Hands) in Chymistry, in Anatomy, in the Stories of Plants and Animals; in Opticks and Philology; in such Speculations as the Royal Society entertain themselves and the World with; or in conversing with their *Magi*, or other learned Men: I hope it cannot be denied, but Princes might pass their Lives in such Entertainments, without bloody and violent Actions, that make the Subject of common History.

And yet who knows but many such there were too, in the Course of those Empires, during those Ages; but the Records of them lost, with their other Sciences, further than some Memory and short Accounts given us by the few *Greek* Authors that we have now remaining. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The ancient *Assyrian* Learning, which had run so long a Course of Time, and grown to so great a Height in the Colleges or Societies of their *Magi*, or *Chaldeans*, began to decay upon the Conquest of that Empire, first by the *Medes*, and afterwards by *Cyrus* and his *Persians*, who were then a sort of barbarous Nation, that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practis'd, from the Civil or Military Institutions of *Cyrus*, a wise Lawgiver as well as great Captain, and thereby the Founder of that mighty Kingdom. But the last and fatal Blow given to that ancient Learning was in the Time of *Darius*, Father of *Xerxes*, who with the rest of the *Persians*, spighted at the *Magi*, upon the Usurpation of the Crown by one of their Number (that counterfeited a young Son of *Cyrus* after the Death of *Cambyses*) when he came to be settled in that Throne, endeavour'd to abolish, not only their Learning and Credit, but their Language too, by changing the old *Assyrian* Characters, and introducing those of *Persia*, which grew to be the common Use of that whole Empire.

Under the first and second Race of these *Persian* Kings, the Genius of that Nation being wholly Military, their Conquests were indeed vastly extended, beyond the Bounds of the *Assyrian* Empire, by subduing *Lydia*, the lesser *Asia*, and the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, which had ever been a Rival of the *Assyrian* Greatness: But during the Successions of this Monarchy, all Learning was so lost among them, that no certain Records were preserved, either

either of Actions or of Times, under the Races of the *Assyrian* Kings: So as the first Period of Story which remains in any prophane Authors, seems to begin with *Cyrus*: And all before his Birth is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with Fable and Truth, that no sound or certain Judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever Pains have been employ'd to reconcile them. For all other Sciences, they were in a manner extinguish'd during the Course of this Empire, excepting only a Smatter of Judicial Astrology, by which, under the Name of *Chaldeans*, some of that Race long amused ignorant and credulous People.

But upon the Sun-set of this ancient *Assyrian* Learning, it began to dawn in *Greece*, with the Growth and Flourishing of the *Athenian* State, by whose Navigations and Traffick several Noble Wits, among them and the rest of the *Grecians*, entered into Commerce with the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*; and from them, or their Priests, drew the first Rudiments of those Sciences which they brought into *Greece*, and by which they grew so renowned in their own and After-ages. Such were *Solon*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, and many others; whose Lives, and Voyages in those Eastern Regions, we are less acquainted with, by the Loss of so many Books, and the Injuries of devouring Time.

The Learning of the *Egyptians*, whenever it began, continued in great Height and Admiration of their Neighbours, till the Reign of *Nectanebus*; when, after a Revolt of the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* Empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three Kings Reigns; one of the *Artaxerxes* subdu'd *Egypt*, and this last of the *Egyptian* Kings; reduced the whole Kingdom to the *Persian* Obedience; but enraged at their Rebellion and obstinate Resistance, executed his Conquest with Rage, that besides infinite Slaughters, he razed many of their Cities, and the Walls of them all; ruined their Temple, destroyed or dispersed their Priests, and the Archives or Records of those famous Colleges; and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve he carried away with him into *Persia*.

This happened during the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and gave a fatal Period to the ancient *Egyptian* Learning, and Sciences. After which Time, we know of no Voyages made by the *Greek* Philosophers into *Egypt*, upon that search; but *Plato* was the last of Renown that undertook that Voyage; who lived, and was in *Egypt*, not long before this cruel Revolution.

'Tis true, the *Grecian* Races of Kings, afterwards in *Egypt*, called *Ptolemies*, during the Quiet and Felicity of many Reigns, endeavoured all they could the Restoration of Learning among them, by Countenance, and all sorts of Encouragement to their Priests that remained, and by the Collection of that vast Library at *Alexandria*: But the Learning and Science of the Old *Egyptian* Priests was never recovered; and that professed by the New was turned to Superstition and Mystery, Initiations and Expiations, the procuring or foretelling Events by mystical Sacrifices, or magical Operations, which lasted indeed to *Adrian's* Time, but without Credit or Esteem among the wiser part of the World.

The same, or rather a greater Desolation, than that of *Egypt* in the Time of *Nectanebus*, was made of the *Sidonians*, and their whole City and Territory, by the same *Artaxerxes*, in his Passage from *Persia* to *Egypt*, upon the Rebellion of that City. The like happened to *Tyre*, upon the cruel Conquest by *Alexander* the Great, of that famous City. (Though the ancient *Tyre* that stood upon the Continent had been ruined long before) And with the Ruin of these two perished the *Phenician* Learning, which had flourished there for so many Ages, and no Account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few ancient *Greek* or *Latin* Books that are preserved among us. How few they are indeed may be very justly bewailed, the Compass of them extending but from the Time of *Hippocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which was about four hundred Years; and yet the number of those, written in that Period, and preserv'd to our Age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into Search of the Causes, or Times of the Loss of so many;

of the rest, as we find mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Origen*, *Athenus*, or others, whereof some were not long before *Constantine*. And it is recorded, that the young Emperor *Gordian* was so great a Lover of Learning, that in his short Reign he collected a Library of sixty two thousand Volumes; but what became of them, or when so many Monuments of the ancient Learning were lost, I cannot undertake to find out: Only 'tis certain, that besides infinite Numbers of *Greek* Histories and Poets, those of all the several Sects of Philosophers are lost, besides what has been preserved of *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

I cannot but take notice, how hardly the modern Advocates part with their own Concessions to the Ancients, in Poetry and Eloquence; and upon what judicious Grounds they detract from them in the first, and contest with them in the other.

They allow indeed the Sweetness of the *Greek* Poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the Language, and the Sounds and Syllables that compose it. They might as well say, the Excellence of Picture comes from the Beauty of the Colours; and of Statuary, from the Fineness of the Marble; whereas a common Hand, with the finest Colours in the World, can paint nothing better than a Sign-Post: And the drawing of a Hand in black and white, may be of ten times more Art and Value, as well as Beauty, than a common Picture, though never so finely coloured. 'Tis the same Thing in Poetry; the Language is but the Colouring; 'tis the Conception, the Invention, the Judgment, that give the Life and Spirit, as well as Beauty and Force, to a Poem. And I desire to know, whether any of the *Greek* Poets, that writ after the End of the *Ptolemies* Race in *Egypt*, are at all comparable to those that writ before; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the Comparison.

Upon the Subject of Eloquence, they will have it, that *Padre Paolo's* Council of *Trent*, and *Comines's* Memoirs, are equal to *Herodotus* and *Livy*; and so would *Strada* be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a Jest; for *Padre Paolo*, he must be allowed for the greatest Genius of his Age, and perhaps of all the Moderns, as appears in his other Writings, as well as the Council of *Trent*; which is indeed no History of any great Actions, but only an Account of a long and artificial Negotiation, between the Court and Prelates of *Rome*, and those of other Christian Princes: So that I do not see, how it can properly be stiled an History; the Subject whereof are great Actions and Revolutions: And by all the ancient Criticks upon History, the first Part of the Excellence of an Historian, is the Choice of a noble and great Subject, that may be worth his Pains.

For *Philip de Comines*, none ever call'd it a History; nor he himself, other than Memoirs; nor does either the Subject deserve it, or the Author; who is valued only for his great Truth of Relation, and Simplicity of Style.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the Number of Sciences; which are, Chymistry, Philology, and Divinity.

For that Part of Chymistry, which is conversant in discovering and extracting the Virtue of Metals, or other Minerals, or of any Simples, that are employ'd with Success, for Health or Medicine, 'tis a Study that may be of much Use and Benefit to Mankind, and is certainly the most diverting Amusement to those that pursue it. But for the other part, which is applied to the Transmutation of Metals, and the Search of the Philosopher's Stone, which has enchanted, not to say turned, so many Brains in the latter Ages: "Tho' some Men cannot comprehend, how there should have been so much Smoak for so many Ages in the World about it, without some Fire." 'Tis easie, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of Fire, without producing any thing but Smoak. If it be a Science, 'tis certainly one of the Liberal ones; for the Professors or Followers of it have spent more Money upon it, than those of all other Sciences together; and more than they will ever recover, without the Philosopher's Stone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find

it determined among wise and learned Men, whether Alchymy were any thing more than a wild Vision or Imagination of some shatter'd Heads, or else, a Practice of Knaves upon Fools, as well as sometimes of Fools upon themselves. For, however *Barbicus*, or any others, may attribute the vast Expences of the Pyramids, and Treasures of *Solomon*, to the Philosopher's Stone; I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were *Midas*, and his Possession seems a little discredited by his Ass's Ears: And I with the Pursuit of many others may not fall under the same Prejudice. For my own part, I confess I have always look'd upon Alchymy in Natural Philosophy, to be like Enthusiasm in Divinity, and to have troubled the World much to the same Purpose. And I should as soon fall into the Study of the *Resuscitant* Philosophy, and expect to meet a *Nymph* or a *Sylph*, for a Wife or a Mistress, as with the Elixir for my Health, or Philosopher's Stone for my Fortune.

'Tis not so difficult to comprehend, how such a Folly should last so long in the World, and yet without any Ground in Nature, or in Reason; if a Man considers, how the Pagan Religion lasted for so many Ages, with such general Opinion and Devotion; which yet all now confess to have been nothing but an Illusion or a Dream, with some Practice of cunning Priests, upon the credulous and ignorant People, which seems to have been the Cause of this Modern Science; for ancient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For Philology, I know not well what to make of it; and less, how it came into the Number of Sciences: If it be only Criticism upon ancient Authors and Languages, he must be a Conjuror that can make those Moderns with their Comments, and Glossaries, and Annotations, more learned than the Authors themselves in their own Languages, as well as the Subjects they treat.

I must confess, that the Criticks are a Race of Scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always esteemed them but like Brokers, who having no Stock of their own, set up and trade with that of other Men; buying here, and selling there, and commonly abusing both Sides, to make out a little poultry Gain, either of Money or of Credit, for themselves, and care not at whose Cost. Yet the first Design of these kind of Writers, after the Restoration of Learning in these Western Parts, was to be commended, and of much Use and Entertainment to the Age. 'Tis to them we owe the Editions of all the ancient Authors, the best Translations of many out of *Greek*, the restoring of the old Copies, maimed with Time or Negligence, the correcting of others mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining Places obscure, in an Age for ignorant of the Stile or Customs of the Ancients: And in short, endeavouring to recover those old Jewels out of the Dust and Rubbish, wherein they had been so long lost or soiled; to restore them to their native Lustre, and make them appear in their true Light.

This made up the Merit and Value of the Criticks for the first hundred Years, and deserved both Praise and Thanks of the Age, and the Rewards of Princes, as well as the Applause of common Scholars, which they generally received. But since they have turned their Vein, to debase the Credit and Value of the Ancients, and raise their own above those, to whom they owe all the little they know; and instead of true Wit, Sense, or Genius, to display their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or Detraction, in what they write: to trouble themselves and the World with vain Niceties and capricious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, in the Judgment of Stile; about Hours and Days, in the Account of ancient Actions or Times; about antiquated Names of Persons or Places, with many such worthy Trifles; and all this, to find some Occasion of censuring and defaming such Writers as are, or have been, most esteemed in the World: Raking into slight Wounds where they find any, or scratching till they make some, where there were none before: There is, I think, no sort of Talent so despicable, as that of such common Criticks, who can at best pretend but to value themselves, by discovering the Defaults of other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of

their own: A sort of Levellers, that will needs equal the best or richest of the Country, not by improving their own Estates, but reducing those of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themselves. The Truth is, there has been so much written of this kind of Stuff, that the World is surfeited with the same Things over and over; or old common Notions, new dress'd, and perhaps embroider'd.

For Divinity, wherein they give the Moderns such a Preference above the Ancients, they might as well have made them excell in the Knowledge of our Common Law, or of the *English* Tongue; since our Religion was as little known to the ancient Sages and Philosophers, as our Language or our Laws: And I cannot but wonder, that any Divine should so much debase Religion or true Divinity, as to introduce them thus preposterously into the Number of human Sciences: Whereas they came first to the *Jews*, and afterwards to the first Christians, by immediate Revelation or Instruction from God himself: Thus *Abraham* learn'd, that there was but one true God, and in pursuit of that Belief, contrary to the Opinion of the learned *Chaldeans*, among whom he lived, was content to forsake his own Country, and come into *Palestine*: So *Moses* was instructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to see his Glory, and to learn his Name, *Jehovah*, and to institute from Heaven the whole Religion of the *Jews*: So the Prophets, under the Old Testament, were taught to know the Will of God, and thereby to instruct the People in it, and enabled to prophesy, and do Miracles, for a Testimony of their being truly sent from Heaven. So our Blessed Saviour came into the World, to shew the Will of his Father, to teach his Precepts and Commands; and so his Apostles and their Disciples were inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, for the same Ends. And all other Theology in the World, in how learned Nations and Ages soever it flourish'd, yet ended in gross Superstition and Idolatry; so that Human Learning seems to have very little to do with true Divinity, but on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into false Notions of the Deity, and even to have misguided the *Jews* and the Christians, into the first Sects and Heresies that we find among them.

We know of little Learning among the *Jews*, besides that of *Moses* and of *Solomon*, till after the Captivity, in which their Priests grew acquainted with the Language and Learning of the *Chaldeans*; but this was soon lost, in such a broken State as theirs was, after their Return to such a ruined City, and desolate Country, and so often persecuted, by the Credit of their Enemies at the *Persian* Court: The Learning, which afterwards we find among the *Jews*, came in with the *Grecian* Empire, that introduced their Learning and Language with their Conquest into *Judea*. Before this, there were no Division or Sects among the *Jews*, but of such as followed the true Prophets or the false, and worshipp'd God or *Baal*. With the *Grecian* Language and Learning entered their Philosophy, and out of this arose the two great Sects of *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*: The *Pharisees*, in all Opinions which they could any way conform to their own Worship or Institutions, followed the Philosophy of *Plato*; the *Sadducees* of *Epicurus*. The first profess'd the strictest Rules of Virtue and Vice, the Hopes and Fears of Rewards and Punishments in another World; the Existence of Angels, and Spirits separate from Bodies: But the *Sadducees* believed little or nothing of any of these, further than to cover themselves from the Hatred and Persecution of another Sect, which was the most popular.

For that Rabbinical Learning, that is pretended by the *Jews* to have begun so long before the Captivity, and to have continued by Tradition down to the Time of the *Talmud*; I must confess, that notwithstanding the Credit that has been given to it, and all the Legends introduced by it, in the last Age; I cannot find any Traces of it, which seem at all clear, beyond the Time of the last Dispersion of the *Jews* in the Reign of *Adrian*, or the first, in that of *Vespasian*; and how little the *Jews* have gain'd by all this Learning of their *Rabbins*, how ancient or modern soever, I leave to others to consider and determine, who have more Esteem for it than I.

For

For Christianity, it came into the World, and so continued in the first Age, without the least Pretence of Learning and Knowledge, with the greatest Simplicity of Thought and Language, as well as Life and Manners, holding forth nothing but Piety, Charity, and Humility, with the Belief of the *Messias* and of his Kingdom; which appears to be the main Scope of the Gospel, and of the Preaching of the Apostles; and to have been almost concealed from the Wise and the Learned, as well as the Mighty and the Noble, by both which Sorts it was either derided or persecuted.

The first that made any Use of Learning, were the Primitive Fathers of the Second Age, only to censure the idolatrous Worship of the Heathens, and their Plurality of Gods; endeavouring to evince the Being of One God, and Immortality of the Soul, out of some of their own ancient Authors, both Poets and Philosophers, especially out of the Writers of the *Platonic* Sect, and the Verses of *Orpheus* and the *Silyls*, which then pass'd for Genuine, though they have since by the Moderns been questioned, if not exploded: Thus *Martinus Felix*, *Origen*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, made use of the Learning of such as were then Ancient to them, and thereby became Champions of the Christian Faith against the *Gentiles*, by force of their own Weapons.

After the third Century, and upon the Rise of the *Arian* and other Heresies in the Christian Church, their Learning seems chiefly to have been employed in the Defence of the several Opinions, professed by the Orthodox or the *Arians*, the Western or the Eastern Churches, and so to have long continued, by the frequent Rise of so many Heresies in the Church.

And I doubt this kind of Learning has been but too great, and made too much Use of upon all the Divisions of *Christendom*, since the Restoration of Learning in these Western Parts of the World: Yet this very Poltical Learning has been chiefly employ'd, to prove their several Opinions to be most agreeable to those of the ancient Fathers, and the Institutions of the Primitive Times; which must needs give the Preference to the Ancients above the Moderns in Divinity, since we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practis'd, than themselves; And I did as little believe, that any Divine in *England* would compare himself or his Learning with these Fathers, as that any of our Physicians would theirs with *Hippocrates*, or our Mathematicians with *Archimedes*.

One would think that the modern Advocates, after having confounded all the Ancients, and all that esteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be satisfied to condemn the rest of the World, without applauding himself; and therefore falling into a Rapture upon the Contemplation of his own wonderful Performance, he tells us; *Hitherto in the main I please my self, that there cannot be much said against what I have asserted, &c.*

I wonder a Divine upon such an Occasion, should not at least have had as much Grace as a *French Lawyer* in *Montague*; who after a dull tedious Argument, that had wearied the Court and the Company, when he went from the Bar, was heard muttering to himself; *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*: But this Writer, rather like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have *St. Lawrence's* Patience upon the Grid-Iron ascribed to the Grace of God, but only to the true *Spanish* Valour; will not have his own Perfections and Excellencies owing to any thing else, but the true Force of his own Modern Learning; and thereupon he falls into this sweet Ecstasy of Joy, wherein I shall leave him till he come to himself.

The whole Cause between the Pretensions of ancient and modern Learning, will be best decided by the Comparison of the *Persons* and the *Things* that have been produced under the Institutions and Discipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of *Persons* to the Observation of the present or last Age, to which it seems the Modern Pretences are confined; and to the Accounts given us by the best *Roman* and *Greek* Historians, of what great Spirits both Princes

Princes and Generals, as well as Lawgivers and Philosophers, have been formed under the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient Sciences; and to the Characters of *Epaninondas*, *Agefilans*, *Alcibiades*, *Philip of Macedon*, the two *Scipios*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Trajan*, *Marcus Antonius*, and several others; and of the noble and transcendent Virtues and Heroick Qualities of these, and such other Ancients most renowned in Story; their Fortitude, their Justice, their Prudence, their Temperance, their Magnanimity, their Clemency, their Love to their Country, and the Sacrifice they made of their Lives, or at least, of their Ease and Quiet, to the Service thereof: Their eminent Virtues both Civil and Military, by which they gained such famous Victories over their Enemies, such passionate Love for their own Countries, and such Admiration of all Men, both in their own and succeeding Ages.

For *Things* to be considered, they must be such as have been either of general Use or Pleasure to Mankind. In those of Pleasure, as Poetry, Picture, Statuary, Eloquence, Architecture; the Point is yielded by the Moderns; and must of necessity be so by any Man that reads the Descriptions of those ancient Fabricks mentioned before, all in a Breath; which were and will be the Wonders of the World. Among other Testimonies of their Wit and Science, in their Inventions of Pleasure; one might observe, that their very Luxury was learned, in the Disposition, Order, and Variety of their Feasts; so contrived, as to entertain not only all the Senses, but the Imagination and Intellectuals too; by Perfumes, Musick, Mimick, both Dumb and Vocal; short Scenes and Representations; Buffooneries, or Comical Disputes to divert the Company, and deceive as well as divide the Time; besides more Serious and Philosophical Discourses, Arguments, and Recitations.

But above all others, they were most wonderful in their *Shews* or *Spectacula*, exhibited so often at *Rome*, to entertain the People in general, first by their *Ædils* and *Censuls*, and afterwards by their Emperors: Not to speak of the Magnificence and Order of their Theatres and Triumphs: 'Tis strange, how such Thoughts could so much as enter into any Man's Head, to derive, of a sudden, so much Water into the midst of a Town or a Field, as might represent a Sea upon dry Ground, bring Ships or Gallies rowing into it, and order an absolute Sea-Battle to be fought upon the Land. At another time, to plant a vast Wood of great and green Trees, in a plain Field, all enclosed and replenished with all sorts of wild Beasts, for the People to hunt, to kill, and to eat, next Day at their Feasts; and the Day after, all this to disappear, as if it had only been an Apparition, or raised by Inchantment. Such sort of Achievements among the Ancients, and such Effects of their admirable Science and Genius in the Invention and Disposition of them, seem as difficult for us in these Ages to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now for Things of general Use to Mankind; they are the Productions of Agriculture, Physick, and Legislature, or Political Orders and Institutions.

For the first; We owe them all to the Ancients, who were the Inventors of all Arts necessary to Life and Sustainance, as Plowing, Sowing, Planting, and conserving the Fruits of the Earth to a longer Season. All sorts of Grain, Wine, Oil, Honey, Cheefe, are the most ancient Inventions, and not at all improved by the Moderns.

For Physick; I leave it to be compared in the Books and Practice of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and the ancient *Arabians*, who followed their Rules and Methods, with those of *Paracelsus* and his Chymical Followers.

For Political Institutions, that tend to the Preservation of Mankind, by Civil Governments: 'Tis enough to mention those of *Cyrus*, *Thebesus*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Chavondas*, *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, besides the more ancient Institutions of the *Assyrian* and *Egyptian* Governments and Laws, wherein may be observed, such a Reach of Thought, such Depths of Wisdom, and such Force of Genius, as the Presumption, and Flattery it self of our Age, will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern Civil Institutions.

I know not why a very good Reason for the great Advantage of ancient above modern Learning, may not be justly drawn from the Force and Influence of Climates, where they have grown; and why the Regions of *Affyria*, *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, the Lesser *Asia*, *Greece*, *Rome*, and especially *China*, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater Force of Wit and Genius, of Invention and Penetration, than *England*, *Holland*, or the Northern Parts of *France* and *Germany*, to which all our Modern Learning seems to have been confined: Nor do I see, why the mighty Progress of Sciences in those Countries, may not in a great measure be ascribed unto the long Peace and flourishing Condition of those ancient Empires, wherein the *Magi* and Priests were so much honoured of old; and also to the Freedom of Thought and Enquiry, in the *Grecian* and *Italian* Republicks, wherein the ancient Philosophers were so much esteemed: Nor is it strange, that all Learning should have been extinguish'd in those noble Regions, by the Conquests of barbarous Nations, and those violent Governments which have succeeded them; nor that the Progress of it should be maimed by the perpetual Wars and Distractions that have infested *Europe*, ever since the Fall of the *Roman* Empire made way for so many several *Gothick* Kingdoms or Governments in this part of the World, where Learning pretends to be so much advanced.

The greatest Modern Inventions seem to be those of the *Load-Stone* and *Gun-powder*; by the first whereof, Navigation must be allowed to have been much improved and extended; and by the last, the Art Military, both at Sea and Land, to have been wholly changed; yet 'tis agreed, I think, that the *Chinese* have had the Knowledge and Use of Gun-powder, many Ages before it came into *Europe*: And besides, both these have not served for any common or necessary Use to Mankind; one having been employed for their Destruction, not their Preservation; and the other, only to feed their Avarice, or increase their Luxury: Nor can we say, that they are the Inventions of this Age, wherein Learning and Knowledge are pretended to be so wonderfully increased and advanced.

What has been produced for the Use, Benefit, or Pleasure of Mankind, by all the airy Speculations of those, who have passed for the great Advancers of Knowledge and Learning these last fifty Years (which is the Date of our modern Pretenders) I confess I am yet to seek, and should be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous Pretensions and Visions of Men, possess'd with Notions of the strange Advancement of Learning and Sciences on foot in this Age, and the Progress they are like to make in the next: As, The Universal Medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it: The Philosopher's Stone, which will be found out by Men that care not for Riches: The Transfusion of young Blood into old Men's Veins, which will make them as gamefome as the Lambs, from which 'tis to be derived: An Universal Language, which may serve all Mens Turn, when they have forgot their own: The Knowledge of one anothers Thoughts, without the grievous Trouble of Speaking: The Art of Flying, till a Man happens to fall down and break his Neck: Double-bottom'd Ships, whereof none can ever be cast away, besides the first that was made: The admirable Virtues of that noble and necessary Juice called Spittle, which will come to be sold, and very cheap, in the Apothecaries Shops: Discoveries of new Worlds in the Planets, and Voyages between this and that in the Moon, to be made as frequently as between *Tirk* and *London*: Which such poor Mortals as I am think as wild as those of *Aristo*, but without half so much Wit, or so much Instruction; for there, these modern Sages may know, where they may hope in Time to find their lost Senses, preserved in Vials, with those of *Orlando*.

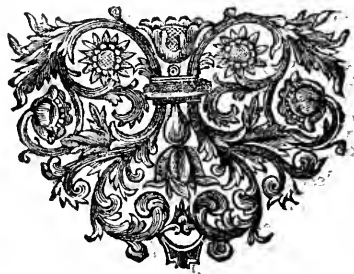
One great Difference must be confessed between the Ancient and Modern Learning; theirs led them to a Sense and Acknowledgement of their own Ignorance, the Imbecility of Human Understanding, the Incomprehension even of Things about us, as well as those above us; so as the most sublime Wits among the Ancients ended in their *Ἀκατανόητα*; Ours leads us to

Prefumption, and vain Ostentation of the little we have learned, and makes us think, we do or shall know, not only all Natural, but even what we call Supernatural Things; all in the Heavens, as well as upon Earth; more than all mortal Men have known before our Age; and shall know in time as much as Angels.

Socrates was by the *Delphick* Oracle pronounced the wisest of all Men, because he professed that he knew nothing: What would the Oracle have said of a Man that pretends to know every thing? *Pliny* the elder, and most learned of all the *Romans* whose Writings are left, concludes the Uncertainty and Weakness of human Knowledge, with, *Constat igitur inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quicquam nec superbius.* But sure, our modern Learned, and especially the Divines of that Sect, among whom it seems this Disease is spread, and who will have the World "to be ever improving, and that nothing is forgotten that ever was known among Mankind," must themselves have forgotten that Humility and Charity are the Virtues which run through the Scope of the Gospel; and one would think they never had read, or at least never minded, the first Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wisest of Men, but even by Divine Inspiration; where *Solomon* tells us,

The thing that has been, is that which shall be, and there is no new Thing under the Sun; Is there any Thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It has been already of old Time which was before us: There is no Remembrance of former Things, neither shall there be any Remembrance of Things that are to come, with those that shall come after.

These, with many other Passages in that admirable Book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the Presumption of our Modern *Sciologists*, if their Pride were not as great as their Ignorance; or if they knew the rest of the World any better than they know themselves.



H E A D S,

Designed for an

E S S A Y

UPON THE

Different Conditions of LIFE and FORTUNE.

WHETHER a good Condition, with Fear of being ill, or an ill, with Hope of being well, pleases or displeases most.
 The Good of Wisdom, as it most conduces to Happiness.
 The Effect of Happiness best discovered, by good Humour, and Satisfaction within.

Difference between being Satisfied, and Content.

The Value of Virtue double, as of Coin; one of Stamp, which consists in the Esteem of it; the other intrinsic, as most contributing to the Good of Private Life, and Publick Society.

Against *Rochefoucault's* Reflections upon Virtue; *qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenue par la vanité*

A Man's Wisdom, his best Friend; Folly, his worst Enemy.

No Happiness with great Pain; and so all are exposed to small and common Accidents.

The Sting of a Wasp, a Fit of the Stone, the Biting of a mad Dog, destroy for the Time; the two first, Happiness; and the other, Wisdom it self.

The only Way for a rich Man to be healthy, is, by Exercise and Abstinence, to live as if he were poor; which are esteemed the worst Parts of Poverty.

Leisure and Solitude, the best Effects of Riches, because Mother of Thought. Both avoided by most rich Men, who seek Company and Business, which are Signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other Diversions, of which, this is in most Credit: Nothing so prejudicial to the Publick.

How few Busy to good purpose, for themselves or Country.

Virgil's Morals in

Hic quibus invidi fratres, &c.

And, *Hic manus ob patriam, &c.*

Solomon's, Enjoy the Good of Life, Fear God, and keep his Commandments.

Horace, in his *Non es avarus*,
to, *Quid te exempta jurat Spinis de pluribus una?*

To mortify Mankind in their Designs of any transcendent Happiness, Solomon's *Ecclesiastes*, and Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, with *Almanzor*; the greatest Princes of their Times, and greatest Men at all Times.

The old Man near the *Hague*, that served my House from his Dairy, grew so rich that he gave it over; bought a House and furnish'd it, at the *Hague*, resolving to live at ease the rest of his Life; grew so weary of being idle, he sold it, and returned again to his Dairy.

If without other Fears, yet that of Death enough to spoil the greatest Enjoyments.

Never to be foreseen — *Quod quisque vitet nusquam homini satis cautum est in horas.*

A thinking Man can never live well, unless content to die.

'Tis difficult to love Life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The Golden Sentences at *Delfbos*; Know thy self. Nothing too much. Fly Contention and Debt.

— *Quid te tibi reddat amicum.*

El mucho se gasta, y el poco basta.

Many Friends may do one little Good; one Enemy, much Hurt.

In no Man's Power to avoid Enemies; they injure by Chance, in a Crowd sometimes, and without Design; then hate always, whom they have once injured.

To rich Men, the greatest Pleasures of Sense either grow dull for want of Difficulty, or hurt by Excess.

The greatest Advantages Men have by Riches, are, to Give, to Build, to Plant, and make pleasant Scenes, of which, Pictures and Statues make the pleafanteft Part.

The greatest Prince, possess'd with Superstition and Fears of Death, more unhappy, than any private Man of common Fortune and well constituted Mind.

A Prince above all Desires of More, or Fears of Change, falls to enjoy the Pleasures of Leisure and good Scenes: For in those of Sense, he can have but his Share, in which Nature has flinted all Men.

To what we are capable of, a common Fortune will reach; the rest is but Ostentation and Vanity, which are below a wife and thinking Man.

Sir Phil.
Sidney.

*Who for each fickle Fear from Virtue shrinks,
Shall in this World enjoy no worthy Thing:
No Mortal Man the Cup of Surety drinks;
But let us pick our Good from out much Bad,
That so our little World may know its King.*

A little
Moor
that rode
Postilion.

Quivy's Philosophy; that when he could not get off his Boots at Night, he knew as good a way; to go to sleep with them on.

Whoever can die easily, may live easily.

The Pursuit of Wealth, by endless Care and Pains, is grounded but upon the Desire of being so much further from Want. That of Power, Place, and Honour, but upon the Prospect of being so much safer, from the Respect it gives; or the having others in our Power, instead of our being in theirs.

To take every thing by the right Hand, rather than the left, or the best End.

*Life have I worn out, thrice thirty Years,
Some in much Joy, many in Fears.
Yet never complain'd of Cold or Heat;
Of Winter Storms, or Summer Sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came*—————

Spence:

The last Pope's way of getting the Keys; *Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri.*

How far the Temper of Mind and Body may go towards Relief of the worst Conditions of Fortune. How little, the best Accidents, or Conditions of Fortune, towards relieving the Distempers of Body or Mind.

The true End of Riches (next to doing Good) Ease and Pleasure; the common Effect, to encrease Care and Trouble.

A Man's Happiness, all in his own Opinion of himself and other Things:

A Fool happier in thinking well of himself, than a wise Man in others thinking well of him.

Any Man unhappier, in reproaching himself, if guilty; than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable Man satisfy himself, it will satisfy all others, that are worth the Care of it.

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like Cork, tho' kept down in the Water.

To take care of the first ill Action; which engages one in a Course of them, unless owned and repented. It draws on Disguise; that, Lying, and unjust Quarrels.

A shattered Reputation, never again entire: Honour in a Man to be esteemed like that of a Woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good Things in the World brought to pass by Care and Order.

The End of all Wisdom, Happiness: In private, of one's own Life; in publick Affairs, of the Government.

The difference of both between one Man and another; only whether a Man governs his Passions, or his Passions Him.

We ought to abstain from those Pleasures, which upon Thought we conclude are likely to end in more Trouble or Pain, than they begin in Joy or Pleasure.

Youth naturally most inclined to the better Passions; Love, Desire, Ambition, Joy. Age to the worst; Avarice, Grief, Revenge, Jealousy, Envy, Suspicion.

As nothing in this World is unmix'd, so Men should temper these Passions one with another; according to what, by Age or Constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and Sufficiency in Opinion of one's self, and Scorn in that of others, the great Bane of Knowledge and Life.

One Man's Reason better than another's, as it is more convincing; else, every Man's Pretence to right Reason, alike.

'Tis hard going round the Pole, to know what the greatest number of Men agree in.

The wisest Men, easiest to hear Advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different Ends, according to different Tempers; are wise, as they chuse Ends that will satisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general Reputation; a Man injures me upon Humour, Passion, or Interest, or standing in his Way; hates me because he has injured me; and speaks ill of me because he hates me.

Besides, no Humour so general, to find fault with others, as the Way to value themselves.

A good Man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himself. A Restlessness in Men's Minds to be something they are not, and have something they have not, the Root of all Immorality.

Coolness of Temper and Blood, and consequently of Desires, the great Principle of all Virtue.

This equally necessary, in moderating good Fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to Philosophy than *Solomon* and *Antoninus*, in the most prosperous Fortunes.

The Violences of *Tiberius* made more Stoicks at *Rome*, than all their Schools.

Padre Paolo at seventy Years: *When the Spirits that furnish Hopes fail, 'tis time to live no longer.*

The Temper of great Men should have force of vital Spirits, great Heat, and yet Equality, which are hardly found together.

A Humour, apt to put great Weight upon small Matters, and consequently to make much Trouble out of little; is the greatest Ingredient to Unhappiness of Life. The contrary, the greatest to Happiness.

The best Philosophy, that which is natural to Men, disposed to succeed in it, by their natural Tempers, though improved by Education, Learning, and Thought.

Sharpness cuts slight Things best, Solid, nothing cuts thro' but Weight and Strength; the same, in the Use of Intellectuals.

The two greatest Mistakes among Mankind, are to measure Truth by every Man's Reason: And not only to wish every body like one's self, but to believe them so too, and that they are only disguised in what they differ from us. Both the Effect of natural Self-love.

Men come to despise one another, by reckoning they have all the same Ends with him that judges, only proceed foolishly towards them; when indeed their Ends are different.

One Man will not, for any Respect of Fortune, lose his Liberty so much; as to be obliged to step over a Kennel every Morning; and yet, to please a Mistress, save a beloved Child. serve his Country or Friend, will sacrifice all the Ease of his Life, nay his Blood and Life too, upon occasion.

Another will do the same for Riches.

One will suffer all Injuries without Resentment, in pursuit of Avarice or Ambition; another will sacrifice all for Revenge.

Pompey fled among the *Egyptian* Slaves to save his Life, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and Loss of Empire, and Liberty of *Rome*. *Cesar* chose to die once, rather than live in fear of dying. *Cato*, to die, rather than outlive the Liberties of his Country, or submit to a Conqueror.

Atticus preferred the Quiet of Life, before all Riches and Power; and never enter'd into Publick Cares.

Yet these all Contemporaries, and the four greatest of *Rome*.

Mr. H. to me. If a King were so great to have nothing to desire nor fear, he would live just as you do.

Does any thing look more desirable, than to be able to go just one's own Pace and Way? Which belongs in the greatest degree to a private Life. *Ut mihi vivam quod superest aevi.*

A Man in Publick Affairs, is like one at Sea; never in his own Disposal, but in that of Winds and Tides.

To be bound for a Port one desires extremely, and sail to it with a fair Gale, is very pleasant: But to live always at Sea, and upon all Adventures, is only for those who cannot live at Land:

Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone secundo;

Non tamen adversis atatem ducimus Austris.

When after much working, one's Head is very well settled; the best is, not to set it a working again. The more and longer it has work'd at first, perhaps the finer and stronger: But every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The

The greatest Pleasure of Life, is Love: The greatest Treasure, is Contentment: The greatest Possession, is Health: The greatest Ease, is Sleep: And the greatest Medicine, is a true Friend.

Happiness of Life depends much upon natural Temper, which turns one's Thoughts, either upon Good, in Possession and Hopes; or Evil, in present Sense or Fears.

This makes the difference between Melancholly and Sanguin, between Old and Young, greater, than between those placed in any different Degree of Fortune.

The Use of Plenty, is the Abuse of Riches: For unless a rich Man will in some Things live like a poor one, he is not the better for his Riches: His Life will be the worse, and the shorter.

Every Man will be happy; and none, by the Constitution of Nature, is capable of being so. We are capable of few Pleasures; and Reason and Reflection cut off many of those.

If the Sun or Moon eclipses; if a Comet appear; a Man is in Pain: If a great Storm of Thunder or Lightning, or violent Seasons, or Tempests: If any thing touch his Life or his Fortune; any Passion at Heart; or if he fears for his Soul; he is an unhappy Man.

Pride, the Ground of most Passions, and most Frenzies.

The Design of distinguishing one's self in some kind, general to all Men; and from which most Troubles arise.

Man is a thinking Thing, whether he will or no: All he can do, is to turn his Thoughts the best way.

Since, in some Degree, we must always either hope or fear, we should turn our Thoughts upon some Design or Course of Life, that will entertain them with some kind of Hopes. *Lente in voto.* If that cannot be, the next is, to seek Diversion from Thought, by Business, Sports, or Labour.

After all, Life is but a Trifle, that should be plaid with till we lose it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If Men are so happy, from Nature or Fortune, as to have nothing else to complain of, they trouble themselves with the Thoughts, that they must, or may die.

They take no Pleasure in the Feast, because it must end.

There is but one general undisputed Truth yet agreed on; That whatever lives must die.

Dying is a Piece of our Nature, as well as Living; therefore if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly so with the other.

Since Death is unavoidable, nothing so impertinent as to trouble our selves about it: But Pain is not of so absolute Necessity, therefore 'tis pardonable to endeavour to avoid it.

The *Stoicks* Opinion of Pain not being an Evil, a Mockery unnatural, and a Strain of the highest Disguise and Affectation.

Whether Conditions of Life and Fortune are not in all much alike; at least so, in one great part of our Lives: For Sleep levels the Poor and the Rich, the Honoured and Disgraced, the Prince and the Peasant.

Non domus aut fundi, non aris, &c.

These may entertain or heighten good Humour where it is; not raise it where it is not: Otherwise, 'tis like Musick in Mourning.

The Plant may be improved by Seasons and Pains, but the Root must be in the Ground.

The Intemperate give themselves no leave to feel Hunger, Thirst, want of Sleep, or any other strong and natural Desires, without which, the Pleasures of Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, and the rest, are all but weak and faint.

Restlessness of Mind is the great Cause of Intemperance, seeking Pleasures when Nature does not ask, nor Appetite prepare them.

No Possessions good, but by the good Use we make of them; without which Wealth, Power, Friends, Servants, do but help to make our Lives more unhappy.

H E A D S,

Designed for an

E S S A Y

O N

CONVERSATION.

MEN naturally or generally seek it with others, and avoid it with themselves.

Both are necessary, one gives the Stock, the other improves it: One without t'other, unrefined.

Ability is drawn out into Use, by Occasions and Accidents'

*Paulum sepulchra distat inertia
Celata Virtus.*

Sometimes in one Age, Great Men are without Great Occasions; in another, Great Occasions without Great Men; and in both, one lost, for want of the other.

No Man willingly lives without some Conversation: Delicacy and Distinction, makes Men called Solitary.

Those that do upon Vows or Choice, in danger of some degrees of Frenzy; the Mind is like the Stomach, when empty, preying upon it self.

Scipio, of all Active and Great Men, the most Contemplative; yet open to *Laelius* and other private Friends.

Women and Children, some sort of Fools, and Madmen, the greatest Talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the Effect of Thought, and Cause of all good Productions.

Silence in Company (if not Dulness or Modesty) is Observation or Discretion.

To play or wrestle well, should be used with those that do it better than you.

A Man among Children, long a Child: A Child among Men, soon a Man.

Nothing keeps a Man from being rich, like thinking he has enough: Nothing from Knowledge and Wisdom, like thinking he has both.

No-

Nothing so unreasonable or insufferable in common Conversation, as Sufficiency.

Measuring all Reason by our own, the commonest and greatest Weakness; is an Encroachment upon the common Right of Mankind.

Neither general Rules, nor general Practice, to be found further than Notion.

Taste in Conversation, from Love or Friendship, Esteem or Interest, Pleasantry or Amusement: The two first engage the first Part of our Lives; the two second, the middle; and the last the latter End.

Something like Home that is not Home, like Alone that is not Alone, to be wished, and only found in a Friend, or in his House.

Men that do not think of the present, will be thinking of the past or future; therefore Business or Conversation is necessary to fix their Thoughts on the present.

In the rest, seldom Satisfaction, often Discontent and Trouble, unless to very sanguin Humours.

The same in general Speculations: Witness *Solomon* and *Antoninus*; for whose Thoughts are not lost in the Immenity of Matter, the Infinity of Forms, the Variety of Productions, and continual Vicissitude, or Change of one to the other.

In Conversation, Humour is more than Wit, Easiness more than Knowledge; few desire to learn, or think they need it; all desire to be pleased, or, if not, to be easy.

A Fool may say many wise Things, a wise Man no foolish ones: Good Sense runs throughout.

Mr. *Grantam's* Fool's Reply to a great Man, that asked whose Fool he was? I am Mr. *Grantam's* Fool: Pray whose Fool are You?

Sudden Replies esteemed the best and pleasantest Veins of Wit, not always so, of good Sense.

Of all Passions, none so soon and so often turns the Brain, as Pride.

A little Vein of Folly or Whim, pleasant in Conversation; because it gives a Liberty of saying Things, that discreet Men, though they will not say, are willing to hear.

The first Ingredient in Conversation is Truth, the next good Sense, the third good Humour, and the fourth Wit.

This last was formerly left to Fools and Buffoons, kept in all great Families.

Henry the Fourth of *France*, and *King James* the First of *England*, First gave Repute to that sort of Wit; increased by *King Charles* the Second.

In *King Charles* the First's Time, all Wit, Love, and Honour, heightened by the Wits of that Time into Romance.

Lord Goring took the Contrepied, and turned all into Ridicule.

He was followed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that Vein favoured by *King Charles* the Second, brought it in Vogue.

Truth is allowed the most estimable Quality: The Lye is the greatest Reproach.

Therefore allowed formerly a just Occasion of Combat by Law, and since that Time, by Honour, in private Duels.

Good Breeding a necessary Quality in Conversation, to accomplish all the rest, as Grace in Motion and Dancing.

It is harder in that, to dance a Courant well than a Jigg: So in Conversation, Even, Easy, and Agreeable, more than Points of Wit; which unless very naturally they fall in of themselves, and not too often, are disliked in good Company: Because they pretend to more than the rest, and turn Conversation from good Sense to Wit, from Pleasant to Ridicule, which are the meaner Parts.

To make others Wit appear more than one's own, a good Rule in Conversation: A necessary one, to let others take Notice of your Wit, and never do it your self.

Flat-

Flattery, like Poison, requires of all others the finest Infusion.

Of all Things the most nauseous, the most shocking, and hardest to bear.

K. *James* the First used to say, Nay, by my Soul, that's too hard.

Pride and Roughness may turn one's Humour, but Flattery turns one's Stomach.

Both Extrems to be avoided: If we must lean one way, better to Bluntness and Coldness, which is most Natural, than to Flattery, which is Artificial.

This is learn'd in the Slavery of Courts, or ill Fortune; the other in the Freedom of the Country, and a Fortune one is content with.

Nothing so nauseous as undistinguish'd Civility; 'tis like a Whore, or an Hostess, who looks kindly upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for such Persons of Quality as have no other way to draw Company, and draws only such as are welcome any where else.

Court Conversation, without Love or Business, of all the other, the most tasteless.

A Court, properly a Fair, the End of it Trade and Gain: For none would come to be jostled in a Crowd, that is easie at home, nor go to Service, that thinks he has enough to live well of himself.

Those that come to either for Entertainment, are the Dupes of the Traders, or at least, the Raillery.

All the Skill of a Court is to follow the Prince's present Humour, talk the present Language, serve the present Turn, and make use of the present Interest of one's Friends.

Bluntness and Plainness in a Court, the most refined Breeding.

Like something in a Dress that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When I consider, how many noble and estimable Men, how many lovely and agreeable Women, I have outlived among my Acquaintance and Friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.

Changes in Veins of Wit, like those of Habits, or other Modes.

Upon K. *Charles* the Second's Return, none more out of Fashion among the New Courtiers, than the old Earl of *Norwich*, that was esteem'd the greatest Wit in his Father's Time, among the old.

Our Thoughts are express'd by Speech, our Passions and Motions as well without it.

Telling our Grievs lessens them, and doubles our Joys.

To hate Company unnatural, or to be always silent in it.

Sociable, a Quality ascribed to Mankind.

Yet Hatred, or Distaste, brought *Timon* to live alone, and the Shipwreck'd Men in an Island of the *Indies*.

'Tis very different to live in little Company, or in none.

Proper for Age to retire, as for Youth to produce it self in the World.

One shews Merit, or the Hopes they may one Day have it: The other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to shew Excellencies in any kind; for the other to hide their Defaults.

'Tis not to live, to be hid all one's Life; but if one has been abroad all Day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great Change of Weather or Company.

Nothing so useful as well chosen Conversation, or so pernicious as ill.

There may be too much, as well as too little.

Solitude damps Thought and Wit; too much Company dissipates and hinders it from fixing.

In Retreat a Man feels more how Life passes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he dislikes it, the more miserable, and ought to change for Company, Business, or Entertainments, which keep a Man from his own Thoughts and Reflections.

Study gives Strength to the Mind; Conversation, Grace: The first apt to give Stiffness, the other, Suppleness: One gives Substance and Form to the Statue, t'other polishes it.

The

The great Happiness is to have a Friend to observe and tell one of one's Faults, whom one has Reason to esteem, and is apt to believe.

The great Miscarriages of Life come from the Want of a good Pilot, or from a Sufficiency to follow one's own Course or Humour.

Sometimes out of Pride to contradict others, or shew one needs no Instruction.

Do nothing to lose common Reputation, which is the best Possession of Life, especially that of Honour and Truth.

Roughness or Authority in giving Counsel, easiness to receive all, or Obstinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much Delicacy in one, or the other, of ill Effect.

Mark what makes other Men esteemed, and imitate; what disesteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be sought and frequented, that excel in some Quality or other.

Of all Excellencies that make Conversation, good Sense and good Nature the most necessary, Humour the pleasanter.

To submit blindly to none, to preserve the Liberty of one's own Reason, to dispute for Instruction, not Victory, and yield to Reason as soon as it appears to us, from whence soever it comes.

This is to be found in all Conditions and Degrees of Men, in a Farmer or Miller sometimes, as well as a Lawyer or Divine, among the Learned and the Great; tho' their Reputation or Manner often imposes on us.

The best Rules to form a young Man, to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has past in Company, to distrust one's own Opinions, and value others that deserve it.

The chief Ingredients into the Composition of those Qualities that gain Esteem and Praise, are good Nature, Truth, good Sense, and good Breeding.

Good Nature is seen in a Disposition to say and do, what one thinks will please or profit others.

Good Breeding in doing nothing one thinks will either hurt or displease them.

Good Nature and good Sense come from our Births or Tempers; good Breeding and Truth, chiefly by Education and Converse with Men. Yet Truth seems much in one's Blood, and is gained too by good Sense and Reflection; that nothing is a greater Possession, nor of more Advantage to those that have it, as well as those that deal with it.

Offensive and undistinguish'd Rallery comes from ill Nature, and Desire of Harm to others, tho' without Good to one's self.

Or Vanity and a Desire of valuing our selves, by shewing other Faults and Follies, and the Comparison with our selves, as free from them.

This Vein in the World was originally Railing; but because that would not pass without Return of Blows, Men of more Wit than Courage brought in this Refinement, more dangerous to others, and less to themselves.

Charles Brandon's Motto at a Tournament, upon his Marriage with the Queen; the Trappings of his Horse being half Cloth of Gold, and the other half Frize.

*Cloth of Gold do not despise,
Tho' thou art match'd with Cloth of Frize:
Cloth of Frize be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with Cloth of Gold.*

V I R G I L's

L A S T

E C L O G U E.

O N E Labour more, O *Arethusa*, yield,
 Before I leave the Shepherds and the Field:
 Some Verses to my *Gallus* e're we part,
 Such as may one Day break *Lycoris*' Heart,
 As She did his. Who can refuse a Song,
 To one that lov'd so well, and dy'd so young?
 So may'ft thou thy belov'd *Alpheus* please,
 When thou creep'ft under the *Sicanian* Seas.
 Begin, and sing *Gallus*' unhappy Fires,
 Whilst yonder Goat to yonder Branch aspires
 Out of his Reach. We sing not to the Deaf;
 An Answer comes from ev'ry trembling Leaf.
 What Woods, what Forests had intic'd your Stay,
 Ye *Nayades*, why came ye not away
 When *Gallus* dy'd by an unworthy Flame?
Parnassus knew, and lov'd too well, his Name,
 To stop your Course; nor could your hafty Flight
 Be staid by *Pindus*, which was his Delight.
 Him the fresh Lawrels, Him the lowly Heath
 Bewail'd with dewy Tears; his parting Breath
 Made lofty *Menalus* hang his piny Head;
Lycæan Marbles wept, when he was dead.
 Under a lonely Tree he lay, and pin'd,
 His Flock about him, feeding on the Wind,
 As he on Love; such kind and gentle Sheep,
 The fair *Adonis* would be proud to keep.

There

There came the Shepherds, there the weary Hinds,
 There *Menalcas*, parch'd with Frost and Winds ;
 All ask'd him whence, for whom, this fatal Love :
Apollo came, his Arts and Herbs to prove.
 Why, *Gallus* ? why so fond ? he says ; thy Flame,
 Thy Care, *Lycoris*, is another's Game ;
 For him she sighs and raves, him she pursues,
 'Through mid-Day's Heats, and through the Morning Dews ;
 Over the snowy Cliffs, and frozen Streams,
 Through noisy Camps. Up, *Gallus*, leave thy Dreams :
 She has left thee. Still lay the drooping Swain,
 Hanging his mourning Head : '*Phœbus* in vain,
 Offers his Herbs, employs his Counsel here ;
 'Tis all refus'd, or answer'd with a Tear.
 What shakes the Branches ! what makes all the Trees
 Begin to bow their Heads, the Goats their Knees !
 Oh ! 'tis *Sylvanus*, with his mossy Beard
 And leafy Crown, attended by a Herd
 Of Wood-born Satyrs ; see ! he shakes his Spear,
 A green young Oak, the tallest of the Year.
Pan, the *Arcadian* God, forsook the Plains,
 Mov'd with the Story of his *Gallus*' Pains.
 We saw him come, with Oaten-pipe in hand,
 Painted with Berries-juice ; we saw him stand,
 And gaze upon his Shepherd's bathing Eyes ;
 And, What no end, no end of Grief ! he cries :
 Love little minds all thy consuming Care,
 Or restless Thoughts ; they are his daily Fare.
 Nor cruel Love with Tears, nor Grass with Show'rs,
 Nor Goats with tender Sprouts, nor Bees with Flow'rs,
 Are ever satisfi'd. So said the God,
 And toucht the Shepherd with his Hazle Rod :
 He, sorrow-strain, seem'd to revive, and said,
 But yet, *Arcadians*, is my Grief allay'd,
 To think, that in these Woods, and Hills, and Plains ;
 When I am silent in the Grave, your Swains
 Shall sing my Loves, *Arcadian* Swains inspir'd
 By *Phœbus* ; Oh ! how gently shall these tir'd
 And fainting Limbs, repose in endless Sleep,
 Whilst your sweet Notes my Love immortal keep !
 Would it had pleas'd the Gods, I had been born
 Just one of you, and taught to wind a Horn,
 Or wield a Hook, or prune a branching Vine,
 And known no other Love, but, *Phyllis*, thine ;

Or thine, *Amintas* ; What though both are brown ?
 So are the Nuts and Berries on the Down ;
 Amongst the Vines, the Willows, and the Springs,
Phyllis makes Garlands, and *Amintas* sings.
 No cruel Absence calls my Love away,
 Farther than bleating Sheep can go astray.
 Here, my *Lycoris*, here are shady Groves,
 Here Fountains cool, and Meadows soft ; our Loves
 And Lives may here, together, wear and end :
 O the true Joys of such a Fate and Friend !
 I now am hurried, by severe Commands,
 To Eastern Regions, and among the Bands
 Of armed Troops ; there, by my Foes pursu'd,
 Here, by my Friends ; but still by Love subdu'd.
 Thou far from home, and me, art wandring o'er
 The *Alpine* Snows, the farthest Western Shore,
 The frozen *Rhine*. When are we like to meet ?
 Ah gently, gently, lest thy tender Feet
 Be cut with Ice. Cover thy lovely Arms ;
 The Northern Cold relents not at their Charms :
 Away I'll go, into some shady Bow'rs,
 And sing the Songs I made in happy Hours ;
 And charm my Woes. How can I better chuse,
 Than among wildest Woods my self to lose,
 And carve our Loves upon the tender Trees ?
 There they will thrive : See, how my Love agrees
 With the young Plants : Look how they grow together,
 In spite of Absence, and in spite of Weather.
 Mean time, I'll climb that Rock, and ramble o'er
 Yon woody Hill ; I'll chase the grizly Boar.
 I'll find *Diana's*, and her Nymphs Resort ;
 No Frosts, no Storms, shall slack my eager Sport.
 Methinks I'm wandring all about the Rocks,
 And hollow sounding Woods : Look, how my Locks
 Are torn with Boughs and Thorns ! My Shafts are gone,
 My Legs are tir'd, and all my Sport is done.
 Alas ! this is no Cure for my Disease ;
 Nor can our Toils that cruel God appease.
 Now neither Nymphs, nor Songs, can please me more,
 Nor hollow Woods, nor yet the chased Boar :
 No Sport, no Labour can divert my Grief :
 Without *Lycoris*, there is no Relief.
 Though I should drink up *Heber's* Icy Streams,
 Or *Scythian* Snows, yet still her fiery Beams

Would

Would scorch me up. Whatever we can prove,
Love conquers all, and we must yield to Love.

H O R A C E. Lib. IV. Ode 7.

THE Snows are melted all away,
The Fields grow flow'ry, green and gay,
The Trees put on their tender Leaves;
And all the Streams that went astray,
The Brook again into her Bed receives.

See! the whole Earth has made a Change,
The Nymphs and Graces naked range
About the Fields, who shrunk before
Into their Caves. The empty Grange
Prepares its room, for a new Summer's Store.

Left thou shouldst hope immortal Things,
The changing Year Instruction brings,
The fleeting Hour, that steals away
The Beggar's Time, and Life of Kings,
But ne'er returns them, as it does the Day.

The Cold grows soft with Western Gales,
The *Summer* over *Spring* prevails,
But yields to *Autumn's* fruitful Rain,
As this to *Winter* Storms and Hails;
Each Loss the halting Moons repair again.

But we, when once our Race is done,
With *Tullus*, and *Anchises'* Son,
(Though rich like one, like t'other good)
To Dust and Shades, without a Sun,
Descend, and sink in deep Oblivion's Flood.

Who knows, if the kind Gods will give
Another Day to Men that live
In hope of many distant Years;
Or if one Night more shall retrieve
The Joys thou lovest, by thy idle Fears?

The pleafant Hours thou fpend'ft in Health,
 The Ufe thou mak'ft of Youth and Wealth,
 As what thou gav'ft among thy Friends,
 Escapes thy Heirs; fo thofe the Stealth
 Of Time and Death, where Good and Evil ends.

For when that comes, nor Birth, nor Fame,
 Nor Piety, nor Honeft Name,
 Can e'er reftore thee. *Thefeus* bold,
 Nor chaft *Hippolytus*, could tame
 Devouring Fate, that fpare not young nor old.

H O R A C E. Lib. I. Ode 13.

W H E N thou commend'ft the lovely Eyes
 Of *Telephus*, that for thee dies,
 His Arms of Wax, his Neck, or Hair;
 Oh! how my Heart begins to beat,
 My Spleen is fwell'd with Gall and Heat,
 And all my Hopes are turn'd into Defpair.

Then both my Mind and Colour change,
 My jealous Thoughts about me range,
 In twenty Shapes; my Eyes begin,
 Like Winter-fprings, apace to fill;
 The ftealing Drops, as from a Still,
 Fall down, and tell what Fires I feel within.

When his Reproaches make thee cry,
 And thy fresh Cheeks with Palenefs die,
 I burn, to think you will be Friends;
 When his rough Hand thy Bosom ftrips,
 Or his fierce Kiffes tear thy Lips,
 I die, to fee how all fuch Quarrel ends.

Ah! never hope a Youth to hold,
 So haughty, and in Love fo bold;
 What can him tame in Anger keep?
 Whom all this Fondnefs can't affwage,
 Who even Kiffes turns to Rage,
 Which *Venus* does in her own *Nectar* fteep.

Thrice happy they, whose gentle Hearts,
 Till Death it self their Union parts,
 An undisturbed Kindness holds,
 Without Complaints or jealous Fears,
 Without Reproach or spited Tears,
 Which damps the kindest Heats with fullen Colds.

Upon the Approach of the Shore at *Harwich*,

In *January*, 1658.

Begun under the MAST.

Welcome the fairest and the happiest Earth,
 Seat of my Hopes and Pleasures, as my Birth:
 Mother of well-born Souls, and fearless Hearts,
 In Arms renown'd, and flourishing in Arts.
 The Island of good Nature, and good Cheer,
 That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here.
 Region of Valour and of Beauty too;
 Which shews, the Brave are only fit to woo.
 No Child thou hast, ever approach'd thy Shore,
 That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more.
 Beaten with Journies, both of Land and Seas,
 Weary'd with Care, the busy Man's Disease;
 Pinch'd with the Frost, and parched with the Wind;
 Giddy with rowling, and with fasting pin'd;
 Sprighted and vex'd, that Winds, and Tides, and Sands,
 Should all conspire to cross such great Commands,
 As haste me home, with an Account, that brings
 The Doom of Kingdoms to the best of Kings:
 Yet I respire at thy reviving Sight,
 Welcome as Health, and chearful as the Light.
 How I forget my Anguish and my Toils,
 Charm'd at th' Approach of thy delightful Soils!
 How, like a Mother, thou hold'st out thy Arms,
 To save thy Children from pursuing Harms,
 And open'st thy kind Bosom, where they find
 Safety from Waves, and shelter from the Wind:
 Thy Cliffs so stately, and so green thy Hills,
 This with Respect, with Hope the other fills

All that approach thee ; who believe they find
 A Spring for Winter, that they left behind.
 Thy sweet Inclosures, and thy scatter'd Farms,
 Shew thy Secureness from thy Neighbours Harms ;
 Their Sheep in Houses, and their Men in Towns,
 Sleep only safe ; thine rove about the Downs,
 And Hills, and Groves, and Plains, and know no Fear
 Of Foes, or Wolves, or Cold, throughout the Year.
 Their vast and frightful Woods seem only made
 To cover cruel Deeds, and give a Shade
 To Savage Beasts, who on the weaker prey,
 Or human Savages more wild than they.
 Thy pleasant Thickets, and thy shady Groves,
 Only relieve the Heats, and cover Loves,
 Shelt'ring no other Thefts or Cruelties,
 But those of killing or beguiling Eyes.
 Their famish'd Hinds, by cruel Lords enslav'd,
 Ruin'd by Taxes, and by Soldiers brav'd,
 Know no more Ease than just what Sleep can give ;
 Have no more Heat and Courage but to live :
 Thy brawny Clowns, and sturdy Seamen, fed
 With manly Food, that their own Fields have bred,
 Safe in their Laws, and easie in their Rent,
 Blest in their King, and in their State content ;
 When they are call'd away from Herd and Plough
 To Arms, will make all foreign Forces bow,
 And shew how much a lawful Monarch saves,
 When twenty Subjects beat an hundred Slaves.
 Fortunate Island ! if thou didst but know
 How much thou do'st to Heav'n and Nature owe !
 And if thy Humour were as good, as great
 Thy Forces, and as blest thy Soil and Seat :
 But then with Numbers thou would'st be o'er-run ;
 Strangers, to breathe thy Air, their own would shun ;
 And of thy Children, none abroad would roam,
 But for the Pleasure of returning home.
 Come and embrace us in thy saving Arms,
 Command the Waves to cease their rough Alarms,
 And guard us to thy Port, that we may see
 Thou art indeed the Empress of the Sea.
 So may thy Ships about the Ocean course,
 And still increase in Number and in Force.
 So may no Storms ever infest thy Shores,
 But all the Winds that blow encrease thy Stores.

May never more contagious Air arise,
 To close so many of thy Children's Eyes;
 But all about thee Health and Plenty vye,
 Which shall seem kindest to thee, Earth or Sky.
 May no more Fires be seen among thy Towns,
 But charitable Beacons on thy Downs,
 Or else victorious Bonfires in thy Streets,
 Kindled by Winds that blow from off thy Fleets.
 May'st thou feel no more Fits of factious Rage,
 But all Distempers may thy *Charles* assuage,
 With such a well-tun'd Concord of his State,
 As none but ill, and hated Men, may hate.
 And may'st thou from him endless Monarchs see,
 Whom thou may'st honour, who may honour thee.
 May they be *wise* and *good*: Thy happy Seat,
 And Stores will never fail to make them *Great*.

H O R A C E. Lib. III. Ode 29.

I.

M*Ecenas*, Off-spring of *Tyrrhenian* Kings,
 And worthy of the greatest Empire's Sway,
 Unbend thy working Mind a-while, and play
 With softer Thoughts, and looser Strings;
 Hard Iron ever wearing, will decay.

II.

A Piece untouch'd of old and noble Wine
 Attends thee here; soft Essence for thy Hair,
 Of purple Violets made, or Lillies fair;
 The Roses hang their Heads and pine,
 And till you come, in vain perfume the Air.

III.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy Shades
 Of *Tyber*, nor cool *Anien's* chrystal Streams;
 The Sun is yet but young, his gentle Beams
 Revive, and scorch not up the Blades,
 The Spring, like Virtue, dwells between Extreams.

IV.

Leave fulsom Plenty for a-while, and come
 From stately Palaces, that towre so high,
 And spread so far; the Dust and Business fly,
 The Smoak and Noise of mighty *Rome*,
 And Cares, that on embroider'd Carpets lye.

V.

It is Viciffitude, that Pleafure yields
 To Men with greateft Wealth and Honours bleft;
 And fometimes, homely Fare, but cleanly drest,
 In Country Farms, or pleafant Fields,
 Clear up a cloudy Brow, and thoughtful Breaft.

VI.

Now the cold Winds have blown themfelves away,
 The Frofts are melted into pearly Dews;
 The chirping Birds each Morning tell the News
 Of chearful Spring, and welcome Day.
 The tender Lambs follow the bleating Ewes.

VII.

The vernal Bloom adorns the fruitful Trees
 With various Drefs; the foft and gentle Rains
 Begin with Flowers to enamel all the Plains.
 The Turtle with her Mate agrees;
 And wanton Nymphs with their enamour'd Swains.

VIII.

Thou art contriving in thy Mind, what State
 And Form, becomes that mighty City beft:
 Thy bufie Head can take no gentle Reft,
 For thinking on th' Events and Fate
 Of factious Rage; which has her long oppreff.

IX.

Thy Cares extend to the remoreft Shores
 Of her vaft Empire; how the *Persian Arms*;
 Whether the *Bactrians* join their Troops; what Harms
 From the *Cantabrians* and the *Moors*
 May come, or the tumultuous *German Swarms*.

X.

But the wife Powers above, that all Things know,
 In fable Night have hid th' Events, and Train
 Of future Things; and with a juft Difdain
 Laugh, when poor Mortals here below
 Fear without Caufe; and break their Sleeps in vain.

XI.

Think how the prefent thou may'ft beft compofe
 With equal Mind, and without endlefs Cares;
 For the unequal Courfe of State Affairs,
 Like to the Ocean, ebbs and flows,
 Or rather like our neighbouring *Tyber* fares.

XII.

Now smooth and gentle through her Channel creeps,
 With soft and easy Murmurs purling down :
 Now swells and rages, threatening all to drown :
 Away both Corn and Cattle sweeps,
 And fills with Noise and Horror Fields and Town.

XIII.

After a while grown calm, retreats again
 Into her sandy Bed, and softly glides.
 So *Jove* sometimes, in fiery Chariot rides
 With Cracks of Thunder, Storms of Rain,
 Then grows serene, and all our Fears derides.

XIV.

He only lives content, and his own Man,
 Or rather Master, who each Night can say,
 'Tis well, Thanks to the Gods, I've liv'd to Day ;
 This is my own, this never can,
 Like other Goods, be forc'd or stolen away.

XV.

And for To-morrow, let me weep or laugh,
 Let the Sun shine, or Storms or Tempests ring,
 Yet 'tis not in the Power of Fates, a Thing
 Should ne'er have been, or not be safe,
 Which flying Time has cover'd with her Wing.

XVI.

Capricious *Fortune* plays a scornful Game
 With human Things ; uncertain as the Wind :
 Sometimes to thee, sometimes to me is kind :
 Throws about Honours, Wealth and Fame,
 At random, heedless, humorous, and blind.

XVII.

He's wife, who, when she smiles, the Good enjoys,
 And unallay'd with Fears of future Ill ;
 But if she frowns, e'en let her have her Will.
 I can with ease resign the Toys,
 And lie wrapt up in my own Virtue still.

XVIII.

I'll make my Court to honest Poverty,
 An easy Wife, although without a Dower :
 What Nature asks, will yet be in my Power ;
 For, without Pride or Luxury,
 How little serves to pass the fleeting Hour ?

XIX.

'Tis not for me, when Winds and Billows rise,
 And crack the Mast, and mock the Seamens Cares;
 To fall to poor and mercenary Prayers;
 For fear, the *Tyrian* Merchandife
 Should all be lost, and not enrich my Heirs.

XX.

I'll rather leap into the little Boat,
 Which without flutt'ring Sails shall waft me o'er
 The swelling Waves; and then I'll think no more
 Of Ship, or Freight; but change my Note,
 And thank the Gods, that I am safe a-shore.

H O R A C E.

Non domus & fundus, non aris acervus & auri.

NOR House, nor Lands, nor Heaps of Plate, or Gold,
 Can cure a Fever's Heat, or Ague's Cold;
 Much less a Mind, with Grief or Care oppress'd:
 No Man's Possessions e'er can make him blest,
 That is not well himself, and sound at Heart;
 Nature will ever be too strong for Art.
 Whoever feeds vain Hopes, or fond Desires,
 Distracting Fears, wild Love, or jealous Fires;
 Is pleas'd with all his Fortunes, like fore Eyes
 With curious Pictures; gouty Legs and Thighs
 With dancing; or half dead and aking Ears
 With Musick, while the Noise he hardly hears.
 For if the Cask remains unsound or sower,
 Be the Wine ne'er so rich, or sweet, you pour,
 'Twill take the Vessel's Taste, and lose its own,
 And all you fill were better let alone.

TIBULLUS. Lib. IV. El. 2.

TO worship thee, O mighty *Mars*, upon
Thy sacred Calends, is *Sulpitia* gone:
If thou art wife, leave the Celestial Sphere,
And for a while come down to see her here;
Venus will pardon; but take heed her Charms
Make thee not, gazing, soon let fall thy Arms:
When Love would set the Gods on Fire, he flies
To light his Torches at her sparkling Eyes.
Whate'er *Sulpitia* does, where-e'er she goes,
The Graces all her Motions still compose:
How her Hair charms us, when it loofely falls;
Comb'd back and ty'd, our Veneration calls:
If she comes out in Scarlet, how she turns
Us all to Ashes; though in white, she burns.
Vertumnus so a thousand Dresses wears,
So in a thousand, ever Grace appears:
Of all the Virgins, she deserves alone
In *Tyrian* Purple to adorn a Throne:
She, to possess, and reap the spicy Fields,
Gather the Gums, that rich *Arabia* yields;
She, all the Orient Pearls, that grow in Shells
Along the Shores, where the tann'd *Indian* dwells:
For her, the Muses tune their charming Lays,
For Her, upon his Harp *Apollo* plays:
May she this Feast for many Years adore,
None can become, deserve an Altar more.

F I N I S.

MEMOIRS.

THE

THIRD PART.

FROM THE

P E A C E concluded 1679,

TO THE

Time of the AUTHOR'S Retirement from
Publick Business.

*Et Ille quidem plenus Annis abiit, plenus Honoribus, illis etiam quos
recusavit.* Plin. Epist. Lib. 2. Epist. 1.



L O N D O N:

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE.
M D C C X X X I.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some Persons for whose Opinion I have great Deference, that I so long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They seem'd to think, that the Freedom of Passages in these Memoirs might give Offence to several who were still alive; and whose Part in those Affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to Posterity with any Advantage to their Reputation. But, whether this Objection be in it self of much Weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no Restraint in that Particular; Since I am not of an Age to remember those Transactions, nor had any Acquaintance with those Persons whose Counsels or Proceedings are condemn'd, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this Author is very free in exposing the Weakness and Corruption of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the Abilities and Virtue of others, as may be observ'd from several Passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the Author continu'd in the most intimate Friendship to his Death; and who was Father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: As likewise, of the present Earl of Rochester; and the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial Author as a Person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a Part in the prime Ministry; an Office he now Executes again with such universal Applause, so much to the Queen's Honour and his own, and to the Advantage of his Country, as well as of the whole Confederacy.

There are two Objections I have sometimes heard to have been offer'd against these Memoirs that were Printed in the Author's Life-time, and which these now Publish'd may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the Matter; That the Author speaks too much of himself: Next, as to the Style; That he affects the Use of French Words, as well as some Turns of Expression peculiar to that Language.

I believe, those who make the former Criticism, do not well consider the Nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of Writing; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only English-man (at least of any Consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French Memoirs are writ by such Persons as were the principal Actors in those Transactions they pretend to relate, whether of Wars or Negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same Nature; and therefore, in my Judgment, the Publisher (who sent them into the World without the Author's Privy) gave them a wrong Title, when he call'd them Memoirs of what pass'd in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the Sense of the Author, who in the Epistle tells his Son, that in Compliance with his Desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what pass'd in his publick Employments Abroad; And in the Book it self, when he deduces an Account of the State of War in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the Reader for a Relation of that famous Treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins were the only Mediators that continu'd any considerable Time; and as the Author was first in Commission, so in Point of Abilities or Credit, either Abroad

or at Home, there was no sort of Comparison between the Two Persons. These Memoirs therefore are properly a Relation of a General Treaty of Peace, wherein the Author had the Principal, as well as the most Honourable Part, in Quality of Mediator; so that the frequent Mention of himself, seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offer'd in Defence of the following Papers, because during the greatest part of the Period they treat of, the Author was in chief Confidence with the King his Master. To which it may be added, that in the few Preliminary Lines at the Head of the first Page, the Author professes he writ those Papers for the Satisfaction of his Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of his Retirement, and his Resolucition never to meddle again with publick Affairs.

As to the Objection against the Stile of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French Words and Turns of Expression; it is to be consider'd, that at the Treaty of Nimeguen, all Business, either by Writing or Discourse, pass'd in the French Tongue; and the Author having liv'd so many Years abroad in that and former Ambassies, where all Business, as well as Conversation, run in that Language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon publick Affairs without some Tincture of it in his Stile; tho' in his other Writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observ'd: And as he has often assur'd me it was a Thing he never affected; so upon the Objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French Words in these, and plac'd English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one Thing proper to inform the Reader, why these Memoirs are call'd the Third Part, there having never been publish'd but one Part before, where in the Beginning, the Author mentions a former Part, and in the Conclusion promises a Third. The Subject of the First Part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the Negotiation of which my Lord Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister: Sir William Temple often assur'd me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that Reason was content his Letters, during his Ambassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, should be Printed after his Death, in some manner to supply that Loss.

What it was that mov'd Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectur'd from some Passages in the Second Part, formerly Printed: In one Place the Author has these Words, My Lord, Arlington, who made so great a Figure in the former Part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit, &c. In other Parts he tells us, That Lord was of the Ministry which broke the Triple League; advis'd the Dutch War and French Alliance; and in short, was at the Bottom of all those Ruinous Measures which the Court of England was then taking; so that, as I have been told from a good Hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Person fit to be celebrated for his Part in forwarding that famous League while he was Secretary of State, who had made such Counterpaces to destroy it. At the End I have subjoin'd an Appendix, containing, besides one or two other Particulars, a Speech of Sir William Temple's in the House of Commons, and an Answer of the King's to an Address of that House, relating to the Bill of Exclusion, both which are mention'd in these Memoirs.

I have only further to inform the Reader, that altho' these Papers were corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to insert some Additions in several Places, as appear'd by certain Hints or Memorandums in the Margin; but whether they were omitted out of Forgetfulness, Neglect, or Want of Health, I cannot determine: One Passage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleas'd to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the Thread of the Story is intire without 'em.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

MEMMOIRS.

THE

THIRD PART.

Written for the Satisfaction of my Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of my Retirement, and Resolution never to meddle again with any Publick Affairs from this present February,

16⁸⁰₈₁.

UPON my Return from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, after the Emperor's Ambassadors having Sign'd the Peace, the King signified His Pleasure to me, by a Letter from my Lord * Treasurer, that he ^{Earl of Danby,} would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's Office in Mr. *Coventry's* Room, according to the Resolution he had taken ^{now Duke of Leeds.} the Year before, when he sent for me over into *England* from *Nimeguen* to that purpose.

I sent my humble Acknowledgments to the King, in my Answer to the Lord Treasurer's Letter; but withal, my humble Excuses for not putting His Majesty upon the Use of an old beaten Horse, in such hard Service as I took that Station then to be; and propos'd my Colleague, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, for that purpose. And having long promis'd the Great Duke, that I would make him a Visit at *Florence*, if I liv'd; I turn'd my Thoughts wholly to get leave for that Journey, as soon as the Congress at *Nimeguen* should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that Spring, 167³.

This gave some Respite at Court to the Resolutions of my Return, and an Overture for Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* coming over in my Room; so that I prepar'd for a short Return to *Nimeguen*; when most unexpectedly came a Yacht to *Rotterdam*, with Letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had newly succeeded Sir *Joseph Williamson*. And in both those Dispatches, there was a positive Command from the King, for my immediate Repair into *England*, in order to my entering upon the Secretary's Office.

The King writ the same thing at the same time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleas'd with (as he was himself, and indeed all my Friends;) tho' while I was forc'd to stay at the *Hague*, about a Fortnight before my Imbarcking, they all found me in very different Thoughts, both upon my Discourses and my Letters; infomuch that the Prince told me, he look'd upon it as a Piece of Predestination, that I should be Secretary of State at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

Upon my Arrival in *England*, I met with the most surprizing Scene that ever was: The Long Parliament dissolv'd, and the Resolution taken for the Duke's going into *Holland*, and that he was to depart next Day: So that I had only one occasion of speaking to him; when he told me with great Freedom the Paces that had been made towards that Resolution, much against his own Opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, That however this was thought likely to stop the violent Humour then rais'd by the *Plot*, yet I should see it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's Ruin, though he did not expect it.

When the Duke was gone, and the King had told me with the greatest Kindness that could be, of his Resolution to have me Secretary; and that I had no Reason to take it well, because he knew not one Man besides in *England* that was fit for it upon Mr. *Coventry's* Removal; and on the other side, my Friends had told me, they had the Money ready for me to lay down, which was five thousand Pounds; I began to consider the Ground, and the Journey, and my own Strength to go through with it. I found nothing so necessary for His Majesty's Affairs Abroad, and those of Christendom, as Great Union at Home; which might enable him to make such a Figure as the Preservation of his Allies requir'd; and indeed the general Interest of Christendom; which seem'd to depend wholly upon His Majesty's Measures. On t'other side, I never saw greater Disturbance in Mens Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Pursuit of it in the Parliament; and observ'd, that tho' it was generally believ'd by both Houses, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity; yet when I talk'd with some of my Friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet Mysterious; that they could not say the King believ'd it; but however that the Parliament and Nation were so generally and strongly possess'd with it, that it must of necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it were so or not: And that without the King's Uniting with his People upon this Point, he would never grow either into Ease at Home, or Consideration Abroad.

Upon three Days Thought of this whole Affair, I concluded it a Scene unfit for such Actors as I knew my self to be; and resolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, my Character Abroad still continuing. This I acquainted my nearest Friends with; order'd the Money to be return'd, which had been provided by them; and fell into the Consultations how I might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear Undutiful or Ungrateful to His Majesty.

The Elections were Canvassing for a new Parliament, and I order'd my Pretensions so as they came to fail. In the mean time I defer'd my entering into the Secretary's Place, till I might likewise enter into the House of Commons, which both His Majesty and Lord Treasurer were satisfi'd with, though not Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was chosen, and I not of the House; I represented to His Majesty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons, and how useful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there; and so obtain'd a Respite till I could be chosen of the House; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, especially that at *Windsor*, but however could not be carry'd.

The short Parliament met, with the Disputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a Pique between the Treasurer and Mr. * *Seymour*, or rather between my Lady *Danby* and him. However it was, this soon ran the House into such Violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his Ruin; first by the King's sudden Resolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Pursuits and Impeachments; and last, by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing himself in the Face of this Storm, which ended in the Tower.

After these Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Measures and Motions among them, as they were sway'd by popular Humours upon
the

* *Afterwards*
Sir Edw.
Seymour.

the *Plot*, and many new *Plots* lay'd by the Ambitions of private Persons, carry'd on under Covert of the other; I never saw any Man more sensible of the miserable Condition of His Affairs, than I found His Majesty upon many Discourses with him, which my Foreign Employments and Correspondences made way for. But nothing he said to me mov'd me more, than when upon the said Prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in Confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, His Majesty the occasion of entring into more Confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect.

On the other side I found, that the Counsel of my Lord Treasurer's Removal had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in Conjunction with the Dukes of *Perthmouth* and Lord *Essex*, who was then in the greatest Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by him and Lord *Sunderland* newly brought into the Treasury. I found my Lord *Sunderland* at least in Compliance with this Knor, and that all were resolv'd to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Essex*, and had a near Relation to Lord *Sunderland*. I observed the great Affection his Majesty had to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and saw plainly the Use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a Ministry at his own Devotion, or in his Interests: And this being a Matter that might concern the very Succession of the Crown, and not only an Injury to the Duke, but through him to his Children, and the Prince of *Orange*; I resolv'd first, if it were possible, to break the Growth of that Ministry, tho' I saw no Men whom I could design to fix in it, with any Satisfaction or Advantage to the King or his Service.

On t'other side, I observ'd the Parliament to grow every day more Violent, upon the Support they receiv'd from the Humours rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Persons playing that Game. I saw a Probability of Matters growing to such a Pass, that his Majesty might be forc'd to part with them; and yet I saw not Authority enough left in the Crown either to do that without the Venture of great Mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present Humours might cool. And both these Considerations meeting together, cast me upon the Thoughts of the King's Establishing a new Council, of such a Constitution as might either gain Credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many Persons of those who had Most among them, and thereby give Ease and Quiet both to the King and his People; Or if, on the other side, the Humours should grow Outragious and beyond Opposing, the King might yet at the Head of such a Council, with more Authority and less Hazard of ill Consequences, either Prorogue or Dissolve them, as any Necessities of his own, or Extravagancies of theirs should require.

For these Ends it seem'd necessary to take into the Council some Lords and Commoners, who were of most appearing Credit and Sway in both Houses, without being thought either principled or interested against the Government; and mix them with others of his Majesty's more general Choice, for making up one Half of the Council: whilst the other Half, being Fifteen, were ever to be present, chief Officers of his Crown and Household: Who being all of his Majesty's known Trust, as well as Choice, would be sure to keep the Council steady to the true Interest of his Majesty and the Crown.

But one chief Regard necessary to this Constitution, was that of the personal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thousand Pounds a Year: Whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four hundred thousand Pounds. And Authority is observ'd much to follow Land: And at the worst, such a Council might out of their own Stock, and upon a Pinch, furnish the King so far, as to relieve some great Necessity of the Crown.

This

This whole Matter was consult'd and deduc'd upon Paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the Debate and Digestion about a Month: But when the Forms and Persons were agreed, and his Majesty seem'd much satisfied with the Thing, and resolv'd to go on with it, I humbly desired him not to take a Resolution of that Importance, without first communicating it to three or four Persons of those his Majesty could most rely upon in Point of Judgment, Secrecy, and Affection to his Service. The King resolv'd I should go and Communicate the whole Scheme, with all the Particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Essex*; but one after another; and with Charge from him of the last Secrecy; and should bring him Word of their Opinions upon it; and if they concurr'd with his, should appoint them to attend his Majesty next Morning; the Chancellor only entering into his Lodgings by the common Way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

* *Finch.*

When I acquainted them with it, they all receiv'd it with equal Amazement and Pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into his Majesty's Breast: Lord *Essex*, that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the same Dispositions to the King which he found at his coming in: And Lord *Sunderland* approv'd it as much as any.

Next Day we attended his Majesty, and had a very long Audience, upon which no Difficulty arose but two that were wholly Personal. I had propos'd Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords, whom the King had indeed look'd at in our first Consultations, more than any of the rest: But upon several Representations, of his Family, his Abilities, his Estate and Credit, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought his Majesty had been contented with it: But at this Meeting, he rais'd new Difficulties upon it, and appear'd a great while invincible in them, though we all join'd in the Defence of it: And at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our Knees to gain a Point that we all thought necessary for his Service: And then his Majesty consented.

The other was concerning Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had never been mention'd in our first Debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this Affair, or had not mention'd him to me, as knowing upon all Occasions of private Discourse with his Majesty, what Opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord *Hallifax* had pass'd, the King said there was another, who if he were left out might do as much Mischief as any, and named Lord *Shaftsbury*; to which the other three agreed; and concluded farther, that he would never be content with a Counsellor's Place among Thirty, and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number by making a President, which should be he. I disput'd this Point from the first Mention to the last Conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the Good that we expected from the whole Constitution; and said all that I could with so much Earnestness, that when by his Majesty's agreeing with the other Three I saw it would be concluded, I walk'd away to the other End of the Room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, I desir'd his Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord *Shaftsbury*'s coming into his Council or his Affairs; that his Majesty and the other three Lords had resolv'd it without me; and that I was still absolutely against it. The King laugh'd, and turn'd my Anger into a jest; and so went on with the rest of the Constitution intended, till the whole was resolv'd and executed publicly in *Easter 1679*.

See the Appendix.

The Night before the Thing was to be done, his Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four already named. But as soon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, though only in general, that the Council should be chang'd, he told it so many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which we interpreted either Lightness or Vanity, so have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to pass so well. And indeed when the Thing was done in the Forms that are known,

it was receiv'd with general Applause in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the same in *Ireland*: In *Holland* the Actions of the *East-India* Company rose upon it immediately, and very much; and the States design'd one of their best and most considerable Men, Monsieur *Van Lewen*, to come over Minister into *England* upon this Occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfy'd with it, and Monsieur *Bavillon* said it was making *des Etats* [States] and not *des Conseils* [Councils] but the Reasons were easy to see, and so not much consider'd.

The House of Commons receiv'd it with most Coldness, where the contrary was most expected: And the pretending Knowers among them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court Juggle, and to refer it to Time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to suspend their Judgments.

This was the first Effect of my Lord *Shaftsbury's* good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entered, but not with the personal or transcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majesty, and which he thought those who had been Authors of this new Constitution had the greatest Share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and use all their Endeavours to rise such Discontents and Heats in the Houses, upon the Apprehensions of Popery, and Propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy Terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the Humours being engag'd by my Lord *Shaftsbury's* pretending among his Patriots, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had so much Credit with the King, that his Majesty desir'd but a good Occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by their Heat and Obstinacy in so popular a Point as that against Popery: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the Satisfaction of those who call'd themselves the Good or the Honest Party.

Such a Mischief could never have grown, if Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himself up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King and in the Council where he was President; and by the Insufions given of his having or growing yet into greater, by a more secret Spring, which was the Interest of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Kindness of his Majesty Increasing, as appear'd since the Duke's Absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new Constitution, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a Person mark'd by his Majesty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; which the whole Course of his Life, from his very first Entrance upon publick Stages, if examin'd never so strictly, would have given good Ground for. But this Fate, as I could not prevent by all my Endeavours, so I had foretold it His Majesty the Year before: When upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent Expressions that could be against him; I told his Majesty, that with his good Leave, I would hold any Wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his Business; and when the King ask'd me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every Door to get in; had Wit and Industry to find out the Ways; and when Money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.

This Turn in the King's Affairs upon this new Constitution, gave me so great a Vexation, and so ill a Prospect, that having delay'd the Time prescribed for every Man's receiving the Sacrament according to Law, after his Entrance into publick Employment, till it was very near expired; I once resolv'd, by that Omission, to make my self absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future: And was not persuaded to lay aside that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with my Wife and Sister here at *Sheen*: But that Matter pass'd in Form, and I continued barely of the Council, with a Resolution of not entering upon the Secretary's Office, though often and earnestly urg'd to it by Lord *Sunderland*, with others of my Friends.

Up-

Upon the new Constitution of the Council, my Lord *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sydney*, desir'd that we two might joyn together in perfect Confidence, and distinct from any others, in the Course of the King's Affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's Office or not; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no Need of it, considering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council or the particular Committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private Channels. This Confidence had not run on above a Fortnight, when my Lord *Sunderland* ask'd me, if I were willing my Lord *Essex* should be receiv'd into it; which I consented to, though with Intimation to Lord *Sunderland* of the Opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord *Essex*, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met for a while once a Day by Turns, at each of our Houses, and consulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil, and how they might be best prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council: But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Cover at least, and upon the ill Humour of the House of Commons about the Business of Religion; and my Lord *Hallifax* appearing unsatisfy'd, by observing where the King's Confidence was; I propos'd to my Lords *Sunderland* and *Essex*, to receive him into all our Consultations; which I thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give us more Ease in the Course of his Affairs. Lord *Essex* receiv'd this Overture with his usual Dryness; Lord *Sunderland* oppos'd it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord *Hallifax* the Person I took him for, but one that could draw with no body, and still climbing up to the Top himself. However, I continued resolute in pressing it, and so at length the Thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the usual Meetings and Consultations.

The chief Matters that lay before the King at that Time, were; first, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into some Measures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in such a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invasion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which look'd very desperate, without some strong and resolute Protection from *England*.

The Second, was, a Resolution to be taken in Answer to the Instances made by Monsieur *Van Lewen* from the States, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by his Majesty; particularly to *Spain* in the Business of *Flanders*.

The Third, was, the giving some Ease to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to swell about this Time; and which we conceiv'd could be no way done so easily, as by Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; a Man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper his Majesty seem'd resolv'd to use in his Affairs.

For this Last, we could not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd (both jointly and severally) by us all four; the King's Defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew *Scotland* so well as his Majesty himself.

For the Second, we easily agreed upon the Measures that seem'd necessary for the Satisfaction of the States, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee, where all the Foreign Affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first Digestion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpose, at my Lord *Hallifax's* House; which was the only time I ever had any Thing to do, or so much as Talk, with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, further than the Council Chamber.

For the first Thing, which was the most important, we found it more perplex'd than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succession to the Crown; which Humour was blown up by all the Arts and Intrigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King seem'd willing to secure

secure them all that could be against those Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succession. The House of Commons were busy in finding out Expedients to secure this Point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any, by Lord *Shaftsbury's* Practices. The Council fell upon the same Scent with great Earnestness and Endeavour; and after much Hammering, agreed upon many Heads to be offer'd the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

*See the
Appendix.*

These Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except my Lord *Shaftsbury* and me; who were against them, upon very different Grounds. Mine were two; First, because I believ'd, that nothing that came first from the King upon these Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfy'd at all, I thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The Second was, that as I did not see any certain Ease these Expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown after him in Shackles, which put on upon the Duke's Occasion, and in his Time, would not be easily knock'd off by any Successor. My Lord *Shaftsbury's* Ground was plain, and so express'd by him upon all Occasions; which was, that there could be no Security against the Duke, if once in Possession of the Crown: And this being well insus'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth's* Friends into the House of Commons, occasion'd their fullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and lay'd the Foundation for the Proceedings of the late House of Commons, and the strange Disorders wherein they have left Affairs at Home, and thereby the desperate Condition of Affairs Abroad.

During all these Transactions, the three Lords and I continued our constant Meetings and Consultations; and with so much Union, and so disinterested Endeavours for the General Good of his Majesty's Service and the Kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our Meetings, That we four were either the four honestest Men in *England*, or the greatestst Knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest Men in the World.

But this Conjunction held not long: For, after the Houses rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, my Lord *Shaftsbury* finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the House of Commons, and inflam'd them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my Commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which Way they might lay this Storm. At length my Lord *Sunderland* told me, that Lord *Essex* and Lord *Halifax* were of Opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first Digestion of Affairs, considering the Influence they had upon the House; and for this End to agree with them in the Banishment of the Duke, either for a certain Term, or during the King's Life; and desired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord *Sunderland* positively I would not: For, First, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, I would never enter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; having upon several Occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but never would have any thing to do in the Divisions of it; and no Man should ever reproach me with breaking my Word, and much less the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and so it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into Meetings and Consultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to Council, and to meet no more with my usual Company but upon Occasion, and without the first Confidence; but we still continued our Kindness where-ever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating what pass'd in their new Consultations.

But this lasted not long neither: For within a Fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into Necessities of yielding all Points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* absolutely at the Head of all Affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their Complaints of it, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the present Distemper. I agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*: And so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at Council; where the chief Officers depending upon the King, being one half of the Council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent Choice, we concluded, the Resolution could not fail to be taken by the Majority of the Council; if the Reasons and Necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seem'd most in my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Confidence, to leave him upon this Occasion. And in this Resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two Days after for the fixing it with his Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the Country, where I stay'd my two Days, and came up the third Morning early.

Upon my Arrival, I found my Lord *Sunderland* had call'd or sent several times to my House the Night before, and left Word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to Town. I sent immediately to *Whitehall*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord *Effex*, who was next to me, and ask'd whether any thing new had happen'd. He told me, that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of *Plot* and *Popery*; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be Prorogued that Morning, upon the King's coming to the House; and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate of Council; which, for my part, I thought an ill Omission, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King with Advice of his Council, according to the usual Forms: But it pass'd otherwise, and with very great Resentment of both Houses; and such Rage of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of this Prorogation.

During this Session of Parliament, I had several Notices given me, of a Practice set on Foot in the House of Commons, for Impeaching me, as one that had been an Instrument of making the general Peace; and this was urg'd by Stories, of being a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and one that had writt'n several Things, tho' without Name, against the Constitution of Parliaments, and in Favour of Popery: And this went so far, that * Mr. *Mountague* went a great Way from Man to Man in the House, to know whether, if such an Accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon Hatred to the late Treasurer, whose Friend they took me to be, and upon Envy at my being design'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no such Numbers that Mr. *Mountague* could hope to make any thing of it: And when some of my Friends acquainted me with it, I only desir'd them to obtain Leave of the House, that I might hear my Accusation at the Bar of the House, and assur'd them that I should be glad to have that Occasion of telling there both Mr. *Mountague's* Story and my own. This fell; But upon the Knowledge of these Practices, my Lord *Sunderland*, and Mr. * *Sidney*, who thought that a Man who had such a part in the King's Affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, press'd me to suffer several small Things I had formerly written, and of which Copies had run, to be then Printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that Publication, Men would see, I was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and I might assure the World, of
being

* Late
Duke of
Mountague.

* Late
Earl of
Rumney.

being Author of no Books that had not my Name. The Thing seem'd to pass well enough; only Lord *Hallifax* commending them to me in general, told me as a Friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that Principle of Paternal Dominion (which was deduc'd in the Essay of Government) for fear of destroying the Rights of the People. So tender was every body of those Points at that Time.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our Consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better temper'd Session of Parliament, after the short Prorogation which had been made. To which purpose, we again endeavour'd the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or at least the Admission of other Nobles of *Scotland* into those Affairs. We concluded the Measures with *Holland* in all Points, to the Satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of such Acts of Council, as might express his Majesty's Care for suppressing Popery, even in the Intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one Point, which was, the leaving some Priests to the Law upon the Accusation of being Priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them publick Warning by Proclamation to be gone, or expect the Penalties of Law within such a Time; since the Connivances had lasted now through three Kings Reigns: Upon this Point, Lord *Hallifax* and I had so sharp a Debate at Lord *Sunderland's* Lodgings, that he told me if I would not concur in Points which were so necessary for the People's Satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a Papist: And upon his Affirming, that the Plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, in those Points that were so generally believed by City or Country as well as both Houses; I reply'd, with some Heat, that the Plot was a Matter long on Foot before I came over into *England*; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the Motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: In other Things I was content to joyn with them, where they thought I could be of Use to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excus'd; and very glad to leave his Majesty's Affairs in so good Hands as theirs.

Notwithstanding some such Differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our Consultations and Confidence; and two of them, Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, press'd me extremely about this time to come into the Secretary's Place. Lord *Hallifax*, particularly, offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle *Creventry* upon the Money that was to be paid; pretending to be very desirous to see me posted there; and professing to grow weary of the Business, since he could find no Temper like to grow in the next Session of Parliament between the King and them. For since the last Prorogation, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been busie in preparing Fewel for next Session, not without perpetual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which broke into spiteful Repartees often betwixt him and Lord *Hallifax*. And on t'other side, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Measures with Lord *Essex*, with whom he had been long in the last Confidence: So as this grew to a spiteful Quarrel between these Four; and though commonly smother'd when they met, yet not without Smoak appearing where they were observ'd.

In this Condition of Affairs, the Rebellion in *Scotland* broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the Counterpaces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by Force from hence to be dispatch'd and joyn'd with those in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all. Lord *Shaftsbury* shew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling this Rising should be wholly or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*: Yet on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a Command of the King's Forces both *English* and *Scotch*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another Project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon

the Duke of *Monmouth's* carrying so many of the Forces here into *Scotland*) to raise a Troop of two hundred Gentlemen for the Guard and Safety of the King's Person, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of Officers who were out of Employment, and whose Merits were best known to the Duke of *Monmouth*.

On t'other side, Lord *Essex*, though he agreed with the King's Opinion to have the *Scotch* Insurrection suppress'd; yet he had a mind it should be done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth's* growing greater than he yet was by that Command; especially if it should be follow'd with Success. And tho' he would not oppose his Majesty in his Resolution of sending the Duke of *Monmouth* upon this Expedition; yet he did very openly the other Design, which the King himself seem'd much bent upon, as well as the Duke of *Monmouth*, to raise the Troop of two hundred Gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord *Essex* was most instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible Difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the Head: So as upon Composition, Money was found for the Duke of *Monmouth's* marching into *Scotland*, and with great Ease to him in his Personal Pretensions; and the new Troop was let fall upon want of Money.

The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; succeeded; took the Body of Rebels; suppress'd absolutely the Rebellion; order'd the Punishment of some; gave Pardon to the rest; return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with great Applauses and Court from all; and with great Appearance of Kindness and Credit by the King, who was now remov'd to *Windsor*, and the Council to *Hampton-Court*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* was receiv'd.

The Term of the Prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring; and all agreed that a Session could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for considering that Matter at Council. The Duke of *Monmouth* was greater than ever: Lord *Shaftsbury* reckon'd upon being so too, upon the next Meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be Authors of the last Prorogation: Lord *Essex*, and *Hallifax* look'd upon themselves as most in his Danger, and aim'd at by Lord *Shaftsbury's* Threats, and out of all Measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This induc'd a Consultation among us, whether considering the Distempers of the present Parliament, the best Course were not to dissolve it, and have another call'd in *October*; wherein the three Lords and I agreed, and the King was perfectly of the same Mind, considering with what Distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolv'd, that the King should propose at next Council, whether it were best to Prorogue that Parliament, or Dissolve it and at the same time call another; and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief Officers depending upon the King, should be acquainted with his Mind, either by his Majesty or the three Lords. For since the King's going to *Windsor*, I continued at *Sheen*, and only went to *Hampton-Court* on Council Days; though the three Lords came often to me, and press'd me as often to come as they did to Court, and Lord *Hallifax* protest'd he would burn my House, and that if I would not enter upon the Secretary's Office, his Uncle *Coventry* would look out for some other Chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolv'd to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his Market should not be spoil'd upon my Occasion. Whether his Lordship believ'd me or not, I did so, and desir'd his Majesty to think of some other for that Place; for my ill Health increasing with my Age, made me find my self unable to go through with the Toils of that Office, if executed in the Forms and with the Attendance it requir'd. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a Man in *England* fit for it besides me, so that I had no Reason to take it kindly of him. I desir'd his Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose three Persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me,

'twas

'twas a Point he had been so long fixt in, that he could not change his Resolution.

In our last Meeting, we had calculated how many at Council could in any probability oppose the Dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above Six in the whole Council that could be against it, at the most; which we thought would be a great Support to the King's Resolution, against all the Exclamations we expected from Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Friends; and at least that it would be safe against the Consequences which were usually deduc'd from the Forms of calling Parliaments always by Advice of the Council, that the Dissolving them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own Desire.

The Council Day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and Three Lords with some others already there, I ask'd Lord *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, whether all was prepar'd, and Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers had been spoke to? They said, No, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that Morning, and before the Council began. I thought it hard, a Point of that Importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content my self with what they told me would be done. The outward Room, where the King was, fill'd apace; every one made his Leg to His Majesty, and fill'd the Circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a Corner of the Room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the Council Chamber: All followed; the Council sat; the King propos'd his Thoughts, whether it were best for his Affairs, to Prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to Dissolve it and call another at that Time; and desir'd their Lordships Opinions upon it.

I observ'd a general Surprize at the Board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: But it soon appear'd he had not so much as done that neither. For after a long Pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the Dissolution; was follow'd by Lord *Shaftsbury* in the amplest manner, and most tragical Terms; Lord *Anglesey* followed them, by urging all the fatal Consequences that could be: The same Stile was pursu'd by Lord * *Chamberlain*, and agreed to by the Marquess of *Worcester*; and pursu'd from the Top to the very Bottom of the Table by every Man there, and at a very full Council; except the Three Lords who spoke for the Dissolution, but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done; leaving that Part as I suppos'd to me, who was, I confess, well enough instructed in the Case, to have said more upon that Argument: But I was spighted from the First that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's Speech, and still more and more as every Man spoke, at the Consequences happen'd by such a Negligence of my Friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary: I was the last but one to speak, and saw Argument would signify nothing, after such Inequality was declar'd in Number; and so contented my self to say in short, That I thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between His Majesty and Parliament was of Necessity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in the Continuance of this, or Assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the Likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than with t'other: That His Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any Agreement with this present Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another; that for my part, I thought That ought to decide it; because I thought His Majesty could better judge of that Point than any body else. So His Majesty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for Dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to Assemble in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up, with the greatest Rage in the World of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Russel*, and Two or Three more, and the general Dissatisfaction of the whole Board. After

Earl of Arlingon.

After the Council ended, every Man's Head began to fill with the Thoughts of the new Elections, and several spoke to the King upon that Subject. I had resolv'd to stand for the University of *Cambridge*; and the Duke of *Monmouth* being Chancellor, I desir'd the King to speak to him, to write to some of his Friends in my Favour: He excus'd himself, first, upon Engagements; but the King press'd him upon mine, as a Thing of Importance; and that he could not be otherwise engag'd, before he knew of the Parliament's being dissolv'd. I said a good deal too upon it: But do what the King could, by all he was pleas'd to say, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than to say he would not meddle in it one Way or t'other; which gave me the first plain and open Testimony of his Dispositions towards me, having ever receiv'd before all outward Civilities, though without my Visits or Attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his Word with me in this Point, better than I expected: For my Election in the University proceeded with the most general Concurrence that could be there, and without any Difficulties I could observe from that Side; those which were rais'd coming from the Bishop of *Ely*; who ow'd the opposing me from a Chapter of Religion in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an Opinion, that mine was for such a Toleration of Religion, as is there describ'd to be in *Holland*.

The Council, after this Day, was put off till the King's Return to *London*, according to the Use of that Season; and every one began to canvas for Elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all His Majesty's Affairs seem'd to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolv'd to do all that could help to make fair Weather there. I told my Friends I would take care of my Election, and go down about it; but for the rest, would pass my Time at home the Remainder of the Summer, and recommended the common Cares to the three Lords; whose Attendance I knew would not fail at Court, two of them from their Offices, and the * third from his Humour; which he own'd always must have Business to employ it, or would else be uneasy.

* The
Marquess
of Halli-
fax.

The Summer was declining; but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greatest Height; when the King fell sick at *Windsor*, and with three such Fits of a Fever as gave much Apprehension, and that a general Amazement; People looking upon any thing at this time that should happen ill to the King, as an End of the World. I went to *Windsor*, after the second Fit; and having seen his Majesty, observ'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in Danger, without Accidents, which was to be the Care of his Physicians, who were some of them wholly of my Mind. I found and left the three Lords very diligent at Court, in attending both his Person and Affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came home without entering further into any Discourses with them, than of His Majesty's Sickness; which was then the general Discourse and Care.

About three or four Days after, having receiv'd Assurance of the King's certain Recovery, by being free of any Return of his Fever Fits, I went up to *London* to sollicite a great Arrear of my Ambassie due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that Morning at my Lord *Effex's* House, whither I went strait; but by the Way, heard that the Duke was that Night pass'd through *London*, and rode Post to *Windsor*; which I doubted not his Highness had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger, upon the News of his Sickness; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize, and *martel en tête* [*Uneasiness*] that would be given Lord *Effex* and *Hallifax* by this sudden Arrival of the Duke, to whose Interests they had run so Counter, and with such Heights, for several Years. But upon their late separating all Measures from the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, I thought I had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolv'd the next Day.

When I came to the Lord *Effex's* House, and ask'd for the Commissioners, I found they were sat some time, but the Lord *Effex* had newly left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber, whither I was immediately sent for;

for; his Servants went out, and left him booted, and ready to get up on Horseback. As soon as we were alone, he ask'd me, whether I had not met with strange News, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger. Lord *Effex* reply'd, yet 'twas strange he should come without Leave from the King; and that now His Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three Days: That he was going as fast as he could to *Windsor*, to see what all this Business was; and ask'd me if I would not go; which I excus'd for that Day, but promis'd the next. In this little Discourse, I observ'd all along a sneering Smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleas'd with it at Heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how Things had pass'd between the Duke and him.

Next Day I went to *Windsor*; and the first Man I met was Lord *Hallifax* coming down from Court on Foot, and with a Face of Trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with Hands lift up two or three times; upon which I stopp'd, and alighting, ask'd what was the Matter: He told me, I knew as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every body was amaz'd; but where we were, or what would be next, no body knew: He bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his Lodging, to sit and think over this new World; but desir'd we might meet, and my Lord *Sunderland*, after Dinner.

I went to the King, and after him to the Duke, who receiv'd me with great Kindness, and presently carry'd me into a little inner Room, and ask'd me, smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to see him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Highness had nothing else to do: And that I believ'd upon the first News of his Majesty's Illness, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the great News; but that His Majesty's Sickness having pass'd so soon, I confess'd I had not thought of his coming over. We talk'd of the King's Recovery, what Stay his Highness would make, which he said should be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey him in every thing. I gave the Duke a short Account of Affairs here, as they had pass'd since the Constitution of the Council; of the Mischiefs had been occasion'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury's* having been brought in so much against my Will; of his Measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*; of the three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the Credit they were grown into with the King; and of my Confidence, they would never fall into any Measures against his Highness: Upon which Chapter I said a good deal that I thought necessary to make Lord *Effex* and *Hallifax's* Court, which I was very glad to see so well receiv'd by the Duke: For as to Lord *Sunderland*, I had little Reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole Course of his Life. For my self, I only said at last, that because I did not know what our present Distempers might end in, if the next Parliament should prove of the same Humour with the two last; nor what Measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that let whatever would befall the King's Affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a *legal* Man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least Scruple in this Resolution, unless Things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in Foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new Case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his Hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any Man: And so I parted, after a long and very gracious Audience, and came Home that Night, having miss'd my Lord *Hallifax* and *Effex* in the Afternoon at Lord *Sunderland's*, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they fail'd; and Lord *Sunderland* and I talk'd deep into nothing, reserving our selves, as I thought, till the others came.

I stay'd at home, making the Reflections I could not avoid upon the Carriage of my Friends; till within a few Days I heard the News of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Disgrace; which though it came by some degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost Game in the King's Favour and Resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, That while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* should be so too; having made his Pretensions so evident, and pursu'd them so much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few Days, or rather Hours, to get so great a Victory. I went within a Day or two to *London*, found my Lord *Hallifax* in *Phylick*, but saw plainly his Distemper was not what he call'd it; his Head look'd very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our Talk was by Snatches; Sicknefs, ill Humour, Hare of Town and Business, Ridiculousness of human Life; and whenever I turn'd any thing to the present Affairs after our usual manner, nothing but Action of Hands or Eyes, Wonder, and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

I came home, and satisfy'd enough upon what Terms I was with my Friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole Secret; which was, that upon the King's first Illness, the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own so too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the Head of the Nation, in opposition to the Duke upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjunction with Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had threaten'd to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the last Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* to themselves; reckoning Lord *Sunderland* out of Danger by his Relation to Lord *Shaftsbury*, and the fair Terms that had always made between them. This Fright had so affected these Lords, that not staying to see what the King's second Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolv'd, and the Dispatch made with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to pass for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it should be receiv'd by his Majesty and the three Lords with all Signs of Surprise. When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* so intrag'd at this Council, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they saw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and joining themselves wholly with the Duke's Interest; which they did for that Time, till they had brought about all his Highness desir'd for his Security against the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; the first going over into *Holland*, and the other being turn'd out of the Council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whose Designs had run the Kingdom into such incurable Divisions and Distractions, at a Time that our Union was so necessary to the Affairs of Christendom abroad; yet I was spighted to the Heart, at the Carriage of my Friends towards me in this Affair: And not so much for their taking such a Resolution without my Knowledge and Consent (which they never had done since our first Commerce) as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let me make such a Figure as I did, in doing all the good Offices, and making all the Court I could to the Duke, for Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax*, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Interests and Counsels; and I, who had Reason to think my self well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. But I had Reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them perceiving the Duke much unsatisfy'd with the Constitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord *Chancellor*, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Essex* had not fallen into it with the greatest Applause and Endeavours in the
World

World to finish the Draught of it, the Thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my Lord *Shaftsbury's* being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord *Sunderland* of these Repentments; and that I found my self so unfit for Courts, that I was resolv'd to pass the rest of my Life in my own Domestick, without troubling my self further about any publick Affairs, than to appear fullen in not coming sometimes to general Councils; and that Lord *Effex* and *Hallifax's* Carriage to me had been such, after having been the two Men of *England* I had it in my Power and my Fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any Thing more to do with them. This I said only to one Person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all Commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at Council, or in third Places; though Lord *Hallifax* came to an Eclaircissement with me the Spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the Service I could upon Occasion in the late House, as well as in Council, upon their Heats against him.

I pass'd the rest of my Summer at Home, and left the three Lords in the chief Ministry and sole Confidence, as outwardly appear'd, both with the King and Duke: And Lord *Effex* told my Brother Sir *John Temple* who was then here, that he had more Credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any Man in *England*; but the refined Courtiers, who observe Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it: And soon after, Lord *Effex* and *Hallifax*, upon the private Examination of an Intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my Enquiry, which was commonly call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, took such a Distaste at finding themselves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the Secret Examinations about it; that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their Discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord *Effex* left the Treasury; Lord *Hallifax* in Discourse to me commended him for it, and told me his Resolution to go down into the Country; and though he could not plant Melons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant Carots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about publick Affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Rufford*. To their nearer Friends I heard they complain'd, that they found they had no sound Part in the King's Confidence or the Duke's; that they were other Mens Dupes, and did other Mens Work; and that finding no Measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would have no more Part in publick Affairs.

Upon Lord *Effex's* leaving the Treasury, Mr. * *Hyde* came of course to be first Commissioner; and he and Mr. † *Godolphin*, were brought into the Council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcom'd them, as two Persons that had always been my Friends, and agreed with me in all my Opinions and Measures about Affairs abroad, wherein only we had been conversant in our Commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at Home. These two join'd in Confidence with Lord *Sunderland*; and the other two Lords being in Discontent or Absent, and I keeping at Home both upon my Resolution and Inclination; these three were esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as the Ministry.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: The Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*: Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to enflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct and Counsels against the Sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot Petitions in case they did not Sit: The Ministers were not able to stand the Opening of the Parliament; and so a short Prorogation was expected some Days before that appointed for their Assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a Month or Six Weeks; when being recover'd of a Fit of the Gout, I came to Town, and went to Lord *Sunderland*, talk'd to him of my several Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his Help, which he promis'd with great Kindness, and went with me to the King, where we propos'd and agreed the Way of my Satisfaction.

The King seem'd very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them said a Word to me of any publick Business. From the King's Chamber we went to the Council, where I expected nothing but such common Things as I knew had pass'd for a good while before; and so all pass'd, till I thought the Council was ending, when the King after a little Pause told us, That upon many Considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer Prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: That he had consider'd all the Consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolv'd, and not to hear any thing that should be said against it: That he would have it Prorogued till that time Twelvemonth; and charg'd my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at Council were stunn'd at this surprizing Resolution, and the Way of proposing it; except those few that were in the Secret, and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the Thing wholly upon his Majesty: Several others rose up, and would have entered into the Reasonings and Consequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and so all Debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, That as to the Resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolv'd to hear no Reasoning upon it; therefore I would only presume to offer him my humble Advice as to the Course of his future Proceedings; which was, that his Majesty in his Affairs would please to make use of some Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Persons or Number of this present Council suited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to dissolve them, and constitute another of Twenty, or of Ten, or of Five, or any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he would; but to make Counsellors that should not Counsel, I doubted whether it were in his Majesty's Power or not, because it imply'd a Contradiction; and so far as I had observ'd, either of former Ages or the present, I question'd whether it was a Thing had been practis'd in *England* by his Majesty's Predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom: And therefore I humbly advis'd him to constitute some such Council, as he would think fit to make use of, in the Digestion of his great and publick Affairs.

His Majesty heard me very graciously, and seem'd not at all displeas'd with any thing I had said; nor any other Person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it: Yet after the Council was up, my Lord *Sunderland* came to me, told me, he was never so surpriz'd as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any Man in *England* than me: That whatever Resolutions had been taken about my Business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I reply'd, that if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me before I came to Council what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: And that if my Debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of *Orange* writ me Word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfy'd with me, upon the Belief that it was I had given the Prince those Impressions and Sentiments which he had upon the common Affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinc'd *d'avoir tort* [of being in the Wrong]: However, that he thought fit out of Friendship to me, to give me this Advice.

I was now in a Posture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in publick Affairs. The Duke unsatisfy'd with me of late; the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* from the very first; Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax* out of all Commerce with me upon what had pass'd; Great Civility from the other Ministers, but no Communication; and the King himself, though very Gracious, yet very reserv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Prospect of our Distractions at Home, and thereupon the Disasters threatenng Abroad; but chiefly upon my own Native Humour, born for a private Life, and particular Conversation or general Leisure; I resolv'd to give over all Part in pub-

lick Affairs, and come no more either to Court or Council in a Month's Time, which I spent chiefly in the Country.

In this Time the Lord *Ruffel*, Lord * *Cavendish*, Sir *H. Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, ^{Late Duke of Devonshire.} pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs so disagreeable to the general Humour of the People; went to the King together, and desir'd His Majesty to excuse their Attendance any more upon him at Council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord *Salisbury*, and Lord *Hallifax*, seem'd to have taken the same Resolution, though not in so much Form. Upon which I thought it might be a great Prejudice to His Majesty's Affairs, to be left by so many at once; And that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a Faction, with Persons who were only displeas'd with the present Scene upon Hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no Part of my Thoughts or Designs. Therefore I resolv'd to go again to Council, to shew I had not herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too, might not occasion some Men's greater Dislikes at the Government.

In the Intermission I had made, my Wife continuing her Commerce with my Lady *Sunderland*, had met my Lord there; who taking no Notice of what had pass'd between us, ask'd her how I had proceeded in my Business of the Treasury, and whether I needed his Help, which he offer'd with great Friendliness if I had occasion. When I came up to Town, and went the first time to Council; after it was done, I went to Lord *Sunderland*, told him what Regards towards His Majesty had made me come up, and gave him Thanks for his Offers to my Wife: I found him return'd to his first Temper towards me; enter'd into common Affairs, but always with Professions of my Resolutions to retire, and my Thoughts of a Journey into *Italy*, which I had long promis'd the Great Duke. I liv'd on with my Lord *Sunderland* in all Kindness, though not Confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin*. I made Use of his Offers, and by his Help came to an Issue in the most difficult Point of my Business in the Treasury.

The second time I was at Council, after my Return from *Sheen*, my Lord *Sunderland* told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desir'd we might meet after Council was up. I went to his Lodgings; where he told me, that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being absolutely resolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having found I had long declin'd it, had now Thoughts of consenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming into it upon a Bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his Thoughts; and ask'd whether I had any thing to say upon it. I made no Stop in the World, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had several times press'd His Majesty to a new Choice, and once offer'd to name some to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had resolv'd against it so long, that His Majesty had no Reason to remember any of his Engagements to me, how voluntary soever; but that he was pleas'd to do it, was the most obliging in the World; and I was resolv'd immediately to go and make him my Acknowledgments. I did so; they were extremely well taken; the King us'd me with great Kindness; and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* came into the Office.

I pass'd the Winter in Town, though with much Indisposition; going sometimes to the Council, and sometimes to the Foreign Committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that pass'd there; unless it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, which happen'd to be then hot upon the Anvil; the Duke of *Ormond* and Council of that Kingdom, having transmitted several Aëts over to the Council here, both of Grace and Supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought Lord *Essex* again into Play, after so much Discontent and so little Attendance for several Months at Council: But his Eye and Heart had ever

been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him steer all by that Compass, and pursue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought either likeliest to further that End. Whenever the *Irish* Acts came into Council, he was sure to be there; first raising twenty Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning, not only the Prudence, but common Sense of the Lord-Licutenant and Council there: Then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at last introducing Sir *James Sheen*: to make Proposals of encreasing the King's Revenue there near eighty thousand Pounds a Year upon a new Farm to himself and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him; a Farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

This Scheme was ever supported by Lord *Effex*; and ever oppos'd by me, with more Sharpness than was usual to me upon any Debates; because I had found out the Cheat of the whole Thing, which Lord *Effex* had set on Foot as a great Master-piece of that Cunning, which his Friends us'd to say was his Talent, and was one for which of all other Talents I had ever the greatest Aversion. The Short of this Story was, Lord *Effex* had a mind to be Licutenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being call'd till he came to the Government. He saw himself out at Court; and the Hopes of getting in by his Interest in Parliament, now delay'd by the Prorogation longer than he could stay: He projects this Farm with Sir *James Sheen*, and by him offers it to Mr. *Hyde* with the Advantages mention'd to the King's Revenue; but agrees with Sir *James*, that if the Bait were swallowed, he should, upon the Conclusion of all, declare, That he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but could not do it, unless my Lord *Effex* might be sent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*; without which the Condition of that Kingdom could never be settled enough for such Advantages to the King's Service and Revenue. This I knew, under Secrecy, from a Confident of Sir *James Sheen*, who had told himself this whole Project and the Pass intended.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was at the Head of all Matters concerning the King's Revenue, had receiv'd this new Proposal, and embrac'd it very warmly; whether prevail'd upon by the specious Shew of so great Encreases in the Revenue, or by some new Measures growing between him and Lord *Effex* in other Affairs, I never could determine; but such a Patronage at Council gave Strength to the Debates, being little oppos'd but by Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and me, who laid the Matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole Spring; and the King joyn'd wholly with me in the Opinion of the Thing, and so far, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, His Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

In the midst of these Agitations the Duke came over out of *Flanders*, and Resolution was taken for his going into *Scotland*. I was extremely concern'd for the Duke of *Ormond*, who had fallen into Danger of the Consequences threaten'd by these Intrigues and Pursuits, after the most sensible Blow that could be given him by the Death of his * Son; and was both of an Age and Merits to expect no more Reverses of Fortune, after so many as he had run through in the Course of his Loyalty. I saw Mr. *Hyde* violently bent upon Sir *James Sheen's* imaginary Project; and I doubted, with some Picque to the Duke of *Ormond*, and Partiality to Lord *Effex*. The King seem'd to grow weary of so much Pursuit; and Lord *Sunderland* was indifferent in the Thing: So that I resolv'd to try if I could engage the Duke to support the Duke of *Ormond*; and the second time I was with his Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole Business and the Consequences of it, and laid open the Secret of the Thing. The Duke seem'd very favourable to Lord *Effex*, and more indifferent to the Duke of *Ormond* than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the Character of them both, which the Duke seem'd at last to allow with the Distinction they deserved, and profess'd to desire the Duke of *Ormond* should be continued; though if he were remov'd at any time, he still seem'd to think Lord *Effex* the fittest

* The Earl of Ossory.

to succeed him. But I found some Days after, by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, that His Highness had been very glad to find me so fixt in that Business to the Duke of *Ormond*, and that he would give him what Support he could.

Upon the Motions of this Affair, I grew into more Attendance upon His Majesty, and more Commerce both with Lord *Sunderland* and Mr. *Hyde*; with whom I always liv'd very well, though we differ'd so much in Opinion upon this *Irish* Business. But continuing still my Resolutions of winding my self out of all publick Business; and to that End talking often to them of my Design to make a Journey to *Florence*, both upon Occasion of my Health and Promise; they both propos'd to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to see the Country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge my self again with the Ceremonies and Fatigue of an Embassy; or to run again the Hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those Employments: That if I could resolve on it, I did not see what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilst he had such as he seem'd to have at present in *England*; nor could I see what Use any Leagues or Measures abroad could be to him, unless some Union at home would enable him to support them. This Conversation however was often renew'd between us; and at last I found out, that to prepare for a good Session of Parliament next Winter, the Ministers were resolv'd upon all Measures that might conduce towards it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were resolv'd to send Ministers to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederates, and enter with them into the strictest Measures for the common Defence against the Power of *France*.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this Embassy, as believing my charging my self with it would give a general Opinion, both at home and abroad, of our Sincerity in the Thing. The King spok to me, and seem'd very desirous of my Undertaking it. I defended my self a good while, having indeed no Opinion the Thing had a good Root, or that the Appearance of it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament: But at last I brought it to this Point; that I would not charge my self with going to make the intended Alliance in *Spain*; but if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon Terms of mutual Satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Ministers; the King declar'd me his Ambassador Extraordinary at *Madrid*; I pass'd my Privy-Seal, receiv'd my Equipage, and spent the latter End of the Summer in the Preparations for my Journey, which were in a manner finish'd about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concern'd him either abroad or at home, he was resolv'd to have me stay at least the Opening of it, by which we should judge of the further Progress.

From what Seeds the Discontents and violent Proceedings of this last Session grew, I have told already; but by what Motions and Degrees they came to such a Height, is another Story, and may have had some Roots which I did not discover; but what I observ'd was this. After the Duke's Return into *Flanders*, he had the King's Leave to come over again in some Months. The Duke of *Monmouth* came back out of *Holland* without Leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seem'd to make himself the Head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Intermission of Parliament. In acting this Part, he was guided by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who resolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer; so as to make the Necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the Time appointed. And, because Boldness looks like Strength, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd several Lords, and among them Lord *Russel*, to go with him to *Westminster-Hall* publick, and there at the King's *Bench* to present the Duke as a Recusant. Though the Matter had no Consequences

sequences in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a strong one upon the Passions of all those Persons that were so publickly engag'd in this bold Pace against the Duke; which was breaking all Measures with him, and entering into the desperate Resolution of either ruining his Highness or themselves: And I found it had a great Effect upon the small Circle of my Acquaintance or Observation.

Lord *Essex*, who had pursu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland* by Engines at Court for six Months past; began to let all that Business for that Sir *James Sheen* cool, and to reckon upon laying a surer Foundation for that Design, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new Commerce with Lord *Shaftsbury*; who told him in those shameless Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble your self, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland.* The Way to this Return, was to oppose the Duke's Stay here upon the several Passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the Session of Parliament. Lord *Hullifax*, tho' he fell not in with Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather against the Parliament met, by his Oppositions to the Duke. Lord *Sunderland* was struck with the Boldness of the Lords Presentment in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Consequence of such Men being so desperately engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer, but would be forc'd to separate his Interests from him at last: And he believ'd the King himself was of the same Mind. Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the same Thoughts with Lord *Sunderland*, both of the Thing it self, and of the King's Mind in it: So as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay or going back into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, these four join'd absolutely in the Reasons and Advices for his going away: And though the rest of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with these Four, and concluded the Thing; against the Duke's Will and his Friends, as I have been told: For during all these Transactions I was in the Country, with my Thoughts and Preparations wholly turn'd upon my *Spanish* Ambassy; and I was the willing-er to be there, upon the Resolution I had long been fix'd in, never to enter into any Differences or Personal Matters between the King and his Brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general Knowledge of so many great Persons having appear'd so publickly against his Highness in *Westminster-Hall*, and so considerable Ones in the Court it self and at the Council Table: Those of the first Gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who fram'd the Bill of Exclusion; wherein they were desperately engag'd, not only, as they profess'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewise upon that of Self-preservation, having broken irreparably all Measures already with the Duke: The Generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the Plausibleness of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only against Popery, without any private Ends as was pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Resolution to fall into it, upon the Observation of such Lords of the Court having engag'd so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of *Monmouth's* Friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lye in the Duke's Place, though no Provision seem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all these Circumstances concurring, made so violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all Occasions, the small Opposition made by two or three Men, made the Violence the greater.

Besides these general Circumstances, there were two more Particular and Personal, that seem'd to me to have great Influence upon the House: One was, Lord *Russel* setting himself, almost with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair; who was a Person in general Repute of an honest worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was

Sir *William*

Sir *William Jones* entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, ^{See the Appendix} if I mistake not the first Day he came into the House (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the Session began, having been engag'd in a disputed Election. And this Person having the Name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wise Man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous Nature; made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all Parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court.

The Bill pass'd the House of Commons, and was carry'd up by Lord *Ruf-fel* to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But in the House of Lords it met with another kind of Reception. The King was resolv'd and declar'd against the Bill: And though Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Effex*, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the rest of the House were firm and positive against it, among whom Lord *Halifax* appear'd most in the Head of all Debates; and so it was, after long Contest, absolutely thrown out. This enrag'd the House of Commons; and having sail'd of the only Thing they seem'd to have at Heart, made them fall upon Persons; engage first in the Pursuit of Lord *Stafford* to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addreses, either upon general Discontents in the publick Affairs, or upon common Fame against particular Men.

During the whole Proceedings of this Session of Parliament, I play'd a Part very impertinent for a Man that had any Designs or Ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whose Head was fix'd either upon my Embassy into *Spain*, or upon my absolute Retirement) the only one wherein I could have satisfy'd my self. As I never enter'd into publick Business by my own Choice or Pursuit, but always call'd into it by the King or his Ministers; so I never made the common Use of it, by ever asking either Money, Lands, or Honour of his Majesty; though I have been often enough urg'd to it by my Friends, and invited by so great Degrees of Confidence and Favour as I have stood in with his Majesty both often and long. I never had my Heart set upon any Thing in publick Affairs, but the Happiness of my Country, and Greatness of the Crown; and in order to that, the Union of both, by which alone I thought both could be achiev'd. When I fell first into Despair of this, I fell first into a Dislike of all publick Affairs; which has been nourish'd by a Course of such Accidents and Turns of Court, and Personal Inconstancies or Infidelities, as I have related. By what Means I came to be so long engag'd, as to see this Session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the Vexation and Trouble which the Course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland* depended upon the Union of his Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make such a Figure in Christendom, as the Crown of *England* has done and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had sent over Monsieur *Van Leven* to make both Court and Country sensible of this Necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lye at the Mercy of *France*, from the Day they saw the Hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with such a Bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any thing Foreign would not be allow'd among them; nay, the Mention of *Spanish* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and Measures intended by the King with other Confederates, were laugh'd at, as Court Tricks, and too stale to pass any more. They fell downright upon a Point invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion; and in Default of that, upon Heats against the Government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was return'd with Heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touch'd: Which were Lord *Halifax*, who, by a sudden Turn, whereof I know no Account, had at the Beginning of the Session fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Interests; and Mr. *Hyde*, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever reckon'd upon as

will

well as found to be first in that Point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much Purpose; only they promis'd to agree with the King upon the Draught of some Expedients in the Case, which Lord *Hallifax* had charg'd himself with, and should be charg'd with to the House of Lords, during the Heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the Bent of the House of Commons, the Violence with which it was carry'd, and the Distractions it was like to engage the Kingdom in, at a time they were so little in Season; I gave over first all Hopes, and then all Thoughts upon so unpleasant a Theme. In the Business of the Bill I never meddled, nor so much as reason'd either in or out of the House; having declar'd my Opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no Purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take Notice of the Commons Address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills, or any Addresses upon Things of that Nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and if he should be forc'd to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible Differences between the Two Houses, than upon any between His Majesty and the House of Commons. But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I press'd both the King and them to bring such Expedients as they told me were resolv'd on; that so we might make all the Strength we could to support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce Things to some Temper; But these, tho' daily talk'd of, never appear'd. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any Purpose, I endeavour'd to allay the Heats on either Side; and told the King, I expected to be turn'd out of the House in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon. Mr. *Hyde* ask'd me one Day in the Council Chamber, why I came so seldom to House or Council; I told him, 'twas upon *Solomon's* Advice, *neither to oppose the Mighty, nor go about to stop the Current of a River*: Upon which he said, I was a Wise and a Quiet Man; and if it were not for some Circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

See the
Appendix.

I do not remember to have spoken in the House, but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*; upon the Digestion of the first Address about general Grievances; and in the Cases of my Lord Chief Justice *North* and my Lord *Hallifax* being impeach'd upon common Fame: Nor at any general Councils; unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against Lord *Hallifax*, and upon a Debate about Dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desir'd the King and Council never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a Matter of so great Necessity to the State of His Majesty's Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Lord *Hallifax* answer'd me in few Words, That every body was sensible of the Necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: And * Mr. *Seymour* told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last Thing I did in House or Council, was to carry the King's last Answer to the Commons, containing his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke; which Secretary *Jenkins* had been charg'd with the Night before at Council: But he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Godolphin* have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

* After-
wards Sir
E. Sey-
mour.
See the
Appendix.

I told His Majesty, I did not very well understand why a Thing agreed upon last Night at Council-Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themselves, and to shew His Majesty that I intended to play no popular Games: Upon which I took the Paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his Confidence I formerly had, and how
much

much I had lost, without knowing the Occasion; or else I might have had part in the consulting this Change of what was last Night resolv'd, as well as in executing it; and I would confess to His Majesty, that I had not so good a Stomach in Business, as to be content only with *Swallowing what other People had chew'd*. Upon which I went away, and carry'd my Message to the House, which was receiv'd just as was expected. I tell this Passage freely, as I do all the rest; as the only Thing I could imagine the King could ever take ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or the Homeliness of Expression.

That which completed my Resolution or Recess from all publick Business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both Parties who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one Point of bringing Things to the last Extremity. Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Party thought the Points of popular Discontents and Petitions, or at least That of the King's Wants, would at last bring the Court to their Mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers, who were past all Measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats, to bring the King to a Dislike, and thereby to a Difuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's Interest seem'd at present only to be secur'd. So that where both Parties consented in dividing to Extremity on each Side, no Man could think any longer of Uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a Posture as I had ever wish'd it, and for our Neighbours Sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the last Debates, during my Assistance at the Foreign Committee, concerning the Answer His Majesty should return to the repeated Addresses of the House of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of Opinion it should be, That when both Houses agreed upon an Address to this Purpose, he would give them an Answer; but till then would suspend it, and not send a positive Answer to one House upon so weighty an Occasion, which for ought he knew might be contrary to the Sense of the other. By this means he would be secure from the Necessity of any direct Breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the Address. And if the Parliament came to be dissolv'd, it were better for the King it should break upon Differences between the Two Houses, than between His Majesty and them. For this would give the Nation an Opinion, that he was resolv'd to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our Peace at Home, but would however ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if the Parliament broke upon Disputes or Differences between the Two Houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with some of them; by which alone he could be *Great* and *Safe* both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a Day call it to him; he did so, but the Mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the Mountain; for unless they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King seem'd pleas'd with all I said, and with the Comparison; but those of the Committee that were chief in the private Measures taken at this Time, were for a positive Answer to be given the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd; and accordingly this was resolv'd.

However, all these Considerations or Interests could not move the King to dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at *Oxford* in the Spring. Whereupon, the Heads of the University at *Cambridge* sent to me, to know whether I intended to stand again for that Election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his Pleasure what Answer I should return them: He seem'd at first indifferent, and bid me do what I would; but when I said I was very indifferent too, and

would do in it what His Majesty lik'd best; he said, in a Manner kind and familiar, that considering how Things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I said I would do.

When I left the King, I went to my Lord *Sunderland*, and told him what had pass'd; who took this as the first certain Sign of His Majesty's having fixt his Resolution, and left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Measures another Way, for the Supply of his Treasures in the ill Condition they were in. He knew very well, that during the last Session, the King had always told me, that he was resolv'd to propose some Expedients to the Houses, upon which he had Hopes they might agree; That he had order'd *Hallifax* to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my Credit in the House for that Occasion: And that if there were any Thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King he was sure would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some Passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few Days, employ'd wholly in my Domestick Concerns, and in order to the Remove I intended, I left the Town and went to *Sheen*: From whence I sent the King Word by my Son, that I would pass the rest of my Life like as good a Subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any publick Affairs; and desir'd His Majesty would not be displeas'd with this Resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, That he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a Week at *Sheen*, when my Lady *Northumberland* (who liv'd then at *Sion*) came to my Closet one Morning, and told me, that the Day before, my Lord *Sunderland*, my Lord *Effex's* Names, and mine, were struck out of the Council; which was the first Word I heard of any such Thing; and upon which I neither made any Reflections nor Inquiries; though many others seem'd much to wonder, and inquir'd of me what could be the Reason of my being joyn'd with the other Two Lords, whose Proceedings had been very different.

My Lord *Sunderland* was, during the late Session of Parliament, fallen under a great Displeasure of His Majesty; and into an outrageous Quarrel with Lord *Hallifax*. The last happen'd, not only upon their dividing in the Business of the Parliament and Council; but likewise upon Lord *Sunderland's* entering into new Commerce and Measures with Lord *Shaftsbury*; as my Lord *Hallifax* told me, and which I should not have otherwise known: For if there were any such Commerce, Lord *Sunderland* had made it a Secret to me; as knowing too well the Aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole Course of his Proceedings in all publick Affairs. But Lord *Sunderland* told me another Reason of the Quarrel between him and Lord *Hallifax*; which he said broke out the same Night a Debate arose at Council, concerning an Address of the House of Commons against Lord *Hallifax*, wherein Lord *Sunderland* had been of Opinion, the King should not yield to it. But after Council, Lord *Hallifax* went to Lord *Sunderland's* Lodgings, where they fell into Discourse of what had pass'd; and Lord *Sunderland* told him, that though he had given his Opinion at Council, as he thought became him; yet if such an Address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a Thing that would be for his Service. Upon this Lord *Hallifax* fell into such a Passion, that he went out of the Room, and from that time they hardly liv'd in any common Civility where they met.

The Refiners thought Lord *Hallifax*, who saw himself topp'd by Lord *Sunderland's* Credit and Station at Court, resolv'd to make this sudden Turn of falling in with the King, upon the Point then in Debate about the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King steady, and that my Lord *Sunderland* would lose himself; so that falling into Confidence with the King upon such a Turn, he should be alone Chief in the Ministry without Competitor.

At least the Reasoners on this Matter could find no other Ground for such a Change in Lord *Hullifax's* Course, after what he had so long steer'd, and so lately in having been the chief Promoter of the Duke's being sent away to *Scotland*, just before the Meeting of the Parliament.

The King's Quarrels to my Lord *Sunderland*, as far as I could observe, were chiefly two. First, His voting in the Lords House for the Bill of Exclusion, not only against the King's Mind, but against his express Command; which, for a Person actually in his Service, and in such a Post as Secretary of State, seem'd something extraordinary. And I remember, when I spoke to him of it, as what the King must resent, and what I was confident he would be steady in, he told me, 'twas too late, for his Honour was engag'd, and he could not break it. The other was, A Memorial sent over by Mr. *Sydney*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Pensioner *Fagel*, representing the sad Consequences abroad of His Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Protestant Religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the Point of the Bill of Exclusion. This was, as I remember, the Substance; for I never heard a Word of it, either before or after its being receiv'd at the Foreign Committee; where I was as much surpriz'd at it as any one there, but had not the same Thoughts of its Original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believ'd it a Thing directed and advis'd from hence; and, in a word, by Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sydney* his Uncle, as a Matter that would be of Weight to induce the King to pass the Bill. But, besides that Lord *Sunderland* protested to me after Council, that he knew nothing of it, till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. *Sydney*, who sent the Original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe, That would be a Motive to him to pass the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect than to anger him at the *Dutch*, for meddling in a Matter that was Domestick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observ'd the Stile to be of one that understood little of our Constitution, by several Expressions in the Paper; whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such Consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a Stroke with a Pen]; which shew'd, the Author thought our Acts of Parliament had been pass'd by the King's Signing them.

This, and the whole Cast of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Pensioner *Fagel*; a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion, mightily concern'd for all that he thought would endanger it, and besides of great Warmth and Suddenness in pursuing any Thought that possess'd him. However, the King, as well as some of the Committee, believ'd this was of my Lord *Sunderland's* Forge; and that many of the Heats in the House of Commons had been encourag'd and rais'd to such Height by his seeming to favour them; which they might think he would not do, unless he believ'd the King would at length comply with them.

These, I suppose, were the Reasons of the Resolution taken at Court to remove Lord *Sunderland*, both from the Secretary's Office and the Council. What made my Lord *Essex* be joyn'd with him, is a great deal more obvious; having ever since the Meeting of the Parliament run up in the greatest Heights and nearest Measures with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, both in the Bill of Exclusion and all other Matters where he interven'd, either in Debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the Bill, or several Addresses against Ministers. How I came to be joyn'd with these Two Lords, by the King's ordering our Names to be struck out of the Council Book at the same time, I neither knew, nor could ever give any Reason; unless it were what was commonly guess'd, of my being a Friend of the Prince of *Orange*, or of my Lord *Sunderland*, with whom I had a very long Acquaintance, and of our Families, as well as Personal. For the First, I could think it no Crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddled, at least to my Knowledge, in any Domestick Concerns of

His Majesty, during all that pass'd since the first Heats in Parliaments here, though he had been extream sensible of the Consequences they were like to have upon all his Interests, and nearest Concerns at Home; which were, the Preservation of *Flanders* from the *French* Conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden Treaties into an absolute Dependence upon that Crown.

I can give no other Reason; unless it were, that as my Lord *Salisbury* had been struck out some Days before, upon his having declar'd at Council that he would come there no more; so His Majesty and his Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same Resolution as to that and all publick Affairs, though signify'd only in private to His Majesty, and with all the good Manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's Affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of my self.

Nor was this Resolution of mine taken in any Heat, or rashly, but upon the best Considerations and Knowledge I have gain'd, both of the World and of my self: By which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his Island, that he was not fit to govern any thing but his Sheep; so by serving long in Courts, or publick Affairs, I discover'd plainly, that I was, at my Age, and in the present Conjunctions, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I consider'd the World in the present Posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: I knew very well the great Designs of *France*, whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the Conquest of *Flanders* and that Part of *Germany* which lies on this Side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had seiz'd *Lorraine*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty for the Division of *Flanders* between them, till the States soon found the false Pace they had made, by an Agreement to share with the *Lion*, who thereupon would be soon Master, both of the Prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this Confederacy on the sudden, quitted the *French* in the midst of so great Success, and had thereby almost occasion'd the Ruin of the *French* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by Tradition from a Noble Family, How that Cardinal had sent a private Emiffary, to endeavour the same Measures with King *Charles* the First; or at least for his being passive in their Conquest of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the first; and being press'd upon the other, had answer'd resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the Conquest of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he would march himself in Person to defend it. Upon this Answer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [Did he say so? by G--d I'll make him pay dear for it;] and thereupon enter'd immediately into Practices with some discontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; sent over Two Hundred Thousand Pistoles to others in that Kingdom, and gave thereby a Beginning to the first Troubles that were rais'd there. From which Time, the Business of *France* has ever been to foment all Divisions of *England*, whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross their great Design. However, Cardinal *Mazarin*, after having surmounted his own Dangers in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Minority; pursu'd the Plan left him by his Predecessor: And by his Measures taken with *Cromwell*, and the Assistance of an immortal Body of six thousand brave *English*, which were by Agreement to be continually recruited, he made such a Progress in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* soon found the Ballance turned, and grown too heavy on the *French* Side: Whereupon he dispatch'd a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them Ten thousand to be continually recruited, upon Condition their first Assi- on should be to besiege *Calais*, and, when taken, to put it into his Hands. The Gentleman sent upon this Errand, was past the *Pyrenes*, when he was overtaken by the News of *Cromwell's* Death; whereupon *Mazarin*, having not only lost his strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ'd how that Design would never be serv'd by any Measures he could take in *England*, however it should

should be govern'd, by the most legal or most usurp'd Powers, he resolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, against the general Sense, both of the chief Persons in the Court and the Army, but particularly against the Instances of *Montieur de Turenne*, who engag'd himself to conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in two Campaigns more: But some Domestick Reasons prevail'd with the Cardinal; besides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life not long after the Peace was made.

The present King, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the Flower of his Youth, and instructed in the School of so able a Minister, began to pursue the great Design, by the three Pieces most necessary to advance it; which were, the wise Management of his Revenue, and heaping up a Mass of Treasure; the Encrease of his Naval Force, by building many great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; and by the Purchase of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aspir'd to the Conquest of *Flanders*, or to his Greatness at Sea; having no other Haven upon the Channel: After this, by somenting on both Sides the Seeds of Disension between us and the *Dutch*, which were sprung from other cover'd Roots. He saw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665; and with such Honour and Successes, that the *Dutch* would soon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* first assisted them at Land, against the Bishop of *Munster*; and then declar'd War against us, and set out his Fleet for Assisting the *Dutch*. This made the War more equally ballanc'd, and thereby last; till *France* taking Advantage at our Division, invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surprise of the unprepar'd *Spaniards*, in two Campaigns carry'd the most considerable Frontier Places on both Sides, as *Douay*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, on the one Side; *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the rest of *Flanders* at the Mercy of another Campaign. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at these Successes of so mighty a Neighbour so near their own Doors; and we were spighted at the *French* having declar'd War against us, in Favour of *Holland*, contrary to our Expectations; and both together contributed to the Peace at *Breda* in the End of the Year 1667, and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the Triple Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* stopp'd their Career in *Flanders*, and made Overtures of Peace with *Spain*; by the Offer of an Alternative, either to retain their Conquests in *Flanders*, or else the whole County of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; and the *Spaniards* spighted at this Hardship upon them, from Neighbours who they thought had as much Interest as they to preserve *Flanders*, chose the worst, which was to leave the Frontier of *Flanders* in the *French* Hands; on purpose to give Us and *Holland* the greater Jealousie of *France*, and in Hopes thereby to engage us all in a War with that Crown. And upon these Terms the Peace was made at *Aix la Capelle* in 1668.

After this, *France* turn'd all their Counsels to break the Measures between Us and *Holland*, which gave a Stop to their great Design. The *Dutch* were stanch; but we gave Way by the Corruption of our Ministers, and the *French* Practices upon the Dispositions of our Court; which at length engag'd us in a joint War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the Amazement of all Men, both abroad and at home, and almost to the utter Ruin of that State; till the Empire and *Spain*, rous'd by the Danger of *Holland*, which must have ended in that of *Flanders* and all the *German* Provinces on this Side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for the Assistance of the *Dutch*; which gave them some Breath, and carry'd the Scene of the War into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the same Time, the Discontents of the People and Parliament at the War; and the Necessity of declaring it against *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continued longer in it; prevail'd with the King to make a separate Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Mediation to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which ended in the Treaty of *Nimegueu*, and at last in a Peace there, concluded in 1678: Whereby a Frontier was left to the *Spanish Netherlands* on the *Brabant* Side, by Restitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to satisfie the *Dutch*: But all that remain'd on the Side of *Flanders* after
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the Peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Air*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the last War, were by this Treaty left in their Possession; besides great Pretences by Dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alsace*; so as *Flanders* was left at their Mercy, whenever we or *Holland* should abandon its Defence. And, finding both Nations in general but too sensible of our Interest on that Side, the Councils of *France* began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they were encourag'd by our Factions, and the Necessities of Money into which they had drawn the King.

These were the Progresses which *France* had made in their great Design, by two Wars and two General Treaties of Peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* seem'd more Victorious than their Arms had been. But they had made another yet more Important than either, by their Practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Colgne*, having gain'd the Majority of Voices there for the Succession of Prince *William* of *Euxemburg* to that Principality, whenever the present Elector should fail, who is old and infirm, and has for some Years past deceiv'd the World by living so long. Prince *William*, though a *German*, yet having long devoted himself to the *French* Interests, and been supported by that Crown against the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *Frenchman* as any Bishop of that Kingdom; so as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be absolute Master of that Principality; and thereby cast Shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by bordering upon their Inland Provinces, which are most expos'd and hard to be defended: 'Tis said, he is likewise assur'd of the Chapter of *Liege*, in favour of the same Prince; which if true, and this Principality fall likewise under the same Dominion, upon the Death of the present Elector, *France* will then surround the Frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all Commerce, or Means of Defence, between them and *Luxembourg*; that they will not have above the Work of one Campaign to draw the Net over the rest of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great Cities there; after which, the rest must follow, and thereby *Holland* be left to take what Measures they can with *France*, and become at best a Maritime Province to that Crown; tho', perhaps, under the Name of a Free State (for fear of dispeopling their Country) but with such Dependence as will leave *France* the Use both of their Ships and Money, upon Occasion, in other Parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon such an Encrease of the *French* Territory, and Land, as well as Naval Power, is easie to conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous Conjunction of Counsels, as well as Interests, with all the late Confederates; and by a firm Union between the Court and the Nation upon one common Bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the Preservation of *Flanders* against the *French* Designs.

I easily discover'd how fit a Posture we were in to engage in such Resolutions. The Nation divided into two strong Factions with the greatest Heats and Animosities, and ready to break out into Violence upon the first Occasion. The Heads on both Sides desiring it, as grown past all Temper or Composure. The King involv'd in such Necessities and Disorders of his Revenue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from *France*; which would end in such Measures with that Crown, as would leave them at Liberty to pursue their great Design by new Attempts upon their Neighbours; who, without the Support of *England*, must give Way, either by weak Defences, or submissive Treaties.

Upon the Survey of all these Circumstances, Conjunctions, and Dispositions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold Blood, that I could be of no further Use or Service to the King my Master, and my Country, whose true Interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in Danger when they came to be divided, and for that reason had ever endeavour'd the Uniting them; and had compass'd it, if the Passions of some few Men had not lain fatally in the Way, so as to raise Difficulties that I

saw

ſaw plainly were never to be ſurmounted. Therefore upon the whole, I took that firm Reſolution, in the End of the Year 1680, and the Interval between the *Weſtmiſter* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge my ſelf more with any publick Employments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in that Poſture take my Fortune with my Country, whatever it ſhould prove: Which as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that attend human Affairs, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greateſt Lives, as well as Actions, are ſubject; ſo I ſhall not trouble my ſelf ſo much as to conjecture: *Fata viam inveniant.*

Befides all theſe publick Circumſtances; I conſider'd my ſelf in my own Humour, Temper and Diſpoſitions, which a Man may diſguiſe to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himſelf. I had learn'd by living long in Courts and publick Affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the Arts of a Court were contrary to the Frankneſs and Openneſs of my Nature; and the Constraints of publick Buſineſs too great for the Liberty of my Humour and my Life. The common and proper Ends of both, are, the Advancement of Men's Fortunes; and that I never minded; having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I deſired. The Talent of gaining Riches I ever deſpis'd; as obſerving it to belong to the moſt deſpicable Men in other Kinds: And I had the Occaſions of it ſo often in my Way, if I would have made uſe of them, that I grew to diſdain them; as a Man does Meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to Service for nothing but Wages, nor endure to be fetter'd in Buſineſs when I thought it was to no Purpoſe. I knew very well, the Arts of a Court are, to talk the preſent Language, to ſerve the preſent Turn, and to follow the preſent Humour of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all theſe I found my ſelf ſo incapable, that I could not talk a Language I did not mean, nor ſerve a Turn I did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly againſt my own. Befides, I have had in twenty Year's Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Princes, the Caprices of Fortune, the Corruption of Miniſters, the Violence of Factions, the Unſteadineſs of Counſels, and the Infidelity of Friends; nor do I think the reſt of my Life enough to make any new Experiments.

For the Eaſe of my own Life, if I know my ſelf, it will be infinitely more in the retir'd, than it has been in the buſie Scene: For no good Man can, with any Satisfaction, take part in the Diviſions of his Country, that knows and conſiders, as I do, what they have coſt *Athens*, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Florence*, *Germany*, *France* and *England*. Nor can the wiſeſt Man foreſee how ours will end, or what they are like to coſt the reſt of Chriſtendom as well as our ſelves. I never had but two Aims in publick Affairs; one, to ſee the King great, as he may be by the Hearts of his People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Conſtitutions of this Kingdom: The other, in caſe our Factions muſt laſt, yet to ſee a Revenue eſtabliſh'd for the conſtant maintaining a Fleet of fifty Men of War, at Sea or in Harbour, and the Seamen in conſtant Pay; which would be at leaſt our Safety from abroad, and make the Crown ſtill conſider'd in any Foreign Alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments ſhould agree or not in undertaking any great or National War. And ſuch an Eſtabliſhment I was in Hopes the laſt Parliament at *Weſtmiſter* might have agreed in with the King, by adding ſo much of a new Fund to Three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year out of the preſent Customs. But theſe have both fail'd, and I am content to have fail'd with them.

And ſo I take leave of all thoſe airy Viſions which have ſo long buſied my Head about mending the World; and at the ſame time, of all thoſe ſhining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of buſie Men: And ſhall turn mine wholly to mend my ſelf; and as far as conſiſts with a private Condition, ſtill purſuing that old and excellent Counſel of *Pythagoras*, that *we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to avoid Diſeaſes in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Diet, Factions in the Houſe, and Seditions in the State.*

T H E

A P P E N D I X.

Containing the Pieces referr'd to in these
M E M O I R S.

*A Declaration relating to the Establishment of the
New Privy-Council, mention'd Page 334.*

At the Court at *Whitehall*, the 21st of *April*, 1679.

P R E S E N T

The KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

HIS Majesty having caus'd the Privy-Council to Meet Yesterday Extraordinary, was then pleas'd to Order the Lord Chancellor of England to read to them the following Declaration.

My LORDS,

HIS Majesty hath call'd you together at this time, to Communicate unto you a Resolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to his Crown and Government: And which, he hopes, will prove of the greatest Satisfaction and Advantage to his Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your Approbation, however you may seem concern'd in it.

In the first place, his Majesty gives you all Thanks for your Service to him here; and for all the good Advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Dispatch that are necessary in many great Affairs. This forc'd him to use a smaller Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and sometimes the Advices of some few among them (upon such Occasions) for many Years past. He is sorry for the ill Success he has found in

this Course, and sensible of the ill Posture of Affairs from that and some unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealousies and Dissatisfaction among his good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for those Dangers we have Reason to fear, both at home and abroad.

These his Majesty hopes may be yet prevented, by a Course of wise and steady Counsels for the future; and these Kingdoms grow again to make such a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath resolv'd to lay aside the Use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committees, for the general Direction of his Affairs: And to Constitute such a Privy-Council, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Consultation and Digestion of all Business, both Domestick and Foreign; but also by the Choice of them, out of the several Parts this State is compos'd of, may be the best inform'd in the true Constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel him in all the Affairs and Interests of this Crown and Nation. And by the constant Advice of such a Council, his Majesty is resolv'd hereafter to govern his Kingdoms; together with the frequent Use of his great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true ancient Constitution of this State and Government.

Now for the greater Dignity of this Council, his Majesty resolves their constant Number shall be limited to Thirty; and for their greater Authority, there shall be fifteen of his chief Officers, who shall be Privy-Counsellors by their Places; and for the other Fifteen, he will chuse ten out of the several Ranks of the Nobility; and five Commoners of the Realm; whose known Abilities, Interest and Esteem in the Nation, shall render them without all Suspicion of either Mistaking or Betraying the true Interest of the Kingdom, and consequently of advising him ill.

In the first place therefore, and to take Care of the Church, his Majesty will have the Arch bishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London*, for the Time being. And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Chancellor, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the Navy and Stores (wherein consists the chief Strength and Safety of the Kingdom) the Admiral, and Master of the Ordnance. For the Treasury, the Treasurer and Chanceller of the Exchequer (or whenever any of these Charges are in Commission, then the first Commissioner to serve here in their Room:) The rest of the fifteen shall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Household, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of State: And these shall be all the Offices of his Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be annex'd. The others his Majesty has resolv'd, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends besides, to have such Princes of his Blood as he shall at any time call to this Board, being here in Court: A President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: And the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant Number of thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new Council, his Majesty hath now resolv'd to dissolve this old One; and does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further Attendance here: But with his repeated Thanks for your Service hitherto, and with the Assurance of his Satisfaction in you, so far that he should not have parted with you, but to make way for this new Constitution, which he takes to be, as to the Number and Choice, the most proper and necessary for the Uses he intends them. And as most of you have Offices in his Service, and all of you particular Shares in his Favour and good Opinion; so he desires you will continue to exercise, and deserve them, with the same Diligence and good Affections that you have hitherto done; and with Confidence of his Majesty's Kindness to you, and of those Testimonies you shall receive of it upon other Occasions.

Therefore,

Therefore, upon the present Dissolution of this Council, His Majesty appoints and commands all those Officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow at nine in the Morning, as His Privy-Council; together with those other Persons he designs to make up the Number, and to each of whom he has already signed particular Letters to that Purpose; and commands the Lord Chancellor to see them issued out accordingly; which is the Form he intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be sign'd in Council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly in the Choice of any Person, to a Charge of so great Dignity and Importance to the Kingdom.

And in pursuance thereof, His Majesty did this Day declare, That he had made Choice of the several Persons hereafter named, to be of his Privy-Council.

*The Names of the Lords of His MAJESTY'S
most Honourable Privy-Council.*

HIS Highness Prince *Rupert*.

Dr. William Sancroft, Lord Arch bishop of *Canterbury*.

Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Chancellour of *England*.

Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord President of the Council.

Arthur Earl of Anglesey, Lord Privy-Seal.

Christopher Duke of Albemarle.

James Duke of Monmouth, Master of the Horse.

Henry Duke of Newcastle.

John Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.

James Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the Household.

Charles Lord Marquess of Winchester.

Henry Lord Marquess of Worcester.

Henry Earl of Arlington, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

James Earl of Salisbury.

John Earl of Bridgewater.

Robert Earl of Sunderland, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Arthur Earl of Essex, first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury.

John Earl of Bath, Groom of the Stole.

Thomas Lord Viscount Falconberg.

George Lord Viscount Halifax.

Henry Lord Bishop of London.

John Lord Roberts.

Denzil Lord Hollis.

William Lord Russel.

William Lord Cavendish.

Henry Coventry, Esq; one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir Francis North, Knt. Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Sir Henry Capell, Knt. of the *Bath*, first Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Sir John Ernley, Kt. Chancellour of the Exchequer.

Sir Thomas Chicheley, Kt. Master of the Ordnance.

Sir William Temple, Baronet.

Edward Seymour, Esq;

Henry Powle, Esq;

And His Majesty commanded such of them as were then present to be Sworn, and to take their Places at the Board accordingly.

The Right Honourable *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was by His Majesty's Special Command sworn Lord President of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, took his Place at the Board accordingly.

His MAJESTY was this Day also pleas'd to declare, that he intended to make

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the Bath,
Daniel Finch, Esq;
 Sir *Thomas Lee*, Baronet,
 Sir *Humphrey Winch*, Baronet,
 Sir *Thomas Meers*, Baronet,
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners, for the Execution of the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, who shall only attend that Business.

His Majesty was also pleas'd to declare, That he would have all his Affairs here debated freely, of what kind soever they were; and therefore absolute Secrecy.

His Majesty was also pleas'd to declare, That he would communicate this Alteration of the Council unto both Houses of Parliament in a few Words.

THE Expedients mention'd by the Author in Page 337, and some other Parts of these Memoirs, met no Success in the House of Commons, who, upon the Bill of Exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other Expedients offer'd them by some of their own Members, but could not fix upon any that were thought sufficient. One Expedient was, to have a Bill brought in for the Association of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*: A Third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise propos'd, that the Prince of *Orange* should be joined in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown: With several other Schemes, which all prov'd abortive: So that the House of Commons began to reassume the Thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which End they presented an Address, *December 15, 1680*. The King's Message in answer to this Address, *January 4, 1681*, was that which the Author was commanded to carry to the House, as he tells us Page 352. And because it may give the Reader some Light into the Affairs and Dispositions of those Times, the Address and the King's Answer are here subjoin'd.

The Humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons presented to His Majesty, in answer to His Majesty's Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the Fifteenth Day of December, 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, have taken into our serious Consideration Your Majesty's Gracious Speech to both Your Houses of Parliament, on the Fifteenth of this Instant *December*; and do with all the grateful Sense of Faithful Subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge Your Majesty's great Goodness to Us, in renewing the Assurances You have been pleas'd to give us of your Readiness to concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and Your Gracious Invitation of us to make our Desires known to Your Majesty.

But with Grief of Heart we cannot but observe, that to these Princely Offers, Your Majesty has been advis'd (by what secret Enemies to Your Majesty and Your People, we know not) to annex a Reservation, which if insist'd on, in the Instance to which alone it is applicable, will render all Your Majesty's other Gracious Inclinations of no Effect or Advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleas'd thus to limit Your Promise of Concurrence in the Remedies which shall be propos'd, that they may consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent: And we do humbly inform Your Majesty, that no Interruption of that Descent has been endeavour'd by us, except only the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of *York*, who, by the wicked Instruments of the Church of *Rome* has been manifestly perverted to their Religion. And we do humbly represent to Your Majesty, as the Issue of our most deliberate Thoughts and Consultations, that for the Papists to have their Hopes continued, that a Prince of that Religion shall succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the Safety of Your Majesty's Person, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Prosperity, Peace, and Welfare of Your Protestant Subjects.

That Your Majesty's Sacred Life is in continual Danger, under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is evident, not only from the Principles of those devoted to the Church of *Rome*, which allow that an Heretical Prince (and such they term all Protestant Princes) Excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, may be destroyed and murdered; but also from the Testimonies given in the Prosecution of the horrid *Popish Plot*, against divers Traitors attainted for designing to put those accursed Principles into Practice against Your Majesty.

From the Expectation of this Succession, has the Number of Papists in Your Majesty's Dominions so much increased within these few Years, and so many been prevail'd with to desert the true Protestant Religion, that they might be prepar'd for the Favours of a *Popish* Prince, as soon as he should come to the Possession of the Crown: And while the same Expectation lasts, many more will be in the same Danger of being perverted.

This it is that has harden'd the *Papists* of this Kingdom, animated and confederated by their Priests and *Jesuits*, to make a common Purse, provide Arms, make Application to Foreign Princes, and sollicite their Aid, for imposing Popery upon us; and all this even during Your Majesty's Reign, and while Your Majesty's Government and the Laws were our Protection.

It is your Majesty's Glory and true Interest, to be the Head and Protector of all *Protestants*, as well Abroad as at Home: But if these Hopes

remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Protestant Religion and Interest, which shall give Confidence to Your Majesty's Allies, to joy'n so vigorously with Your Majesty, as the State of that Interest in the World now requires, while they see this Protestant Kingdom in so much Danger of a Popish Successor; by whom, at the present, all their Councils and Actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroy'd?

We have thus humbly laid before Your Majesty, some of those great Dangers and Mischiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popish Successor: The certain and unspeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majesty's Protestant Subjects and their Posterity, if such a Prince should inherit, are more also than we can well enumerate.

Our Religion, which is so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it.

The Execution of old Laws must cease, and it will be vain to expect new ones. The most sacred Obligations of Contracts and Promises (if any should be given) that shall be judg'd to be against the Interest of the *Romish* Religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from Argument and Experience elsewhere, but from the sad Experience this Nation once had on the like Occasion.

In the Reign of such a Prince, the Pope will be acknowledg'd supream (though the Subjects of this Kingdom have sworn the contrary) and all Causes, either as spiritual, or in order to spiritual Things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

The Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all such Protestants, as value their Souls and their Religion more than their secular Concernments, will be adjudg'd forfeited.

To all this we might add, That it appears in the Discovery of the *Plot*, that Foreign Princes were invited to assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of *York*; with Arguments from his great Zeal to establish Popery, and to extirpate Protestants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and such will expect Performance accordingly.

We further humbly beseech Your Majesty, in Your great Wisdom to consider, Whether in Case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant Kingdom should descend to the Duke of *York*, the Opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the farther Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.

For these Reasons, we are most humble Petitioners to Your most Sacred Majesty, That in tender Commiseration of Your poor Protestant People, Your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to depart from the Reservation in your said Speech; and when a Bill shall be tender'd to Your Majesty, in a Parliamentary Way, to disable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown, Your Majesty will give Your Royal Assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that Your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleas'd to assent to an Act whereby Your Majesty's Protestant Subjects may be enabled to associate themselves for the Defence of Your Majesty's Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

These Requests we are constrain'd humbly to make to Your Majesty, as of absolute Necessity, for the safe and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.

Without these Things, the Alliances of *England* would not be valuable, nor the People encourag'd to contribute to Your Majesty's Service.

As some farther Means for the Preservation both of our Religion and Property, We are humble Suiters to Your Majesty, that from henceforth such Persons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Protestant Religion. And that they may hold both their Offices and Salaries, *Quandiu se bene gesserint*. That (several Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices

ces of the Peace, fitly qualified for those Employments, having been of late displaced, and others put in their Room who are Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery) such only may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant as are Persons of Integrity and known Affection to the Protestant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace may be also so qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Estates, and Interest in their Country.

That none may be employ'd as Military Officer, or Officers in Your Majesty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Protestant Religion.

These our humble Requests being obtained, we shall on our part be ready to assist Your Majesty for the Preservation of *Tangier*, and for putting Your Majesty's Fleet into such a Condition, as it may preserve Your Majesty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

If Your Majesty hath or shall make any necessary Alliances for Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Interest and Security of this Kingdom, this House will be ready to Assist and Stand by Your Majesty in the Support of the same.

After this our Humble Answer to Your Majesty's Gracious Speech, we hope no evil Instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen Your Majesty's Esteem of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majesty's Service; but that Your Majesty will always retain in Your Royal Breast, that favourable Opinion of us Your Loyal Commons, that those other good Bills which we have now under Consideration, conducing to the Great Ends we have before mention'd; as also all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which shall from Time to Time be tendered for Your Majesty's Royal Assent; shall find Acceptance with Your Majesty.

His MAJESTY's Gracious Message to the Commons in Parliament, January 4, 1680.

Charles R.

HIS Majesty receiv'd the Address of this House, with all the Disposition they could wish to comply with their reasonable Desires; but upon perusing it, He is sorry to see their Thoughts so wholly fix'd upon the Bill of Exclusion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual: His Majesty is confirm'd in his Opinion against that Bill, by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to say in Answer to the Address of this House, but to recommend to them the Consideration of all other Means for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion; in which they have no Reason to doubt of his Concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a Parliamentary Way; and that they would consider the present State of the Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Christendom, in such a manner, as may enable him to preserve *Tangier*, and secure his Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

‘ But this answer of the King's was so far from giving Satisfaction, that the same Day it was Read in the House, after long Debate, and a Despair of any effectual Expedients, the Commons came to the following Resolutions.’

Resolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this House, that there is no Security nor Safety for the Protestant Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without passing a Bill for disabling *James Duke of York* to inherit the

the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies without such a Bill, is not only Insufficient, but Dangerous.

Resolv'd, That his Majesty in his last Message, having assur'd this House of his Readiness to concur in all other Means for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, that until a Bill be likewise pass'd for excluding the Duke of York, this House cannot give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesty's Person, extream Hazard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to those by whom this House is entrusted.

These Resolutions were follow'd by Votes of Addresse against several Persons; and the Heats still encreasing in the House of Commons, the King three Days after first Prorogued the Parliament, and the next Week dissolved it by Proclamation.

Page 351. Sir *William Jones* was reputed one of the best Speakers in the House, and was very Zealous in his Endeavours for promoting the Bill of Exclusion. He was a Person of great Piety and Virtue, and having taken an Affection to Sir *William Temple*, was sorry to see him employ'd in the Delivery of so unacceptable a Message to the House: The Substance of what he said to the Author upon it was this; *That for himself he was Old and infirm, and expected to Die soon: But you, said he, will in all probability live to see the whole Kingdom lament the Consequences of this Message you have now brought Us from the King.*

Page 352. What the Author spake in the House, does not only relate to the Business of *Tangier*, but likewise to the Bill of Exclusion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I shew'd the Speech to the Author, who, as far as his Memory could serve him, allow'd it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the Author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since Part of it relates to some Passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it, than the Business of *Tangier*, I think. As Affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concern'd in it, I am sure all the Protestants: And therefore, I hope, your Patience will hold out, to have the whole Circumstances of it fairly examin'd: For the Arguments that have been offer'd in the Consideration of this Message, have enlarg'd the Debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in some measure, before you, instead of that one particular Business of *Tangier*; so that now what Resolve you make will be a Discovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving Money for Alliances and all other Occasions; upon which Result the good or bad Success of this Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy Member that spoke before (though many are of a different Opinion) that it is not of any great Use to us upon the account of any Advantage we shall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; because of the Disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the Hands either of the *Turk* or *Spaniard*, but especially the *French*; who will not only be thereby enabled to Fetter us, as to our Trade in the *Levant*, but to curb also all other Nations whatsoever; and be such an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd, both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very Cautious how we weaken the Security we now have, that it shall not fall into his Hands. But if the Mole and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwise reduced into its first Chaos, I think, considering the Charge it will cost keeping, *England* would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the *Moors*
have

have to be beg'd it, that the first Thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is, to beat them off, by some speedy Supplies which must be presently sent; or else the Town, according to the best Information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single Consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such Supply as may be precisely necessary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A small Sum of Money, in comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's Expectation, and secure the Place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the Consideration of *Tangier* that makes me press you to it; but the deplorable State of the Protestants abroad. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve his Majesty in some publick Employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the State of Affairs, in Reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Necessity of using my best Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir, *I am confident the Eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who stand in fear of the Power of France) do think themselves as much concern'd in the Success of this Parliament, as this House; and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof.* This, Sir, as well as the Necessities of our Affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any Dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the Business of Money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let there be no Notice taken in your Address, of the Lords having cast out your Bill, for we have no Reason to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of so great Importance, without a Conference, was in my humble Opinion very strange, and contrary to the usual Proceedings of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary Way. For by this Means we may obviate all Misunderstandings with his Majesty about this Affair, and, I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this House, upon which the Welfare, not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, doth much depend.

Sir, His Majesty in his Message puts you in mind of giving Advice, as well as Money; I think, if we make that Expression the Ground of our Address, we may naturally graft very good Things thereon, especially what may conduce to the Preservation of a fair Correspondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot save a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and though Parliaments alone cannot save this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to ruin it.* And therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our Fortune to sit here in a Critical Time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Protestant Religion abroad need our Continuance; and for the same Reason we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage; and then I doubt not but his Majesty's Care and Goodness will at last overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Session to a happy Conclusion.

The E N D.

M E M O I R S

Of what pass'd in

C H R I S T E N D O M,

F R O M T H E

W A R begun 1672,

T O T H E

P E A C E concluded 1679.



L O N D O N:

Printed for O. LLOYD, W. MERES, T. WOODWARD,
and F. CLAY. MDCCXXXI.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

(Prefix'd to the First Edition of these Memoirs in 1691.)

READER,

THESE following Papers I obtain'd from a Person to whom I must never restore them again; and the Author has not, that I know of, enquir'd after them since I had them. I must needs confess, 'Tis but too plain by the Epistle that he intended they should not be publick during his Life; but though I have as great Respect for him as any Man, yet I could not be of his Mind in this: I think I should do the World wrong to conceal any longer a Treatise of so much Profit and Pleasure to all that read it; and I hope I shall not be thought to do the Author any in publishing it, since the Charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewise, that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the First and Third Parts of these Memoirs that are mention'd in them, they will do the Publick a great Piece of Service; and if they should come from the Author's last Hand, they may chance to be more correct than these, which look as tho' they had never been review'd by the Author, but just as they fell from his Pen. However, I do not remember to have met with a Treatise in any Language that I understand, which, in my poor Judgment, is written with more Candor and Truth, and thorough Insight into the Matters it relates; stuff'd with greater Variety of Subject, digested into better Order and Method, and express'd with more Clearness and Spirit, than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, chang'd a Word in it; but only where Things are said in French or Latin, I have thought fit to translate them; and if I have not done it so well as I should do, I crave the Reader's Pardon, and in all else do not doubt of his Thanks. I shall say nothing of the Author, who will be known by the first Pages of the Book, nor of the Time or Motive of its Writing; which are seen by the Epistle; but only heartily pray God to give him good Health and a long Life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, the Ornament to Learning and to his Country.

T O

My S O N.

April, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refus'd any thing you have desir'd of me; which I take to be a greater Compliment to you than to my self; since for a Young Man to make none but reasonable Desires, is yet more extraordinary than for an Old Man to think them so. That which you made me some Time since, and have so often renew'd, I have at last resolv'd to comply with, as well as the rest; and if I live, will leave you some *Memoirs* of what has pass'd in my publick Employments, especially those abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678; and run through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at home during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the Advantage to discern and observe the true Springs and Motions of both; which were often mistak'en in Court and Parliament, and thereby fasten'd many Suspicions, Confidences, Applauses, Reproaches, upon Persons, and at Times, where they were very undeserv'd. Twenty Years of my Life I pass'd in publick Thoughts and Business, from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of my Age; which I take to be the Part of a Man's Life fittest to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his Pleasures or his Ease. The Native Love of my Country, and its Ancient Legal Constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any publick Affairs, till the Way was open for the King's happy Restauration in 1660. And in 1680 you know I sent you to acquaint the King with my Resolutions to pass the Remainder of my Life like as good a private Subject as any he had, but
never

never more to meddle with any publick Employment. All the rest of my Age before, and since that Period, I have taken no more Notice of what pass'd upon the publick Scene, than an Old Man uses to do of what is acted on a Theatre; where he gets as easy a Seat as he can, entertains himself with what passes upon the Stage, not caring who the Actors are, or what the Plot, nor whether he goes out before the Play be done. Therefore you must expect nothing from me out of the Compass of that Time, nor any thing of *that* it self with much Application or Care, further than of Truth. You know how lazy I am in my Temper, how uneasy in my Health, how weak my Eyes, and how much of my Time passes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can against Two cruel Diseases that have for some Time pursued me; so that I doubt the Satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill Health or ill Weather, which yet are not like to fail at my Age and in our Climate. For the rest, if you find any thing either instructing or diverting in what I shall write upon this Subject, you may attribute it wholly to the Kindness and Esteem I have for you, without which I should not have given my self the Trouble of such Recollections: And as I intend them for your Use, so I desire no other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my Care, and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your Disposal. I am the gladder, and it is but just, that my publick Employment should contribute something to your Entertainment, since they have done so little to your Fortune, upon which I can make you no Excuses: 'Twas a Thing so often in my Power, that it was never in my Thoughts; which were turn'd always upon how much less I needed, rather than how much more. If yours have the same Turn, you will be too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS

Of what pass'd in

CHRISTENDOM

From 1672, to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HA VING ended the First Part of these Memoirs with my Retirement from all publick Business in the Year 1671, which was soon swallow'd by the Second *Dutch* War; I shall begin this with the Approaches of the Peace in the Year 1673.

About this Time, after two Summers spent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with several Encounters at Sea, but no decisive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Necessities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both Sides rather of the Ministers than the People. The *Dutch* believ'd it at first intended only against *De Witt's* Factions, in Favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* some laid it to the Corruption of Ministers by the Money of *France*, and some that pretended to think deeper laid it to deeper Designs. The Lord *Clifford's* Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general; and the Disuse of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subsidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of our Fleets, and our Strength at Sea seem'd rather lessen'd than increas'd by the Conjunction of theirs: Our Seamen fought without Heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and our Discontents were so great at Land, that the assembling of our Militia to defend our Coasts was thought as dangerous as an Invasion. But that which most press'd His Majesty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Resolution of *Spain* to declare War against *England*, as they had done already against *France*, in Favour of *Holland*, unless the Peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a Blow to our Trade as could not easily have been fenc'd, and lost us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: So as the Necessity of this Conjunction, was only kept off by the Honour of our Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furnish Supplies enough

enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this Occasion. When the Parliament met, tho' they seem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War; and upon his Majesty's demanding their Advice, they gave it unanimously, That the Peace should be made.

There were too many Parties engaged in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho' a Treaty to that Purpose had been set on Foot at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of the *Suedes*, between the Ministers of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and some Princes of the Empire on the one Part, and his Majesty and *France* on the other, but without any the least Appearance of Success; for tho' all the Confederates had a mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them desir'd it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* set on Foot all the Engines they could, to engage his Majesty in some Treaty of a separate Peace; to which the Necessity of his Affairs, the Humour of his People, and the Instances of his Parliament, at last determin'd him, towards the End of the Year 1673.

Upon the first Meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons (whose ill Humour began to appear against those they esteem'd the chief Authors of the War) had desir'd leave of that House that he might be heard there in his own Defence upon that Subject. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himself upon the Lord *Arlington*, he desir'd that Lord might be ask'd who was the Author of the Triple Alliance? as if he understood himself to be so. The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like Desire into the same House of Commons, and answering some Parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could easily answer that Question of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This, I suppose, gave the Occasion for Reflections upon what had pass'd in the Course of my former Ambassies in *Holland* and at *Aix*; and his Majesty, and his Ministers, the Resolution to send for me out of my private Retreat, where I had pass'd two Years (as I intended to do the rest of my Life) and to engage me in going over into *Holland*, to make the separate Peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of *February* 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, his Majesty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having pass'd a Resolution, That the Charges and Dignities possess'd by the Prince of *Orange*, and his Ancestors, should become Hereditary to his Children: And at the same time he also receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the Desire of Passports for the Ambassadors, whom they resolv'd to send to his Majesty with Instructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suspension of Arms. This Offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to his Majesty to enter into Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the Propositions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be sent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Ministers that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much Odium upon themselves and Reflections upon the Government: On the other side, it was suspected what Practices might be set on Foot by *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon the general Discontent reigning against the present War. Therefore that very Afternoon, a Resolution was taken at the private Junto, to send rather than to receive an Ambassy upon this Subject; and that I should be the Person employ'd. Two Gentlemen were sent to my House within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl of *Denby* then Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* first Secretary of State, to order my Attendance upon his Majesty. My Lord *Arlington* told me he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd me upon this Occasion, nor could he well tell whether the King or the Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, That since the Peace was to be made, there was no other Person to be thought of for it: And accordingly the King gave me his Commands, with many Expressions of Kindness and Confidence, to prepare for my Journey; and the Secretary to draw up

up my Instructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of Pleasure to see his Majesty returning to the Measures upon which I had formerly serv'd him; but that I might do it the better, I begg'd of him that I might go over without the Character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarass me with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought what I said very pertinent, and so order'd that I should go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I should have in all Kinds the Appointment of Ambassador, and that I should take upon me the Character too when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days I was ready; and the Morning my Dispatches were so too, the Marquess of *Frezno*, Spanish Ambassador, sent my Lord *Arlington* word (while I was with him) that he had received full Powers from the States to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majesty pleas'd. My Lord *Arlington* surpris'd, was at first of Opinion the King should go on his own Way, and I my Journey, and give the Spaniards no Part in the Affair: I was of another Mind, and that besides the Point of Honour, which was clear in having the Peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought that of Interest might be the better pursu'd when we were fought to by the States, than when we fought to them: Besides, I believ'd the Spaniard would play as fair in a Game that he thought so much his own, and not suffer the *Dutch* to stop at any small Points, especially those of Honour; whereas that of the Flag (tho' such) was one his Majesty ought to lay most to heart. My Lord *Arlington*, after some Debate, agreed with me, and desir'd me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected Incident, who was then at the House of Lords. The King seem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told me, That since I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I should however at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marquess of *Frezno* with his Resolution, That if he and I could agree upon the Terms, the Thing should soon be done.

The Terms to be insist'd on were soon agreed by his Majesty at the Foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* Secretaries of State, with whom his Majesty order'd my Attendance upon this Affair. When I was instructed of his Majesty's Pleasure, I went to the Marquess of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings I concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to his Majesty, and Transport to the Marquess, upon so great an Honour as he thought it to himself, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Master. The Articles being publick, need no Place here. The two Points of greatest Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all *Englsh* Troops out of the *French* Service. This last was compos'd by private Engagements to suffer those that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the same time to give Leave for such Levies as the States should think fit to make in his Majesty's Dominions, both of *Englsh* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carried to all the Height his Majesty could wish; and thereby a Claim of the Crown, the Acknowledgment of its Dominion in the narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty from the most powerful of our Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakest of them, that I remember, in the whole Course of our Pretence; and had serv'd hitherto but for an Occasion of Quarrel, whenever we or they had a Mind to it, upon other Reasons or Conjunctions. Nothing, I confess, had ever given me a greater Pleasure, in the greatest publick Affairs I had run through, than this Success; as having been a Point I ever had at Heart, and in my Endeavours, to gain upon my first Negotiations in *Holland*; but found Monsieur *de Wit* ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a Rock upon which our firmest Alliances would be in danger to strike and to split, whenever other Circumstances fell in to make either of the Parties content to alter the Measures we had entered into upon the Triple Alliance. The Sum of Money given his Majesty by the States, though it was not considerable in it self, and

less to the King, by the greatest Part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Ease of it. And thus happily ended our Part of a War so fatal to the rest of *Christendom* in the Consequences of it, which no Man perhaps now alive will see the End of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Ministry of Five Men who were usually call'd *The Cabal*, a Word unluckily falling out of the Five first Letters of their Names, that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*. But though the Counsels and Conduct of these Men had begun the War with two unusual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and stopping the Bank; yet it must be allow'd them to have succeed'd well in the Honours they propos'd to themselves; *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Place of High Treasurer, and Title of a Baron; *Ashley* the Chancellor's Place, and an Earldom; *Arlington* an Earldom, with the Garter; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom, with the Garter. The Duke of *Buckingham*, being already possess'd of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himself to make no better a Bargain in this Matter than he us'd to do in all others that concern'd him; and so pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, instead of making so great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War and *French* Alliance, they had the Honour of making only four great Subjects.

After the Peace was made, His Majesty's first Care was to soften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done by representing the Necessities of it (that needed no false Colours) and at the same time to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining still in the War, in case *France* either desir'd or accepted it; which took up some Time to determine. In the mean while I continu'd in the Posture and Thoughts of the private Man I was before this Revolution, till about a Week after the whole Conclusion of it, when my Lord *Arlington* told me how kindly the King took of me both the Readiness I had express'd to go over into *Holland*, and the Easiness I shew'd upon the failing of that Commission, as well as the Pains and Success in the Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was resolv'd to send me Ambassador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that Purpose immediately to recall Sir *William Godolphin*, the ordinary Ambassador there, for many Reasons that, he said, made it necessary in this Conjunction.

I acknowledg'd the Honour His Majesty intended me, but desired Time to give my Answer till I had consult'd my Father upon it, who was then in *Ireland*, but in the Intention of coming suddenly over; however, in a Month I undertook to resolve. My Lord *Arlington* told me he did not expect any Demurr upon such an Offer, which he took to be of the best Employment the King had to give, and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spanish* Ambassador with it, who receiv'd it with great Joy, and resolv'd immediately to give Part of it to the Court of *Madrid*; which he was sure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a Thing concluded; though for the good Grace of it to my Father, he undertook the King would give me the Time I ask'd to resolve. When I writ to my Father upon this Subject, he was so violent against my charging my self with this Embassy, that I could not find any Temper to satisfy him, and upon it was forc'd to make my Excuses to the King. When I did so, his Majesty was pleas'd to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better Employment: That he was at present engag'd for the Secretary's Place, upon my Lord *Arlington's* Removal to Chamberlain; but that he resolv'd the next Removal shou'd be to make Room for me. This I told my Lord *Arlington*, who presently said, That he believ'd I could not refuse the *Spanish* Embassy, but upon Design of the Secretary's Place; and since I desir'd it, and the King fell into it of himself, he would

would play the easiest Part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson* for 6000 *l.* and the King had consented that he should enter upon it at his Return from *Cologne*, which was every Day expected; but yet he made such a Difference between the Persons, that he would find some Way to avoid it in case I would lay down the 6000 *l.* I assur'd his Lordship I had no such Design, nor such a Sum of Money to lay down while my Father enjoy'd the Estate of the Family: That if I had, I shou'd be very unwilling to pursue it so far as to give his Lordship any Strain in a Matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore desir'd him to think no further of it. But he was not of Opinion I could stick at any thing but the Money, and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to us both, with this Transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an Issue before the other came over: They both endeavour'd it with great Instances, and Mr. *Montague* was so kind as to offer to lend me the Money, but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my Lord *Arlington*, that, not to seem humorous in declining the Offers he had made me from the King or from himself, I was content they should both know, that if his Majesty had Occasion to send an Ambassy into *Holland* upon the Peace, I would very willingly serve him there, where I knew the Scene so well. So that Matter slept for the present.

In the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Assembly at *Cologne* breaking up in Expostulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the Person of Prince *William* of *Furstemburg*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Instrument of *France*, as his Brother the Bishop of *Strasburg* had been in all the late Designs and Invasions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. The King told me, That being resolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of those Employments which had of late been offer'd me, he was resolv'd to send me Ambassador Extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Councils, and by their Means to endeavour the Acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concern'd in the War: That I knew the Place and Persons better than any Man, and could do him more Service, both in this and continuing all good Correspondence between him and the States, which he was resolv'd to preserve: That I should have the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary, and the same Allowance I shou'd have had in *Spain*: Upon this Offer I made no Demurr, but immediately accepted it, and so my Ambassy was declar'd in *May* 1674

But to make Way for my entering upon this great Scene, it will be necessary to deduce in Short the Course of Affairs abroad, from the first Period of the present War, to this second of his Majesty's separate Peace with *Holland*, and the several Dispositions among the Parties that were likely to facilitate or to cross the Design of the King's intended Mediation.

No Clap of Thunder in a fair frosty Day cou'd more astonish the World, than our Declaration of War against *Holland* in 1672, first by Matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet; and in Consequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Declaration, in which we gave Reasons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themselves to give no other for their Part of it than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* could never be possess'd with a Belief that we were in Earnest, till the Blow was given; but thought our Unkindness and Expostulations of late, would end at last either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange's* Restitution to the Authority of his Ancestors. The Princes concern'd in their Safety could not believe, that after having sav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of *France*, we would suffer *Holland* to fall into the same Danger; and my Lord *Arlington* told me at that Time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themselves, till the Blow was struck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet; but then they immediately set out their Declaration, and began their Invasion: This Surprise

made Way for their prodigious Successes. The *Dutch* had made no Provision for their Defence either at home or abroad; and the Empire, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, stood at a gaze upon the Opening of the War, not knowing upon what Concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we wou'd suffer it to go on upon the *French* Conquests. Besides, the Animofities of the Parties in *Holland*, long exprefs'd under their new Constitution and *De Witt's* Ministry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's Friends talk'd loud and boldly, That there was no Way to satisfy *England* but restoring the Prince; and that the Baseness and Cowardice of their Troops were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in for no other Desert than their Enmity declar'd to the House of *Orange*. Upon this all Men expected a sudden Change; the States were in Disorder, and irresolute what to do; the Troops were without a General, and which is worse, without Heart; and tho' *De Ruyter*, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of these Evils out of his Fleet, which was our Part to deal with; yet Faction, Distrust, Sedition and Distraction made such Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the *French* Troops first invaded them, that of all the Towns and Fortresses on the *German* Side (held impregnable in all their former Wars) not one besides *Maastricht* made any Shew of Resistance, and the *French* became immediately Masters of all the Inland Parts of the Provinces in as little Time as Travellers usually employ to see and consider them. *Maastricht* was taken after a short Siege, as *Schenck Sconce*, by the Help of an extream dry Season, that made Rivers fordable where they had never been esteem'd so before. The King of *France* march'd as far as *Utrecht*, where he fix'd his Camp and his Court, and from thence began to consider of the Ways how to possess himself of the rest, that was defended only by their Situation upon some flat Lands, which, as they had by infinite Labour in Canals and Diques, been either gain'd or preserv'd from Inundations, so they were subject to them upon opening the Sluices, whenever the *Dutch* found no other Way for saving their Country but by losing it. This, at least, was generally believ'd in the *French* Camp and Court, and, as I have heard, was the Preservation of the State; for that King, unwilling to venture the Honour and Advantage of such Conquests as he had made that Summer, upon the Hazards of a new sort of War with a merciless Element, where neither Conduct nor Courage were of Use, resolv'd to leave the rest to Practices of Peace with the States, upon the Advantage of the Terms he stood in, and the small Distance of Place between them; or if these shou'd not succeed, then he trusted to the Frosts of the following Winter, which seldom fail in that Country to make all passable and safe for Troops and Carriage themselves, that in Summer would be impassable, either from the Waters or the Depth of the Soil.

In the mean time the State and the Government of *Holland* took a new Form, and with it a new Heart. Monsieur *De Wit* and his Brother had been massacred by the sudden Fury of the People at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Ministers that govern by a Party or Faction, who are usually sacrificed to the first great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Discontents at home. The Fact and the Manner having been very unusual, may be the Subject of others Enquiry as it was of mine, which gave me this Account: The *Ruart* of *Putten*, eldest Brother to Monsieur *De Wit*, had been accus'd of a Design upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage one of his Highness's Domesticks in that Attempt: But no other Witness appearing, he was sentenc'd only to be banish'd; at which the People shew'd great Dissatisfaction, being possess'd with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Prison, Monsieur *De Wit* (against the Opinion of his Friends) would needs go himself to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of Town, and to that purpose went with his Coach and four Horses to the Court. This being not usual to this Minister, made the People take more Notice
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of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the Streets where he pass'd, and then about the Court where the Prisoner was kept. Some of the Train'd-Bands of the *Hague* that were upon the Guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud against the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midst of this Heat and Passion, rais'd by these kind of Discourses among the Populace, the two Brothers came out; some of the Train'd-Bands stop'd them, began to treat them at first with ill Language, and from Words fell to Blows: Upon which Monsieur *De Wit*, foreseeing how the Tragedy would end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the same time knock'd down with the But-end of a Musket. They were both presently laid dead upon the Place, then drag'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus ended one of the greatest Lives of any Subject in our Age, about the 47th Year of his own; after having served, or rather administer'd that State as Pensioner of *Holland* for about eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himself. After the Death of these Brothers, the Provinces and Towns ran with unanimous Voices into publick Demands of the Prince's being restor'd to the Authority of his Ancestors. The States had in the Beginning of the Year declared him Captain General and Admiral of their Forces, which was no more than *De Wit* had always profess'd was design'd for him when he should be of Age; but this was found neither to have satisfy'd *England* nor the Prince's Party at home, and therefore all the Members of the State agreed in those Acts that were thought necessary to a full Restitution of his Highness, now at the Age of twenty one Years, to the Office and Power of Stadtholder, with all Advantages, and even some more than those which had been exercised by his Ancestors. At the same Time Monsieur *Fagel* was introduced into Monsieur *De Wit's* Place of Pensioner of *Holland*, whose Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be sav'd by any other Hand, and whose Zeal to his own Religion made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whose Professions as well as Designs were to destroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd at home, so it made the first Appearance of defending what was left of the Country: The State grew united, the Army in heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Constancy of the young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly lost upon the Divisions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themselves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the same Way, and made the Prince all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantages to his Person and Family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The Bait they thought could not fail of being swallow'd, and about which most Artifice was employ'd, was the Proposal of making the Prince Sovereign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to say Truth, at a Time when so little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in so imminent Danger upon the first Frosts of the Winter, this seem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well stoop. But his was above it, and his Answers always firm, that he never would betray a Trust that was given him, nor ever sell the Liberties of his Country that his Ancestors had so long defended. Yet the Game he play'd was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest Servants told me he had long expostulated it with his Master, and ask'd him at last, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was lost? And whether he had thought so far? The Prince told him he had; and that he was resolv'd to live upon the Lands he had left in *Germany*; and that he had rather pass his Life in hunting there, than sell his Country or his Liberty to *France* at any Price. I will say nothing of the Ambassy sent at this Time by his Majesty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the three Ambassadors, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Hallifax* found him in his highest Exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true Ends or Subject of it

it was. The common Belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our Jealousy of the *French* Conquests going too fast whilst ours were so lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to stop their Course or Extent; but these were soon dash'd by the Return of the Ambassadors, after having renew'd and fasten'd the Measures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambassadors were indeed content, as they pass'd through *Holland*, that the first should be thought; which gave Occasion for a very good Repartee of the Princess Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who visited her as they pass'd through the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, she told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only that they should be good *Englishmen*; he assur'd her they were not only so, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not use *Holland* like a Mistress, but they lov'd her like a Wife: To which she reply'd *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la voire*; [*Truly, I believe you love Us as you love your own Wife*]

When *France* had lost all Hopes of shaking the Prince of *Orange's* Constancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon subduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country. They had advanc'd as far as *Woerden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences of Cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or States from the Obstinacy of their Defence. The Prince encamp'd his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Woerden*, and there made such a Stand with a Handful of Men, as the *French* could never force. The Winter prov'd not favourable to their Hopes and Designs, and some Promises of Frosts inveigled them into Marches that prov'd almost fatal to them by a sudden Thaw. This frighted them into Cautions, perhaps more than were necessary, and gave the Prince and States Leisure to take their Measures for the following Campaign, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*, which prov'd a Diversion to the Arms of *France*, and turn'd Part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, so as to give over the Progress any further in *Holland*. Upon the Approach of the Winter, the Prince, after having taken *Naerden*, three Leagues from *Amsterdam*, in spite of all Resistance and Opposition from either the *French* or the Season, resolv'd, like another young *Scipio*, to save his Country by abandoning it: And to avoid so many Sieges, as all the Towns they had lost would cost to recover; he contented himself to leave the chief Posts guarded with a Party of the Army, and with the rest march'd into *Germany*, joyn'd Part of the Confederate Troops, besieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the Beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologne* and the Bishop of *Munster* had enter'd jointly with *France*. The Boldness of this Action amaz'd all Men, but the Success extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it open'd a Passage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and so into *Flanders*; and gave such a Damp to the Designs and Enterprizes of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conquests upon *Holland* in less Time than they made them, retaining only *Maestricht* and *Grave* of all they had possess'd belonging to this State.

In this Posture stood Affairs abroad, when the Peace of *England* was made in *February* 1674; upon the Strength and Heart whereof the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spanish* Troops to begin an offensive War, and in the Head of an Army of above forty thousand Men, to march into *France*.

The *French* began now to wish the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majesty's Mediation. The King was desirous to make *France* some Amends for abandoning the Party, and making a separate Peace. Some of his Ministers foresaw he would be Arbitrer of the Peace by being Mediator, and that he might hinder any separate Treaties by mediating a general one, and might restore Peace to *Christendom* whenever he thought fit, and upon what Conditions he thought safe and just.

The only Difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whose late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the House of *Austria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily swallow'd the Hopes of a Revenge upon them to desire any sudden Treaty, till the Successes they expected in the War might at least make Way for reducing *France* to the Terms of that of the *Pyrenees*. This, I suppose, gave Occasion for my being again design'd for this Ambassy, being thought to have some Credit with *Spain*, as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining Parts of *Flanders* had been sav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy Issue of my last publick Employments, and the fatal Turn of Counsels in our Court that had occasion'd it, against so many wiser Men's Opinions, as well as my own; I resolv'd, before I went this Journey, to know the Ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to found it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true Sentiments and Dispositions, as to the Measures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceiv'd me or themselves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Closet, I took Occasion to reflect upon the late Counsels, and Ministry of the late Cabal; how ill His Majesty had been advis'd to break Measures and Treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been serv'd, and how ill succeeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation breaking out against such Proceedings, and by the Jealousies they had rais'd against the Crown. The King said, 'twas true, he had succeeded ill; but if he had been well serv'd, he might have made a good Business enough of it; and so went on a good deal to justify what was past. I was sorry to find such a Prefage of what might again return from such a Course of Thought in the King, and so went to the Bottom of that Matter. I shew'd how difficult, if not impossible, it was, to set up here the same Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the universal Bent of the Nation was against both; That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion; consider'd it could not be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the same Force which made the King Master of their Religion, made him Master of their Liberties and Fortunes too. That in *France* there was none to be consider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy: That if a King cou'd engage them in his Designs, he had no more to do; for the Peasants having no Land, were as insignificant in the Government as the Women and Children are here: That on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by Ease and Plenty, as those of the *French* Peasantry are wholly dispirited by Labour and Want. That, the Kings of *France* are very great in Possessions of Lands, and in Dependences by such vast Numbers of Officers both Military and Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas those of *England*, having few Offices to bestow, having parted with their Lands, their Court of Wards and Knights Service, have no Means to raise or keep Armies on foot but by Supplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other Ways. That if they had an Army on foot; yet if compos'd of *English*, they wou'd never serve Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the *Roman* Catholics in *England* were not the Hundredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the Two Hundredth; and it seem'd against all common Sense, to think by one Part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they wou'd signify nothing but to raise Hatred and Discontent; and how to raise, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force seeming necessary to subdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, cou'd not be esteem'd less than an Army of Threescore Thousand Men, since the *Romans* were forc'd to keep Twelve

Legions to that Purpose, the *Norman* to institute Sixty Two Thousand Knights Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near Eighty Thousand Men. That I never knew but one Foreigner that understood *England* well, which was *Gourville* (whom I knew the King esteem'd the soundest Head of any *Frenchman* he had ever seen): That when I was at *Brussels* in the first *Dutch War*, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he said, The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace: That he had been long enough in *England*, seen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude,

Q'un Roy d'Angleterre, qui veut être l'Homme de son Peuple, est le plus grand Roy du monde ; mais s'il veut être quelque chose d'avantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien.

[That a King of *England*, who will be the Man of his People, is the greatest King in the World; but if he will be any thing more, by God he is nothing at all.]

The King heard me all very attentively, but seem'd a little impatient at first: Yet at last he said, I had Reason in all, and so had *Gourville*; and laying his Hand upon mine, he added *Et je veux être l'Homme de mon Peuple*; [And I will be the Man of my People.]

My Ambassy Extraordinary to *Holland* was declar'd in *May*, and my Dispatches finish'd at the Treasury as well as the Secretary's Office, so as I went away in *July*. My Instructions were, in general, To assure the States of his Majesty's Friendship, and firm Resolution to observe his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the present War, which both they, and almost all *Christendom*, were engag'd in; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States. But immediately after my Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, give him part of his Majesty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Assurance of his Kindness, and engage his Highness, as far as could be, to second his Majesty's Desires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seem'd to have the greatest Interest.

After my Arrival at the *Hague* in *July 1674*, and Delivery of my Credentials to the President of the Week, and a Visit to the Pensioner, wherein I discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as their Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was assur'd of the States accepting his Majesty's Mediation; I went away to *Antwerp*, in Hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some Time attending the Advance of the Confederate Troops, with whom he had concerted to join his Army upon their Arrival in *Flanders*. But two Days before I came to *Antwerp*, the Army was march'd beyond *Louvain*, so as I was forc'd to go to *Brussels*, and there desire a Guard to convoy me to the Camp. The Punctilioes of my Character wou'd not suffer me to see the Count *De Montevy*, tho' I had for some Years liv'd at *Brussels* in particular Friendship and Conversation with him. Few Strangers had perhaps ever been better us'd than I, during three Years Residence at *Brussels*, by all Persons of Quality, and indeed of all Ranks there; so that it was very surprizing to me to meet such a dry and cold Treatment from the Governor, and such an Affectation in the Persons of Quality, not so much as to visit me; for I do not remember one that did it besides the Count *D'Egmont*, who was then not very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the Streets, or the Park, tho' they came with open Arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themselves with saying they intended it. When I sent my Secretary to the Count *De Montevy* with my Compliments, and Desires of a Guard to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then not above Six Leagues off, he return'd the First very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal; he said, The Way was so dangerous, by stragling Parties of the Army,

that

that he cou'd not advise me to venture with a small Guard; and he had drawn out so many of the *Spanisb* Troops into the Field, that he cou'd not give me a great one. I sent again to desire what he cou'd spare me, let the Number be what it wou'd; for though I wou'd not expose the King's Character, nor his Business, by any Accident I might prevent; yet when I had endeavour'd it by my Application to his Excellence, I wou'd take my Fortune, tho' he sent me but Six of his Guards. He replied, That he cou'd not possibly spare any of them; but that next Morning he expected a Troop of Horse to come into Town, and that as soon as it arriv'd, the Captain shou'd have Order to attend me. Next Morning was put off till Night, and Night to the Morning following; when the Count finding I was resolv'd to go, though without Convoy, rather than to expect longer, sent me a *Spanisb* Captain with about Forty Horse to convoy me to *Louvain*. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of His Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace in *Holland*, and of the Offices they thought I might use, to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Designs, that I found it was resolv'd to delay first, and then to hinder absolutely any Interview between the Prince and me till the Campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill Grace as they cou'd. To this Purpose *Du Moulin* (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and an inveterate Enemy against the Court of *England*) was dispatch'd between the Camp and *Brussels*, whilst I lay there, and with Guards whereof half wou'd have serv'd my Turn, or at least contented me.

When I came to *Louvain*, I found the Prince was march'd towards *Tirlemont*, but cou'd not learn where his next Halt was design'd. The *Spanisb* Captain told me, he had Order to go no further than *Louvain*. So that I neither knew whither to go, nor cou'd go any Way without a Guard, as they assur'd me at *Louvain*. Whereupon I sent immediately Mr. *Bulstrode*, who had come with me from *Brussels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and desire him to appoint what Time and Place I shou'd attend His Highness, which I resolv'd to do with those few Servants I had brought with me, and such others as I cou'd hire at *Louvain*, where I lay that Night.

The next Morning Mr. *Bulstrode* return'd with the Prince's Answer, That he was upon his March; that he shou'd be very glad to see me, but cou'd not possibly appoint either Time or Place for it, because his Motions were uncertain, and wou'd depend upon the Advices he receiv'd. By which I found plainly what I had suspected at *Brussels*, That it was resolv'd I shou'd not see the Prince before this Campaign was begun by the Actions then concerted among the Confederates. I wou'd not however seem to understand it so, nor any thing more in it than what His Highness was pleas'd to say; but I knew very well, that as they say none is more deaf than he that will not hear, so a Man that will not be seen may easily find Ways of avoiding it, especially upon such Circumstances as the Prince and I were then in, who must have follow'd the Motions he wou'd have given me: And therefore I resolv'd not to expose either His Majesty's Character or Credit, with his Nephew, by making that publick which had pass'd between the Prince and me upon this Subject; but pretending my Health wou'd not suffer me to follow the Prince upon his March, I return'd to *Antwerp*, and gave His Majesty an Account of all that had pass'd, who extremely approv'd my Conduct in it, and that I press'd no further a Point that I saw wou'd not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count *De Monterey*, so differently from what His Majesty expected.

I stay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which pass'd with so great Thunder and Lightning, that I promis'd my self a very fair Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the States Yacht that still attended me. The Morning prov'd so, but towards Evening the Sky grew foul, and the Seamen presag'd ill Weather, and so resolv'd to lie at Anchor before *Beygen op Zoom*, the Wind being cross and little. When the Night was fallen as black as ever I saw, it

foon began to clear up with the most violent Flashes of Lightening, as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our Age and Climate. This continu'd all Night, and we felt such a fierce Heat from every great Flash of Lightening, that the Captain apprehended it would fire his Ship. But about Eight the next Morning the Wind chang'd, and came up with so strong a Gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about Four Hours, and there found all Mouths full of the Mischiefs and Accidents that the last Night's Tempest had occasion'd, both among the Boats and the Houses, by the Thunder, Lightening, Hail, or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came Stories to the *Hague*, from all Parts, of such violent Effects as were almost incredible. At *Amsterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees torn up by the Roots, Ships sunk in the Harbour, and Boats in the Canals, Houses beaten down; and several People were snatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all was silenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*, where the Great and Ancient Cathedral was torn in Pieces by the Violence of this Storm; and the vast Pillars of Stone that supported it were wreath'd like a twisted Club, having been so strongly compos'd and cemented, as rather to suffer such a Change of Figure, than break in Pieces as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church of the Town escap'd the Violence of this Storm, and very few Houses without the Marks of it. Nor were the Effects of it less astonishing by the Relations from *France* and *Brussels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, and Lightening, as from Hail-stones of prodigious Bigness.

At my Return to the *Hague* I had long Conversations with the Pensioner, by which I gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs, and Pulse of the several Confederates in what related to the General Peace. I told him how much His Majesty was satisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How much Reason he had to be content with the Posture that had left him in a Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himself no further about the Peace of Christendom, if his Goodness and Piety did not prevail more with him than his Interests. But that these, and the Desires of a General Good, had persuaded him to offer his Mediation in the present Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperor and *Spain* had answer'd, they wou'd consider of it in Concert with their Allies. That the States Ambassadors at *London* had assur'd His Majesty their Masters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Consent that the Treaty shou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon His Majesty had charg'd me with a Letter to the States to offer them his Mediation. That I cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the best Grace that cou'd be, for I knew their Interest was to have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King. That if His Majesty were partial to any Side, they ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own Nephew was so deeply concern'd; and the more, because he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a Time when the Advantages and Preparations for the War ran so high on the *French* Side, as he doubted the Events might shew if it continu'd. That they knew his Interest wou'd not suffer him to see *Flanders* lost; and that considering what had pass'd, his Honour wou'd not suffer him to think of preserving it any other Way than by that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to see that Country left by the next Peace in a better Posture of Defence than it was by the last, and the *Spanish* Territories lie closer and rounder than they were then left: That when this shou'd be concluded, His Majesty wou'd be ready to enter into the strongest Guaranties they cou'd desire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preserve it, though he cou'd not to obtain it. The Pensioner first gave me Thanks for my good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Measures of Friendship that had interceded between His Majesty and them since the first Breach. He applauded the King's Resolution in so pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Interest might

might lead him to other Dispositions. That he doubted not the States Willingness to accept it; all the Difference would be about the Time and the Manner of doing it. As to this, he said, they could not do it without the Communication at least of their Allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's Offer, and the States Dispositions to receive it. That for the Terms of a Peace, as to their own Parts they would be content to make his Majesty the Arbitrer of it. That they had already recover'd all the Towns they had lost except *Grave* and *Muesricht*, the last of which was in some manner engag'd to *Spain* when it should be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good Account of it very soon, Orders being already gone to invest it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be so easie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impossible for the States to leave them who had sav'd their Country from Ruin when two so great Kings had invaded them; or to break the Treaties which they had made Offensive with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*. That the Terms stipulated with *Spain* obliged them to reduce *France* to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; but only a Reserve was made by one Article, which was, Unless it should otherwise be agreed by Consent between them. That whatever *Spain* would be content with, should satisfy them; though they were both equally sensible of the Designs and Ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill Talent to the States. They could never hope for such another Conjunction, to reduce them to such Bounds and Measures as might be safe to their Neighbours, to give Quiet to Christendom. That 'twas now an ill Time to enter into the Terms of Peace between *France* and *Spain*, because he knew they should have ill Grace to demand the Restitution of any Towns the *Spaniards* had lost in *Flanders* by the last War, and given up by the Peace that succeeded it; and yet his Majesty knew, as well as they, that without it a Peace could neither be safe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor consequently for *England*. But he believ'd there would not pass many Days before some decisive Action would happen between the Armies, now not far distant in the Field, which would make Room for the Negotiation of Peace that might succeed next Winter, in which his Majesty would find the Interests and Humours of a Trading Country as theirs was, very strong, and disposed to press their Allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a Work. And for the rest of the Allies besides *Spain*, he had no Reason to suspect any great Difficulties would arise, so little having yet pass'd in the War between *France* and them.

The Pensioner was right in expecting some sudden Action between the Armies; for about the Middle of *August* came the News of the Battle of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Conde*: But it prov'd not an Action so decisive as was expected between two Armies of so great Force, and so animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Success of this Fight was so differently reported by those engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challenged, and perhaps neither with any great Reason. The Confederates had for some Days fought a Battel with great Desire and Endeavour; and the *French* avoided it, with Resolution not to fight unless upon evident Advantage, whilst both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far distant from one another. The Reason of this was thought to be, on one Side, the Ardour of the young Prince of *Orange* to make Way, by a Victory, into *France* it self, and there revenge the Invasion of his Country; and at the same Time to make his first Essay of a pitch'd Battel, against so Great and Renowned a General as the Prince of *Conde*. On the other Side, this old Captain had too much Honour to lose, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the Lists with a Prince of three and twenty Years old, bred up in the Shade of a contrary Faction, 'till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invasion of his Country. Nor was the Advantage less on the *French* Side in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General; com-

pos'd of excellent Officers, chosen Soldiers, exactly disciplin'd, long train'd for Action before they began it, and now flush'd by the uninterrupted Successes of two Wars. But the *Dutch Troops*, when the Prince of *Orange* entered upon the Command, were old or lazy Soldiers, diffus'd with long Peace, and disabled with young unskiliul Officers (chosen by no other Merit, than that of a Faction against the House of *Orange*) then fill'd up, when the War broke out, with hasty and undistinguish'd Levies, and disheartned with perpetual Losses of Towns, and Defeats of Parties, during the two first Campaigns. The Prince of *Conde* had another Restraint upon the usual Boldness of his Nature in such Occasions, which was the ill Posture he had been in at Court since this King's Reign, and in Regard how much more he would have to answer for than another Man upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which must have left the Way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that Side by any strong Frontier; so as no Man knew what Shake it might give to the Greatness of that Crown, with the Help of great and general Discontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his Share.

Upon these Dispositions in the Generals, the Battle was for some time industriously fought and avoided; till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no Way of coming to a Battle, but by the Siege of some Place that might be thought worth the Venture to relieve, broke up and march'd away towards *Seneffe*; his Army divided into three Parts, whercof the *German Troops* under the Count *De Souches* had the Van, the *Spanish* under the Prince of *Vaudemont* the Rear, and the *Dutch* under Count *Waldeck* the main Battle; with whom the Prince march'd, and commanded the whole Confederate Army.

The Prince of *Conde* observing their March, which was not far from one Side of his Intrenchments; and that by the Straintness of some Passages they were forc'd to file off in small Lines, stay'd till the Van-guard and main Body were over one of these Passages, and the Rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his Men, and fell with great Fierceness upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much Resistance, took their Baggage, several Standards, and many Prisoners of Note. The Prince of *Orange*, upon Notice of the *French* March towards the *Spanish* Troops, had sent three Squadrons back to their Assistance, with all the Diligence that could be; but the *Spaniards* already broken, brought the *Dutch* into Disorder by falling in among them; and the *French* pursuing with great Bravery, broke the *Dutch* Squadrons to Pieces, killing or taking all their Commanders, and several Standards.

If the Prince of *Conde* had contented himself with this Success and Execution, he had left no Dispute of a Victory; but iured on by the Hopes of one more entire, and Belief, the *Dutch*, whom he esteem'd the worst Troops, would not stand, after the *Spaniards*, and a great Part of their own, were wholly routed, he follow'd the Chase, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a set Battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* marching to the Relief of the *Spaniards* and the Squadrons he had sent, was at first envelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he could neither stop by Words nor Blows, by Promises nor Reproaches; till joyning the rest of his own Forces that stood firm, and the Imperialists coming up to enforce them, the Battel began with as great Fury as any has been fought in the whole Course of the Wars, continued so for about eight Hours till Sun-set, and about two Hours after by Moonlight, till that failing too, the Fight ended, rather by the Obscurity of the Night, than the Weariness or Weakness of either Side. The Prince of *Orange*, in the whole Course of this Action, gave all Orders with such Prudence, and Observance of all Advantages, led up his several Squadrons with that Bravery, made such bold Stands against his own broken Troops, as well as against the Fierceness of the Pursuers, for six Hours together in the hottest of the Fire; sometimes charging into the Midst of the Enemies, some-
times

times overborn by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the Charge; expos'd to more Danger than most private Soldiers in the Field; so that the old Count *De Souches*, in his Letter to the States upon this Occasion, told them, That in the whole Course of the Action, the Prince had shew'd the Conduct of an Old experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a Caesar. And indeed his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory from this Adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of *Conde's* Testimony, That he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young Man. Yet this old General had done the same in this Day's Action, as much as the youngest Cavalier in his Army could do, when he found the Battel fought so desperately, and all at Stake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing could have given Vigour to the Dutch Troops, after the first Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and Shame of not following such a Leader in all the desperate Charges he made that Day, which both the Generals seem'd resolv'd to die rather than to lose.

As the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, so were those esteem'd that fell in this Battel, and to reach to about six or seven Thousand on either Side; but of the *French*, many more Officers and Gentlemen than was usual, in proportion to the Common Soldiers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retir'd back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates march'd to that which they design'd when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory, because they were last upon the Field; and the *French*, upon carrying away the greatest Number of Prisoners and Standards: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loss.

After the Repair necessary in each Camp upon this sharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battel before the Campaign ended: The Prince of *Orange* fought it all he could; but the Prince of *Conde* chose and fortify'd his Encampments so, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Disadvantages, and contented himself to observe the Motions of the Allies, to preserve the Towns of the *French Conquests* in *Flanders*, and prevent any Invasion of *France*, which was design'd this Summer with great Confidence by the Confederate Armies, both on this Side and that in *Alsace*, but with equal Disappointment, unless it were to Monsieur *Stavemberg*, who in the Beginning of the Campaign complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, He would make them drink good Wine in Champagne before the Summer ended. He, who loved it well, desired the Prince to be as good as his Word; was afterwards taken at the Battel of *Senesse*, and carried to *Rheims*, with several Dutch Officers; where sitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and said, He would trust him as long as he liv'd; for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in Champagne.

The Prince of *Orange* finding no other Way of Action, sat down before *Oudenarde* in September; and had his End of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give an Assault to the Town. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were rested after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were content, but the Count *De Souches* would not agree to it; and so this Occasion was lost, and with such Discontent among the chief Officers, that next Day the *Germans* left the Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left Room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to rise too, with the rest of his Army; and upon Conferences with the Count *De Monterey*, as well as *De Souches*, resolv'd to leave the greatest Part of the Dutch Forces with the Count, and with the rest to go himself, and press the Siege of *Grave*. And here began those Dissensions among the chief Captains of the Confederates, that continued to ruin their Designs, and prov'd

prov'd so fatal to them in the whole Course of the War; and against all Appearances, made good the *Spanish* Proverb, that, *Liga nunca coje grandes paxaros* [*Birdlime never catches great Birds*]; the same Word signifying a League and Birdlime, and meaning, that as this never catches great Birds, so the t'other never makes great Conquests, though it often does great Defences: Yet these first Divisions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling the Count *De Souches*, and *Spain* the Count *De Monterey*, who were both thought to have maim'd the Actions of this Campaign, or, at least, not to have seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange's* Vigour, in pursuing them to other sort of Successes than it ended with. The Prince having fail'd of what he propos'd in favour of the *Spaniards*, was resolv'd to free his own Country from the last Mark of their intended Servitude, before this Season ended. *Grave* was the last Town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a Magazine both of what had been taken in the other Places, and was not easily carried away when they quitted them; so as there was above three hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Garrison, compos'd of the best Troops, and all that could be added to the Fortifications of the Place, after the *French* took it, though it was before counted one of the best the *Dutch* had. It had been invest'd a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival; and the *Dutch* Soldiers so rebuted with the brave Defence from within, that nothing could have carried the Place at this Season, being about the middle of *October* when the Prince arriv'd, but the same Humour of leading on his Men himself whenever they shrunk, which can never be too much praised, nor too much blam'd in this Prince; because, as his Country and Allies would have had no General if they had lost him, so they would have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In short, by this and his usual Application and Vigour, as well as the common Methods of such Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of *October*, with equal Glory to himself, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces; and return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*, after having dispos'd his Forces into their Winter Quarters.

With the Prince of *Orange* return'd most of the General Officers to the *Hague*, and among the rest old Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greatest Industry that could be, fought all Occasions of dying fairly at the Battel of *Seneffe*, without succeeding, which had given him great Regret; and I did not wonder at it, considering his Age, of about seventy Six, and his long Habits both of Gout and Stone. When he came to visit me upon his Return, and before he went to his Government of *Cleves*, it came in my Head to ask him an idle Question, because I thought it not very likely for me to see him again, and I had a mind to know from his own Mouth, the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard so often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in *Brazil*, during his Government there, that spoke, and ask'd and answer'd common Questions like a reasonable Creature; so that those of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Possession, and one of his Chaplains, who liv'd long afterwards in *Holland*, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but said they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and assever'd by People hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince *Maurice* what there was in it? He said, with his usual Plainness, and Dryness in Talk, there was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desir'd to know of him what there was of the First? he told me short and coldly, that he had heard of such an old Parrot when he came to *Brazil*; and though he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good Way off, yet he had so much Curiosity as to send for it; that 'twas a very large, and a very old one; and when it came first into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutchmen* about him, it said presently, *What a Company of White Men are here?* They ask'd what he thought that Man was? pointing at the Prince. It answer'd, *Some General or other.* When they

they brought it close to him, he ask'd it, *D'ou venez-vous?* [*Whence come you?*] It answer'd, *De Maragnan* [*From Maragnan*]. The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* [*To whom do you belong?*] The Parrot, *A un Portugais* [*To a Portuguese*]. The Prince *Que fais-tu la?* [*What do you there?*] The Parrot, *Je garde les Poulets* [*I look after the Chickens.*] The Prince laugh'd, and said, *Vous gardez les Poulets?* [*You look after the Chickens?*] The Parrot answer'd, *Ouy moï, & je le scay bien faire* [*Yes I, and I know how to do it well*]; and made the Chuck four or five times that People use to make to Chickens when they call them. I set down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in *French*, just as Prince *Maurice* said them to me. I ask'd him, In what Language the Parrot spoke? and he said, In *Brazilian*. I ask'd, Whether he understood *Brazilian*? he said, No; but he had taken Care to have two Interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that spoke *Brazilian*, and t'other a *Brazilian* that spoke *Dutch*: That he ask'd them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing as the Parrot said. I cou'd not but tell this odd Story, because it is so much out of the Way, and from the first Hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say, this Prince at least believ'd himself, in all he told me, having ever pass'd for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe as they please upon it; however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy Scene sometimes with such Digressions, whether to the Purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the Negotiations of the following Winter, it will be necessary to give a short View of the Actions of the several Armies, and Dispositions of the Parties in other Places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, since all contributed to the different Humours that appear'd at the *Hague* about the Peace, which was indeed the present Scene of that Affair, as well from His Majesty's Mediation, as the great Weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, who seem'd to be the Spirit or Genius of the whole Alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great a Trust and Deference: For several of their Ministers made no Difficulty to tell me upon many Occasions, That their Masters wou'd not have entered into the present Engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the Confidence they had of the Prince's Personal Honour and Justice, than either the Forces or the usual Conduct of the States-General, especially in what concern'd the foreign Treaties and Negotiations.

In *Rouffillon* little pass'd of Importance between the Forces there: The Thoughts of both Crowns were bent on that Side more upon reducing or relieving *Messina*, that had made an absolute Revolt from *Spain*, and endeavour'd to gain Protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this Conjunction; as that which might not only give a great Diversion to the *Spanish* Forces, but open a Way for the *French* into the Conquest of *Sicily*, and new Designs upon *Naples*, which had been the Stage of so many great Wars between the Houses of *France* and *Aragon*.

In *Germany* the Prince-Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Trier*, had entered into League with the Emperor for the Defence of the *German Liberty* against all Strangers. *France* was so enrag'd against the Elector *Palatine* upon these Measures he had taken, that Monsieur *De Turenne*, at the Head of a *French Army*, march'd into his Country, and made such cruel Ravages in it, and so unusual to that General's common Procedures, that the Elector sent him a Challenge; which Monsieur *De Turenne* answer'd he cou'd not accept without his Master's Leave, but was ready to meet him in the Field at the Head of his Army, against any that he and his new Allies wou'd bring together.

This Prince, spighted at the helpless Ruin of his Country, prov'd the greater Incentive among the *German Princes* this Summer to join their Forces, in order to some vigorous Action against *France* on that Side. The Duke of *Lunenburg* engag'd first, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the common

common Cause of the Empire's being invaded; *Strasburg* was prevail'd with to throw off the Neutrality they had enjoy'd since the War began, and declare for the Empire in this Quarrel. The new Bishop of *Munster* enter'd into the same Measures, and all together, made a considerable Force, that they brought into the Field on t'other side the *Rhine*, about the End of *August* or Beginning of *September*. The old Duke of *Lorraine* join'd them with his Troops: The Duke of *Lunenburg* was there in Person; and the Elector *Palatine* had the Command of the Army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial Officers, whether they shou'd enter upon any considerable Action or no till the Duke of *Brandenburg* came up, who was upon his March at the Head of a very considerable Army, that join'd the Confederates in *October*. This gave great Hopes and Designs of entering either *Lorraine* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Brifac*, or at least *Zaberne* and *Haguenau*, and thereby securing their Winter Quarters in *Alsace*. Monsieur *De Turenne* play'd a defensive Game, with a small Army, and ill handled by the Sickness of the Season. *France* was at such a Pinch for Men, or Fear of an Irruption into their Country from *Flanders* or *Alsace*, that they call'd their Ban and Arriere Ban, the assembling whereof had been long difus'd, and in a manner antiquated. However with some of these new Troops, and a Reinforcement from *Flanders* after the Battle of *Senefte*, Monsieur *de Turenne*, by plain Force of Skill, and that admirable Science in the Conduct of a War, which no Captain of his Age cou'd dispute with him, prevented and disappointed every one of the Confederates Designs, without ever coming to a Set Battle, tho' not without several sharp Fights of Part of the Forces upon Necessity or Advantage: So that the Winter ended with the Allies quitting the last Point they pretended, and wou'd have been indeed decisive in the Issue of this Campaign, which was the *German Army's* quartering in *Alsace* and other Parts on that Side the *Rhine*.

The most considerable Loss or Event of this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, was the Death of the young Prince of *Brandenburg*, who died about the End of it at *Strasburg*, of a Fever so violent and precipitate, as gave Occasion for the usual Suspicions and Discourses that attend the Death of such young Princes as give great Hopes and Fears to their Enemies and Friends. This was the more consider'd for a particular and intimate Friendship between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who, tho' Cousin-Germans, and engag'd in one common Cause, were yet nearer join'd by Likeness of Humours than of Interest, and by the Ties of Personal Kindness than of Blood; and I never knew the Prince of *Orange* more sensible of any Misfortune that happen'd to him than of this.

In all the Encounters mention'd on this Side, no Forces were oftener seen, or more felt, or gain'd more Honour for their Firmness and Bravery, than the *English* Regiments still remaining in the *French* Service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly Monsieur *De Turenne's* Successes, as he did a great deal himself. But the Divisions among the Princes that made up the Confederate Armies, may justly be said to have had all the Merit that was not Personal in Monsieur *De Turenne*; who was certainly allow'd by all that compar'd them to be the greatest Captain by much of his Age, in the Course of a War or Conduct of a Campaign; tho' the the Prince of *Conde* was thought greater in a Day of Battle, both as to the Disposition and Order of an Army, vigorous Enterprize, and sharp, as well as pertinent Resolutions, upon all sudden Emergencies, to which the Course and Chance of a Battle is every Way subject.

For *Sweden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet enter'd into the Lists, but seem'd now upon the Point of taking Party. *Sweden* had acted the Part of a Mediator ever since the breaking up of the Treaty at *Cologne*, both by their Ambassador at *Vienna* and the *Hague*, who plied both these Courts with very long and frequent Memorials to that Purpose during this whole Summer; but they had been as hard ply'd themselves all that time by the Practices and Advantages offer'd by *France*, both to that Crown, and the chief Ministers, to engage them in the War. Nothing seem'd so likely to determine them,

as the Treaty and Expedition of the Duke of *Brandenburg* on the Confederate Side, which laid open his Country to the Invasion of *Sweden*, and gave them a Pretence of a Breach, in that Prince, of the Treaties between them, in making War against *France* without the Consent of the *Swedes*. Therefore, as soon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the Strength of his Forces, the *Swedes* drew the best and greatest Part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of *Brandenburg* advanc'd in the common Designs against *France*; so *Sweden*, without declaring War, pursu'd their Measures with that Crown, and, before the End of the Year, had drawn their Forces into the *Brandenburg* Country, though without Attempt upon any Places, and even with Pretence at first of paying for their Quarters, which was reckon'd upon as short-liv'd among Soldiers in another Prince's Country, whether Friend or Enemy. The present Effect of this Inroad was the ending of another Pretence of that Crown, which was that of Mediation, and so devolving that Figure wholly upon his Majesty; and on the other side giving hopes to the Confederates of engaging *Denmark* on their Side, if for no other Reason, yet upon that old one among them, of being always opposite to *Sweden*, and their Interests or Allies.

As soon as the Prince came to the *Hague* I attended him, and, after Compliments past, I acquainted him with what his Majesty had commanded me of his personal Kindness and Esteem for his Highness; of his Resolutions to observe and cultivate his present Friendship with the States, and Desire to see a General Peace restor'd to *Christendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in Concert with his Highness, whose Opinion as to the Thing, and the Conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, he very much desir'd to understand as soon and as fully as he could. The Prince answer'd me with Expressions of Duty and Kindness to his Majesty, and Desires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations, which he thought alone could make his Majesty safe at home and abroad. For the Peace, he said, though he could make many Complaints of the Conduct both of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* since their Treaties; yet the States could not, with any Faith or Honour, make a Separate Peace, upon any Terms that *France* could offer them: That a General Peace could not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Posture of defending it self upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees could secure it: That *Spain* could not, upon any Exchange, quit the County of *Burgundy*, nor *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unless it were *Aire* and *St. Omer*. This, he said, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majesty's Mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him, that the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having yet seen the *French* beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those Terms, unless it were upon some Equivalent. He reply'd resolutely, 'twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would: That his Majesty might, if he pleas'd, induce *France* to whatever he thought just; and could never shew him so much Kindness as to bring him out of this War with Honour: If he would not, it must go on, till some Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace more necessary on one Side or other; how it would fall out he could not tell, and must leave to God, but he thought they had as fair a Game as the *French*: That he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at *Senneffe*, if the Count *De Souches* had so pleas'd, and have had a fair Blow for it again at *Oudenarde*: That he was sure *Germany* could furnish more and better Men than *France*, and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counsels and Conduct would not be so betray'd as they had been: That however, he must perform what his own

Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their Allies, let it cost what it would.

I imagin'd in what he said of the Emperor's Counsels, he reflected upon the Business of Prince *Lakowitz*, whose Disgrace made so great Noise about this time, and with Particulars so extraordinary of the *French* Practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that Distance, and even at *Vienna* it self; and therefore I would not enter into them with the Prince, nor shall I here, as being foreign to this present Scene.

There was one Point more I entered into with the Prince, which was upon Occasion of the many discontented Persons in *England*, at the Course of the last Ministry and War, who were suspected to have trinkled at least with *Holland* about raising Seditions, and perhaps Insurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd, and the *Dutch* Fleets should appear upon our Coasts, which were like to be unguarded the next Summer by the Straits his Majesty was in for Money to set out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among many others, my Lord *Shaftsbury* was one that had of late plaid this Game; who having been as deep as any Man in the Counsels of the Cabal, and gone so far in the publick Applause of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have apply'd the *Delendo Carthago* [Carthage must be destroyed] to our Interest in the Destruction of *Holland*; yet when he saw the Parliament and Nation fallen upon it, and that the King could not pursue it with so much ill Humour in both, he turn'd short upon the Court and the rest of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, decried the present Designs and Conduct, though with the Loss of his Chancellor's Place, and was believed to manage a Practice in *Holland* for some Insurrection here. I told the Prince what the King suspected of some of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it would be to his Majesty to know 'em more certainly, and how kind it would be in his Highness to discover them. The Prince was stanch, and said, He was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all Honour, as to betray Men that profess'd to be his Friends. I gave his Majesty an Account of all that pass'd between the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both cold to his Majesty, and stiff as to the Peace; and I had no Returns or Orders upon it; but within a Week or ten Days I had Notice, that my Lord *Arlington* and my Lord *Osborn* intended to make a Turn into *Holland*, with Monsieur *Odyke* and his two Sisters, to make a Visit to their Friends at the *Hague*; and about the Beginning of *December* they arriv'd in the King's Yachts, but without any sort of Character, or Shew of Business.

My Lord *Arlington* brought me a Letter from the King, written all with his own Hand; and telling me he had sent him to set right some important Points between his Majesty and the Prince which ought not to lie longer in doubt, recommending to me all the Assistance I could give him, and assuring me of his Majesty's Confidence and Kindness. His Lordship brought the most ample Credential likewise that could be from his Majesty to the Prince, who still gave me Part of all that pass'd between them, with as much Openness and Freedom, as t'other did with Coldness and Reserve; and thereby lent me many Lights that I could not otherwise have had, to discover the Mystery of this Journey and Affair, which was in great Part a Secret to my Lord Treasurer himself, whom yet his Majesty was thought to trust at that time as much as he had ever done any of his Ministers.

My Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of those Measures that the King enter'd into during the Ministry of the Cabal, and the War with *Holland*, in Conjunction with *France*, found himself something discredited with his Master upon the ill Issue of that Affair, and the Necessities which forc'd him to a Separate Peace, both from the Wants of his Treasury, and Discontents of his Parliament and People in general. By the Degrees this Lord's Favour declin'd, the Earl of *Danby's* encreas'd, who succeeded my Lord *Clifford* in the Treasury, which had ever been my Lord *Arlington's* Ambition.

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This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred against my Lord *Danby*, which no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well with the Nation for having had such a Part in breaking the Course of the Triple Alliance, and making that with *France*, for the Ruin of *Holland*, and, as was commonly thought, for some Ends more displeasing at Home. Yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Designs of the Cabal, and made my Lord *Shaftsbury* shift his Sails and fall into the popular Stream, my Lord *Arlington* had gone so far upon the same Scent, as to joyn with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Corventry* to persuade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and publick Business, as a Means to appease the Discontents of the Parliament, upon some Jealousies the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd among them. By this Council my Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himself ill with His Royal Highness, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Credit with the King, he thought there was no Way of retrieving his Game, but by making himself the Instrument of some secret and close Measures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He first insus'd into His Majesty the Necessity and Advantage of such a Negotiation, and then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Interest his Lady's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* would be able to give him, as well as from the Credit of having been so long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and so best able to give them such Colours as might render the late Conduct of them less disagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profess'd great Friendship to me, yet he represented me as unlikely to be treated with such a Confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this Affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur *De Wit* in my former Embassy; and gave the Prince's Unwillingness to see me during the Campaign, as a Testimony of his Dislike, or at least Indifference to me. He propos'd going over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwaert* her Sister, who had something in her Humour and Conversation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who took himself to be in great Credit in that Court, where he had serv'd long, and particularly with Monsieur *Bentinck*: Nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. *Duvel*, as a Man fit to practise Monsieur *De Mareft* a French Minister, who was thought to have Credit with the Prince; and my Lord *Ossory* was known to have a great Part in his Kindness and Esteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwaert* Family, as from his Bravery so much applauded in all Actions where he had been, which was a Quality lov'd by the Prince, tho' employed against him.

My Lord *Danby* had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monsieur *Odyke*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambassadors in *England*, had given Occasion for this Journey, as if the Prince had desir'd some Person there from the King, with whom he might enter into the last Confidence; but the Prince assur'd me there was no such Thing, and that Monsieur *de Ruwiguy*, the French Minister at *London*, had more Part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any body else; and that all the Endeavours used towards a Peace, came from that Side.

However instructed, at least thus accompany'd, my Lord *Arlington* came to the *Hague*; where he told me at our first Meeting, that he came over to set right some Things between the King and the Prince that he doubted were amiss, and to settle a perfect Kindness and Confidence between them for the Time to come: That to do this he must go to the Bottom of the Sore, and rake into Things past, which was an unpleasant Work, and which I could not do, as having no Part in the King's Business during that Time wherein the Prince took his Offence at our Counsels: That the King had chosen him for this Office, because he could best justify His Majesty's Intentions towards His Highness in the whole Course of that Affair: That for the Peace, tho' His Majesty desir'd it, yet he would not meddle in it, unless the Prince of himself made any Overtures about it; but would only endeavour

deavour to give the Prince what Lights he cou'd as to the State of Things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from *France*: That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in my Hands to be pursu'd by the Orders I shou'd receive: That he knew very well such a Commission as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another Ambassador, and that he wou'd not have come if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckon'd so far upon the Friendship between us, that they were both confident of my being easy in it, and giving him any Assistance he shou'd want from me, which he wou'd acquaint me with as the Matter proceeded. He said besides, That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the Coldness His Highness had of late express'd to him; and when this was done, all his Business was ended here, and the rest wou'd be only seeing his Friends, and finding some Diversions from a new Scene: That he desir'd I wou'd, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord *Ossory* the first Time to the Prince, and after that they wou'd see him no more in Ceremony, nor give me that Trouble.

I told his Lordship I was very glad to see him, let his Business be what it wou'd: That I shou'd be gladder yet that the King's Business shou'd be done, let it be by whom it wou'd, but much more that it might be by him: That for setting Matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the best Office cou'd be done them both: That for the Way he mention'd of raking into the Sore, and fighting Battles in Defence or Justification of what was past, I knew not what to say to it, but wou'd leave it to his own Prudence; but from what I knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that Sort, I believ'd, shou'd be very gentle, and not go too deep; and for my own part was always of Opinion, That *Expostulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends*: That I wou'd send to the Prince for an Hour; and when I had brought him to His Highness, I wou'd leave him there after the first Entrances were past, and desir'd no other Part in this Affair than what he thought necessary to give me; whenever he did, I shou'd serve him the best I cou'd in so good an Endeavour; and for the rest, I shou'd leave the Field free to my Lord *Ossory* and him, while they staid at the *Hague*, as to all that was Secret: As to the rest, I desir'd they wou'd make what Use they pleas'd of me and my House.

My Lord *Arlington* took all I said very well; said, 'Twas not necessary I shou'd leave them after I had introduc'd them to the Prince, but in such a Manner as I saw he wou'd not dislike it, or have any body thought to have any Part in the Successes he expected: So next Morning I brought them to the Prince, and after a Quarter of an Hour's Stay left them together. The Prince wou'd have had me stay, but my Lord *Arlington* said not a Word; and I pretended some Letters pres'd me, and so went away, and never saw them together any more while they staid at the *Hague*, unless at Dinner, or in mix'd and publick Company.

The Truth is, I was not the worse entertain'd during the Course of this Adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told me every Day what he thought fit of all that pass'd between them; and the Prince told me not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it self; for this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. My Lord *Arlington* told me much of his Expostulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had justify'd both the King's Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and sullen, or at the best uneasy, and as if he wish'd it ended: That upon Discourse of the State of *Christendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entered further, Than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Christendom*; if not, it must go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made Way for other Thoughts than he believ'd either of them had at this Time: That
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this might happen after another Campaign, which none but His Majesty cou'd prevent, by inducing *France* to such Terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of *Christendom*.

This was the Sum of what my Lord *Arlington* pretended to have pass'd in Three long Conferences; after which it grew so uneasy between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and wou'd not say a Word more of Business while he was there, and attended His Majesty's Orders after the Return of his Dispatches; but wou'd divert himself in the mean time as well as he cou'd, see the Prince as often as he pleas'd at Dinner, or in Company, but ask it no more in private, unless the Prince of himself desir'd it; and upon the whole, gave all the Signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the Success of this Undertaking.

The Prince, on the other side, told me with what Arrogance and Insolence my Lord *Arlington* had entered upon all his Expostulations with him, both upon the King's Chapter and his own: That it was not only in the Discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, that he cou'd by his Wit make good what he pleas'd; but in the Manner he said all upon that Subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the Prince of *Orange*, and him for my Lord *Arlington*: That all he said was so artificial, and giving such false Colours to Things every body knew, that he that was a plain Man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any Conversation in his Life. In short, all the Prince told me upon it look'd spighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much satisfy'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho' he said he was sure His Majesty never intended he shou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remember'd that he was his Nephew, tho' nothing else.

After the first Conversations, my Lord *Arlington* staid near Six Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Dispatches, or to carry him away, often at Dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count *Waldeck's*, or Monsieur *Odyke's*, or with me, putting on the best Humour and Countenance, affecting the Figure of one that had nothing of Business in his Head, or in the Design of this Journey, but at Heart weary of his Stay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better Account of his Errand; and, as it prov'd, he had Reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and Count *Waldeck* thought, That the Bent of my Lord *Arlington* was to draw the Prince into such Measures of a Peace as *France* then so much desir'd; into a Discovery of those Persons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States of raising Commotions in *England* during the late War; into secret Measures with the King of assisting him against any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad; and into the Hopes or Designs of a Match with the Duke's eldest Daughter: Tho' they said he found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the First, was obstinate against the Second, treated the Third as a Disrespect to the King, to think he could be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and upon Mention made of the last by my Lord *Ossory*, he took no further hold of it than saying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife*.

Thus ended this Mystical Journey, which I have the rather unveil'd, because, perhaps, no other could do it; nor I, without so many several Lights from so many several Hands; and because, though it brought forth no present Fruits, yet Seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some very great Events.

My Lord *Arlington* return'd, was received but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho' it was done only by my Lord *Ossory*, and whether with Order from the King or not, was not known: So as never any Strain of Court-skill and Contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this had done, and so contrary to all the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himself. Instead of advancing the Peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entering into great Personal Confidence and Friendship with the Prince, he left

an Unkindness that lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Increase of my Lord *Danby's*, he made an End of all he had left with the King, who never after us'd him with any Confidence further than the Forms of his Place; and found my Lord Treasurer's Credit with the King more advanc'd in Six Weeks he had been away, than it had done in many Months before.

Whatever was the Occasion, *France* had this Winter an extream Desire of a Peace; and left no Way unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much discover the Need they had of it. I suppose they might apprehend what the Confederates reckon'd upon, with perhaps too much Assurance, That if they cou'd gain one Battle, they should certainly enter *France*; and it ever they did, the ill Humours grown under this late Government wou'd certainly break out, and make Way for all the Successes and Ravages they propos'd to themselves; or at least, for such Terms of a Peace as would leave all the Neighbours of that Crown in Safety and Quiet. A Talk was set on foot of a Marriage between *Monseur's* eldest Daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the Heat of the War: A Suspension of Arms was propos'd at *Vienne* by Count *Oxenstiern* the *Swedish* Ambassador; and the sending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the Peace, with Offers, in case this were agreed to, that the Affair of Prince *William of Furstemburg* shou'd be respit'd till the End of the Treaty, and Passports shou'd be granted for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, upon which Difficulties had been made: Practices were used with the Princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenbourg*, to disjoin them from the Common Alliance. And a particular Intelligence was held between the Marshal *d'Estrades* and one who had been Pensioner of *Maeßtricht*, who communicated all his Letters to the Pensioner *Fagel*: But the Sum of all, was Instances for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; a Breach of their Measures with the House of *Austria*, and Return of the old ones with *France*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that cou'd be to the States in Point of Commerce, and all the Personal ones that could be desired by a Prince of *Orange*.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the Point of not leaving his Allies; tho' he began to foresee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps a harder with the People at Home, who grew impatient for a Peace, both upon the cruel Taxes the War had rais'd, and upon the present Decay of Trade, as well as Apprehension, that with longer Continuance of a War, it wou'd run so far into a new Channel by *England* as never to be retriev'd. Upon these Considerations the Prince resolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace with Honour before this Season ended, and made all further Thoughts of it give Way to the Actions of the approaching Campaign. His Scheme was this; That a Match should be made between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiselle*: That *France* shou'd give with her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in *Flanders*: That the King shou'd make this Match, and upon these Terms; and that he shou'd have Two hundred Thousand Pounds for his good Offices in it. By this Means a Peace wou'd be made with Safety to *Spain* and to *Holland*, by securing again the Frontiers of *Flanders*; with Honour to *France*, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as Dowry to a Daughter of *France*; without any Blemish to the Prince's Honour or Faith in his Allies; and with Honour and Profit both to His Majesty, which last was thought no unwelcome Circumstance at that Time in our Court.

This the Prince and Pensioner having digested the best Way they could, and deduc'd to me, desir'd me to propose to the King; as the only Way of making the Peace he so much desir'd; as a Thing they were sure he cou'd do, and that *France* cou'd not deny him if he wou'd press it; and as the last Degree of Favour His Majesty cou'd express to the Prince, who could no other Way come out of this War with Honour. They desir'd me to write it to the King himself, and that nothing might be said of it to any other Person, till His Majesty should return me His Opinion upon it.

I did so by two Letters to the King, but had no Hopes given me that it would be effected: Whether *France* took the Desires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were so; or whether they would not end the War, without breaking the Force and Confidence of the present Alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invasion, when some better Conjunction should make Way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Milina* had given them Hopes of disabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that Side, and disposing them to a Peace by this Wound in a Part so tender, and that might spread so far into *Italy*; or whether they had now absolutely engag'd the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, and believ'd that by the Impression that Crown would make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recall the Duke of *Brandenburg* and his Forces from the *Rhine*, but if they succeeded, might so alarm the Empire on that Side, as to break, or very much weaken any Conjunction of their Forces next Summer on this Side of the *Rhine*. However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd, and so all further Thoughts of a present Peace ended, and left me only to pursue the cold Scent of a Mediation in the common Forms, while the Preparations were making on all Sides for a warm Summer in the Field.

The Prince this *February* went into *Gelderland*, to establish the new Magistracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilst he was there, the Deputies of that Province, by unanimous Consent, made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of that Country, with the ancient Title of *Duke of Gelderland*. which they pretended had been formerly in some of his Ancestors. The Prince said, *He would give them no Answer upon an Affair of such Moment, without first advising with the other Provinces.* He immediately writ to those of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, to communicate this Offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it. *Zealand* return'd theirs against his accepting it; grounding it upon the Jealousies it might raise in the other Provinces, and Inconsistence of it with the Constitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to dispose of their Sovereignty without Consent of the rest. *Utrecht* return'd their Answer with Advice to accept it. *Holland* was longer, depending upon the Delays necessary in running the Circle of so many Towns: So that before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the Advice of *Utrecht*, returned them immediately his Answer, with Notice, That he had excus'd himself to the States of *Gelderland*, from accepting the Offer they had made him.

Nothing cou'd more employ the busy Heads of this Time, than the Course of this Affair; some attributing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and prefiging the same Design upon the rest of the Provinces; others laying it to the Charge of some of his young Counsellors; others to a Design of founding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuse it, after they should all have advis'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they would do. For my own part, I can say nothing of it with Certainty, having never seen the Prince while it was upon the Anvil, nor discours'd with him upon this Subject either before or after: But if it were an Ambition bent upon the Sovereignty of the rest of the Provinces, as well as *Gelderland*, it was a Design very different from all his Proceedings in the Course of the War, when *France* had propos'd it to him with all the Advantages and Support that cou'd be; and as different from what he had ever seem'd to understand, and to be as much persuaded of as any Man, That a Sovereign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and soon ruin the Trade, and consequently the Riches and Greatness of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Consideration in the World; whereas the Princes of *Orange*, in the Post they have held for Four Generations, have entered into Wars and Treaties with a Regard and Weight equal to most of the Kings of *Christendom*. For young Counsellors that were thought to have engag'd the Prince in this Adventure, I cannot speak with more Certainty than of the Intention; but I am sure if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of Monsieur *Fugel's* having

having been for it; and Monsieur *Beverning*, who was ever thought as stanch a Patriot as any Man among them, told me himself, that he had advis'd the Prince to accept it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreseen any Danger from it to his Country. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the first Overture, 'tis certain an Interest of the Deputies and Magistrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland*, had a Share in it too. For whereas this is the first Province in the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the rest; yet, by reason of their Poverty from a barren Soil, and want of Trade, they are less consider'd than several other Provinces, and their Voice has been in a manner swallow'd up by that of *Holland*, who, by their Trade and Riches, have a great Influence upon those of *Gelderland*. The Deputies of this Province finding themselves yet less considerable in the Union than they were before the War, which had extremely impoverish'd their Country during the *French* Conquests, thought there was no Way of recovering such a Consideration in the State, as suited with the Rank and Dignity they held, but devolving the Sovereignty of their Province upon the Prince of *Orange*. Besides, many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themselves or their Friends in the Military Employments, thought to make their Court to the Prince, upon whom those Charges depended, by advancing such a Proposition: And this was certainly a great Ingredient into the first Conception of it; but whether conniv'd at, or seconded by the Prince, or his Friends, or with what Aims or Instructions, I cannot say; and so leave it as a Mushroom that grew up suddenly, and as suddenly wither'd, and left no Sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's Return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675, I receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty's own Hand, telling me of some Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *England* against the approaching Session of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if his Majesty believed the thing. I adventur'd to assure the King there could be nothing in it, before I saw the Prince; but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from his Majesty, but that I heard such a thing had been whisper'd to him. He said, Yes, and he believ'd by Lord *Arlington*, who had sometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace should be made; however it came, he was sorry the King should believe it: That he was his Majesty's Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would at least do him no Harm: But if the King would be otherwise possess'd, he could not help it; yet he desir'd me to assure him, there had never been any Ground for such a Report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great Heat, he had, since he saw me, receiv'd the most impertinent Letter from Lord *Arlington* that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a Resolution certain and intended for raising Heats in the Parliament, and Commotions in the Kingdom; telling him, 'twas like to prove but an ill Friendship between the King and him, if it were to be made, *A coup de Batons* [*With Blows*] and putting him in mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui saigneront encore si l'on y met la main, [That there are some Wounds among you, which will bleed afresh if they be but touch'd.]* The Prince said he knew well enough what Lord *Arlington* meant by that Expression, for he had told Monsieur *Van Rbeede* in *England*, when he went over upon the first Motions of the last Peace, that the King could make the Prince be serv'd as *De Wit* was, if he would set himself about it. Upon this he fell into the greatest Rage that ever I saw him, against my Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding malicious and insolent, saying, he would write to him what he deserv'd, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms: That since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, he would write to the King himself, and desir'd me to convey his Letters so as they might come to no other Hand.

Soon after Count *Waldeck* went to *Vienna* to concert the Actions of the next Campaign, where Count *Montecuculi*, was appointed to command the Imperial Forces instead of the Duke *De Bournorville*; and the Count *De Souches* was sent away into a Government in *Hungary*. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburg*

denburg came to *Cleves* upon the same Concert, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquês *De Grana* the Emperor's Minister: But the main Point debated here, was thought to be the Defence necessary to be made in *Pomerania* against the *Swede*, who began now to throw off the Mask, to ravage the Country, and to attack some Places necessary for their Quarters. The Money likewise paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburg* had been so publick and so avow'd, that none further doubted of a sudden and open Rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States sent to Monsieur *Eberstein* (then *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hogue*, and who would have kept still the Figure of a Mediator) to put in no more Memorials to the States upon that Occasion; since they could not receive them from a Minister, whose Prince had openly, and without Cause, attack'd one of their Allies.

At this time arriv'd an Ambassador from *Denmark* at the *Hogue*, to try what Advantages his Master could make of this present Conjunction, by Terms of entering into the Alliance against *France* and *Sweden*. And all things being thus in the highest Fermentation, a sudden Damp fell upon the whole Mass of these great Affairs by the Sickness of the Prince of *Orange*; which shew'd him to be the Spring that gave Motion to all the other Wheels; for while his Illness lasted, and the Event was doubtful, all was in suspense, and none of the Parties engag'd seem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of so important a Life. After some Days Feaver it prov'd the Small Pox, which had been very fatal in his Family, and gave the greater Apprehensions to his Friends, and his Country, who express'd indeed a strange Concernment upon this Occasion, by a perpetual Concourse of People to enquire after every Minute's Progress of his Illness. Whilst it lasted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my House, which the People after took Notice of as it pass'd; and though perhaps few Foreigners have had the Luck to be better thought of or us'd in a strange Country, than we had ever been in *Holland*; yet several of our *Dutch* Friends told us, that in case any thing fatal happen'd to the Prince from this Disease, they believ'd the People would pull down our Houses, and tear us all in Pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickness came from our Hands. God be thank'd all pass'd without any bad Accident, though ill Symptoms at first; and his Recovery, next to the Blessing of God, was owing to the great Evenness of his Temper, and Constancy of Mind, which gave Way to no Impressions or Imaginations that use to be of so ill-Consequence in that Disease; so that it pass'd in the common Forms. and within twenty Days he was abroad, and fell into the present Business of the Scene, among which the Preparations for the Campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monsieur *Bentink* the Character due to him, of the best Servant I have ever known in a Prince's or private Family. He tended his Master, during the whole course of his Disease, both Night and Day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever remov'd in his Bed, by any other Hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he slept or not he could not tell, but in sixteen Days and Nights, he never call'd once that he was not answer'd by Monsieur *Bentink*, as if he had been awake. The first time the Prince was well enough to have his Head open'd and comb'd, Monsieur *Bentink*, as soon as it was done, begg'd of his Master to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: He did so, and fell immediately Sick of the same Disease, and in great Extremity; but recover'd just soon enough to attend his Master into the Field, where he was ever next his Person.

The Campaign happen'd to begin later than it us'd to do on the *Frensch* side; both from the Expectation what the Prince's Sickness would end in, and from some Commotions succeeding one another about this Time in *Guylene* and *Brittany*, upon Occasion of the Imposts or Gabels, which drew some of the *French* Forces into those Parts. But when those Troubles were ended

as they were by an unusual strain of Lenity and Clemency in composing them, all imaginable endeavours were us'd to prepare in *France* for the Campaign: The King intended to Attack *Flanders* in the Head of all the choice of his Forces, and with the greatest Vigour and Impression he could make this Year upon the *Spanish Netherlands*; yet the King pretended to be but a Volunteer in the Army, of which he declar'd the Prince of *Conde* General, whether to put the greatest Compliment he could on so great Merit, or to hinder his Brother from making difficulty of Acting under that Prince's Orders. And Monsieur *De Turenne* was to be employ'd in *Alsace*, to attend and amuse as much as he could the *German Army*, for fear of giving the King too much Diversion in *Flanders*: And this with Orders to Act by concert with Count *Wrangel*, General of the *Swedish Forces* in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of marching so far into *Germany* as to concert his Actions, or at least Motions, with those of Monsieur *De Turenne*. On the other side, the Confederates were as busy in their provisions against these Designs. The Elector of *Mentz* was drawn to throw off the remainders of his Neutrality, and to receive the Imperial Troops into his Towns, as *Strasburg* had done; and Practices were set on Foot to change the Temper of the Court of *Bavaria*, with hopes of Success. *Montecuculi* prepar'd to come down into *Alsace* with the Army of the Emperor and the adjoining Circles; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to the *Hague* after the Prince of *Orange's* Illness, where Treaties were concluded with the King of *Denmark's* Ministers, and renewed with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. After which the Elector went immediately away to the Relief of his own Subjects and Country, then invaded and spoil'd by the open Hostility of the *Swedish Forces*. Whilst he was at the *Hague*, the Compliments pass'd in Form between us, but without Visit or Interview, tho' the Elector desir'd and pursu'd it with more Instance than I well understood: For he sent his Minister at the *Hague* first to me, and afterwards engag'd the Prince himself to endeavour it, by finding some Expedient in the Difficulties of Ceremony, or else by proposing a third Place. But the *French Ambassadors* having taken up a Form of refusing to visit any Elector, unless they might have the Hand given them in those Princes Houses, and the Electors having never consented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French Ambassadors* did, in that or any other Point; and that meeting in a third Place would look like a sort of approving the Refusal made by the Electors: And so I never saw this Prince during his Stay at the *Hague*; much to my Regret, because I had been possess'd of many Qualities very estimable in him.

In the mean time, how useless soever for the present, yet the Forms of his Majesty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted by all Parties, the first Point that came to be consider'd was the Place of Treaty; about which, the *Swedes* could not surmount the Difficulties during the Course of their Mediation. The House of *Austria* propos'd to have the Congress in some of the free Towns of the Empire, as *Francfort*, *Hamburg*, *Strasburg*, and some others: *France* refus'd ever to come into any Town of the Empire, upon the Insults they receiv'd and complain'd of so much, at *Cologne*, in the Seizure of Prince *William of Furstemburg*, and a great Sum of the *French Money* there; but offer'd at the same Time to come and treat at *Breda*, tho' belonging to one of the Parties engag'd in the War, which they would make pass for a great Condescension, and Testimony of that King's Inclination to a Peace.

The Confederates on the other Side would not hear of *Breda*: They took that Proposition as an Artifice, first, to ingratiate with the States beyond the rest of their Allies; but next, which was the Point of Importance, they look'd upon it as design'd to carry on either a separate Treaty with the States, or at least private Measures and Correspondencies with several Towns and Persons of those Provinces, so as to induce, or force the States at last into a separate Treaty with *France*, upon the Difficulties or Delays that might arise in a General one. And upon this Point the Allies were so jealous, that the States Deputies of the Foreign Committee, who manag'd all these Affairs in the first Resort, thought it necessary to seem as averse against treating in any of their

their Dominions, as any of the Allies. Thus all Places in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, seem'd absolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was dislike'd by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain Commerce for Letters, by reason of the Sea. After much Perplexity upon this Subject in many Conferences I had with the Deputies, and Discourses with the Pensioner, I propos'd two Places as the only I could think of left for any Attempt upon all Circumstances. The first was *Cleves*, which could not be said to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as Duke of *Cleves*, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the last Town belonging to the States, and upon the Borders of *Germany*. Both Towns capable of such a Reception as was necessary; both in good Air, and easie of Access from all Parts; center'd between *Spain* and *Sweden*, between the *Empire* and *France*, and near *England*, where the Spring of this Treaty was conceiv'd to be. I thought *France* might not dislike *Cleves*, even upon those Regards the Allies suspected of the Vicinity to the States; and the Confederates could not except against it, as belonging to one of them. On the other Side, if the Allies approv'd *Cleves*, and *France* should refuse it; yet they could not afterwards disapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but Three Leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amsterdam* (where they suspected the *French* Practices) and disjoin'd from both by necessary Passage of great Rivers, which made the Commerce more difficult and slow than it would be from other Towns of the States Dominions. Another Reason was, That I knew no other to name that did not seem previously excluded: And upon this the Deputies consented that I should propose both to the King, that he might do the same to all the Parties; but that I shou'd begin with *Cleves*, which I did.

This *France* refus'd, upon Pretence of some Dependence upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon Picque to the Duke of *Brandenburg*, with whom they were more offended at this Time than with any of the Allies. After this Refusal, *Nimeguen* being advanc'd, *France* first accepted it; and afterwards the Allies, who could not well refuse it, after having express'd they would have been satisfy'd with *Cleves*: And so this Place came to be fix'd for the Scene of this Negotiation.

But at the same time that *France* accepted the Place of Treaty, they declar'd, That they would not however send any Ambassadors thither, till the Emperor had given them Satisfaction upon the Two Points so long insisted on, of *Prince William* of *Furstemburg's* Liberty, and Restitution of the Money seiz'd at *Cologne*; which were Points had been hitherto as obstinately refus'd at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France*: So as these Paces towards a Peace gain'd at present very little Ground; but left Way for the Actions and Successes of the ensuing Campaign, to determine the Times, the Methods, and Conditions of the pretended Treaty.

The *French* began their Action by the Siege of *Limbourg*, with one Part of their Army; whilst the King, with the rest, lay encamp'd in a Post most convenient to oppose any Attempt of relieving it, to which Purpose the Prince was upon his March; but after a short and weak Resistance it was taken, before he cou'd approach it: For, besides some Delays forc'd by his Sickness, he began here to feel the Weight that hung about him in all the Course of this War, from the uncertain and slow Marches of the *German* Horse, and the Weakness and Disorders of the *Spanish* Troops; which were necessary to make up his Army of Strength to oppose that of *France*, compos'd of such Numbers, such brave and experienc'd Troops, and under so great a Commander as the Prince of *Conde*, and so gallant Officers.

After the taking of *Limbourg*, the *French* and Confederate Armies in *Flanders* fell into no considerable Action or Attempt: Neither daring to sit down before any Place of Strength, whilst the other Army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither seeming very earnest to come to a Battle (unless with evident Advantages) upon the Loss of which so great Consequences seem'd to depend, as the *French* entire Conquest of *Flanders* on one

Side, on the Confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great Victory. Besides, they seem'd to be amus'd by the Expectation of what was likely to pass in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialists* and *French*, and in *Pomerania* between the *Swede* and *Brandenburg*; which, without new Successes in the *Low-Countries*, were like to decide, in a great measure, the Fate of this War; whilst the Confederates equally prem'd of their Successes in *Alsace*, and the *French* of those of the *Swedes* in the North.

About the End of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Conde*, and return'd with his Court to *Verfailles*; and the same Month, His Majesty seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short Turn into *England*, and give an Account of all the Observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present Dispositions and Conjunctions, as well as receive his Instructions for the future Progress of his Mediation.

The Parliament in *England*, tho' much pleas'd with the last Peace with *Holland*, yet were not so with His Majesty's Desires of a General one. They thought the Power of *France* too great since their last Conquests in *Flanders*: and their Ambition too declar'd, of achieving it by one Means, and at one Time or other. They were suspicious of the Court's favouring too much the *French* Designs, by pursuing a Peace that wou'd break so mighty a Confederacy as was now united against *France*. They were jealous of the Councils which had made the late Alliance and Kindness between us and *France* in the Time of the late Cabal. And besides these Regards, and the common Notions of balancing the Power of our Neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious Designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring Men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his Fall from so great a Share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run desperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our Partiality to *France*, but most of all against the Conduct of the present Ministry: And Lord *Arlington* was so enrag'd at the Growth of my Lord Treasurer's Credit upon the Fall of his own, that he fell in with the common Humour of the Parliament, in fomenting those Jealousies and Practices in the House of Commons, which center'd in a Measure agreed among the most considerable of them, *Not to consent to give the King any Money whilst the present Lord Treasurer continu'd*. Upon these Occasions or Dispositions they grew very high in pursuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of the Cabal that had now any Credit left at Court; and they press'd the King very earnestly to recall all the *English* Troops in the *French* Service, tho' there was a greater Number in the *Dutch*: But besides, they fell into so great Dissensions between the Two Houses, rais'd upon punctilious Disputes, and Deductions of their several Privileges in opposition to one another, that about the End of *June* the King prorogued them.

Upon my Arrival soon after, His Majesty telling me the several Reasons that had mov'd him to it, said, *That he doubted much, while the War lasted abroad, it wou'd give Occasion or Pretence for these Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneasy in his Revenue, which so much needed their Assistance: That some of the warm Leaders in both Houses had a Mind to engage him in a War against France, which they shou'd not do for many Reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire. But besides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain did him more Diservice in the Parliament than I could imagine: For the last did not care what Harm he did his Business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord Treasurer; and had persuaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this wou'd certainly*
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be compass'd if they were stanch, and declar'd in giving no Money during his Ministry: That he knew they were both my Friends, and therefore desir'd I wou'd try to reconcile them while I staid in England. I endeavour'd it, but fail'd: My Lord Danby was very inclinable, being so posst as to desire only to continue where he was, and that the King's Business might go well in his Hands; but my Lord Arlington was so uneasy in the Posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treasurer's present Greatness, that he was untreatable upon this Subject: So when I found the Wound was too much wrankled to be cur'd, I gave it over, telling each of them, That since I could not make them Friends, I would at least live with them both as if they were so; and desir'd them not to expect I should sacrifice one Friend to another. My Lord Treasurer was content with this Frankness, but Lord Arlington could not bear this neither, grew dry from this Time, and stiff in all that pass'd between us, still mingling little Reproaches or Touches of my Greatness with the other; and grew so weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himself left out, that he went into the Country for the rest of the Summer.

Thus the Seeds of Discontents that had been sown in the Parliament under the Counsels of the Cabal, began to spring fast, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an End; and those Heats were under other Covers fomented by Two of the Chief that compos'd that Ministry, and with Help of Time and Accident grew to such Flames as have since appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain these Agitations in England had great Effect upon those of the War and Peace abroad: For the Confederates were confident, That the Humour of the Parliament and People would at last engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew would force France to such a Peace as they desir'd; and Spain was so presuming that England would not suffer the Loss of Flanders, that they grew careless of its Defence, or of those Orders and Supplies that were necessary to it; trusting for the present to the Dutch to preserve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he should find it more in danger. And these Considerations made the Allies less inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreseen, but yet such as were suspected at this Time, by those that knew the Weakness of the Spaniards, and Divisions of the Imperial Court.

While I staid in England, which was about Six Weeks, the News came of a great Insurrection in Brittany, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Consequence to the French Affairs, if it had met with a Head answerable to the Body; but being compos'd of a Scum of the mean People, that hated and spoil'd the Noblesse of the Province, it was by fair Means partly, and by foul in a little Time appeas'd. The Blow, which was much more considerable to France, than the Loss of Provinces would have been, was the Death of Monsieur De Turenne, the News whereof came to Court about the same Time. This great Captain had for Three Months together kept the Imperial Army at a Bay on t'other Side the Rhine; resolv'd not to fight unless with the greatest Advantage, his Point being to hinder the German Forces from besieging Philipsburg, from posting themselves in the Towns of Alsace, but chiefly from entering into Lorraine, or the County of Burgundy: All these he perform'd; but being press'd by the Imperialists, and straitened in his Quarters, he suffer'd much by Want of Provisions, and found his Army diminish'd by Sicknes and Desertion, which use to follow that Condition. At last, being necessitated for Want of Forage to force a Post of the Enemies that straitened him most, a warm Skirmish began, and with Loss to the French, who were gall'd with Two Pieces of Cannon rais'd upon an Eminence, and playing upon them with Advantage. Monsieur De Turenne resolv'd to raise a Battery to dismount them; and going with St. Hilaire, a Lieutenant-General, to chuse a Place the most convenient for it, the Two small Pieces from the Imperial Side fir'd at them almost together; one of the Bullets wounded St. Hilaire in the Shoulder; and t'other, after Two
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or Three Bounds upon the Ground, struck Monsieur *De Turenne* upon the Breast, and without any apparent Wound more than the Contusion, laid him dead upon the Place, and by such a Death as *Cæsar* us'd to wish for, unexpected, sudden, and without Pain. The Astonishment was unspeakable in the *French* Camp upon the Loss of such a General; the Presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who reckon'd upon themselves as Masters of the whole *French* Army, that was straiten'd between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diseas'd, and above all discourag'd by the Loss of their Captain. All others had the same Expectations upon this News, but all were disappointed; and Monsieur *De Loges* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the Force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *English* Troops, who made such bold Stands in several Places that they could not be broken till most of the Army were march'd off, he pass'd the *Rhine* in sight of part of the Imperial Army, and encamp'd himself on the other Side in Safety; and so preserv'd it till the Prince of *Conde* was sent in haste out of *Flanders*, with a great Enforcement, to oppose the Progress of the Imperialists in *Alsace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburg* drawing his Forces, with some Imperialists out of *Silesia*, together, fell upon the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Success, that he soon beat them out of his Part of the Country, and pursu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of *Denmark*, who was now enter'd into the Interests of the Confederates, and resolv'd to declare War against *Sweden*; and to that end took his Measures with the Duke of *Brandenburg* how to pursue it with the best Advantage the rest of the Season.

When the Prince of *Conde* left *Flanders*, to succeed Monsieur *De Turenne*, in *Alsace*, the Duke of *Luxemburg* commanded the Army in *Flanders*; but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, and only to observe the Prince of *Orange's* Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd; which he performed so well, that no further Action pass'd this Summer, besides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the Unactiveness of this Campaign in *Flanders*, the Confederates by Concert on all sides fell upon an Enterprize of great *Eclat*, and of greater Consequence, which was the Siege of *Trier*. The Imperialists were bent upon it, to open a Passage that Way into *France*, finding so much Opposition in their Designs of it by *Alsace*: The *Spaniards* desired it, to make way for their succouring *Luxemburg* whenever it should be press'd, which was of the last Importance to them: The Duke of *Lorraine* was violently for it, in hopes of finding a Way open'd for his Entrance into *Lorraine*: The Prince *Palatine* thought it the best Preparation for besieging and carrying *Philipsburg*, which was the Thorn in his Side. So as all these joined part of their Troops together, with some of the Elector of *Trier's*, and a Body of the *Lunenburg* Forces under the Dukes of *Zell* and *Osnabrug*, and set down before *Trier*.

The Marechal *De Crequi* gather'd all the Forces he could out of the Neighbouring Provinces, and made up a strong Army to relieve it. The Confederates left part of theirs to maintain their Retrenchments about the Town, and march'd with the rest against Monsieur *De Crequi*, pass'd a River in his Sight, attack'd him, beat him out of the Field with great Slaughter, many Prisoners, and such a Dispersion of the rest, that the whole Army seem'd to have vanish'd in one Day; and Monsieur *De Crequi* got into *Trier* with four or five only in Company: There he made a desperate Resistance for near a Month against the victorious Army, with great Honour and Loss among the *English* Troops that were in the Town, and without any Hopes of Relief; nor would he ever capitulate, after all the Extremities he was reduc'd to by the Forms of a Siege, till the Garrison mutiny'd against his Obstinacy, capitulated for themselves, and deliver'd up Monsieur *De Crequi* and most of the Officers Prisoners to the *Germans*. The Dukes of *Lunenburg* had great Honour in this Action, and the Old Duke of *Lorraine*; and indeed it was one of the most vigorous that succeeded in the whole Course of the War, and carried
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the compleateſt Victory, as well as a very conſiderable Town: And the Honour of it was very much due to the Marqueſs *de Grana*, who commanded the Emperor's Forces there, and was eſteem'd to have laid the firſt Deſign, to have concerted the ſeveral Parts of it, engag'd the ſeveral Parties to reſolve upon the ſame Adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was achiev'd. The Loſs of Men was very great on the *French* Side, both in the Fight and the Siege; and added to *Monſieur De Turenne's* Death, and the Impreſſion expected upon it on that Side from the Count *De Montecuculi*; with the Loſs of the *Swedes*; made ſo great a Change in the Appearance of Affairs, that his Majeſty in a Letter to me, in *September*, after my Return to the *Hague*, bid me uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be eaſie in the Buſineſs of a Peace, That it was now Time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Austria*, inſtead of that of *France*. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialiſts in *Alſace* would either enter into *Lorraine*, or at leaſt would take the chief Towns of *Alſace*, and poſt themſelves for the following Winter, as to be ready for ſuch an Enterpriſe in the Beginning of the next Spring; and the Count *De Montecuculi* beſieg'd firſt *Haguenau*, and afterwards *Zaberne*, which were the moſt conſiderable Places, to that End. But after *Haguenau* had offer'd to ſurrender upon Conditions, he roſe with his Army to fight the Prince of *Conde*, who made a Motion with his Army as if he intended to relieve it; but ſo order'd it, as the *Germans* fail'd both of the Battle and the Town. It was never comprehended how *Montecuculi* afterwards came to riſe of a ſudden from the Siege of *Zaberne*: Some ſaid, it was upon an expreſs Order from *Vienna* the Night before; others, With deſign of fighting the *French* Army, or beſieging *Philipſburg*; but neither happen'd: And, which was worſe than all, he ended the Campaign with paſſing back his whole Army over the *Rhine*, and leaving *Alſace* wholly in the Poſſeſſion and at the Mercy of the *French* Troops. Nor have I ever known any Action of ſuch publick Concern, ſo unaccountable as this Retreat; ſince 'tis hard to ſuſpect either Corruption or Court-Faction ſhould go ſo far, tho' both were accus'd of having part in this great and deciſive Event.

The Reſentment of it was thought to have broke the old Duke of *Lorraine's* Heart, who died about this Time, and left Prince *Charles*, his Nephew, the Succeſſion to that Duchy. No Prince had met with more Miſfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them leſs, or given greater Teſtimony of what Philoſophy teaches, That the Good or Ill of Men's Lives comes more from their Humours than their Fortunes. He was expell'd that Noble and Lovely Duchy by the Arms of *France* in Cardinal *Richelieu's* Time; forc'd to go into the *Spaniſh* Service in *Flanders* with a Body of *Lorrainers* that would follow his Fortune whatever it was; ſtruggled with Want of Pay to his Troops, with Jealouſie and ill Uſage of the *Spaniſh* Governours; was ſeiz'd and imprizon'd by that Crown; reſtor'd to a ſhatter'd Poſſeſſion of *Lorraine* by the Peace of the *Pyrenes*; and in the Year 1670 forc'd to eſcape by Night, and almoſt alone, by a ſudden Surprize of the *French* Troops, in the Height and Security of Peace: After this he never had a Home any more for the reſt of his Life, which was ſpent in ſuing for Protection and Relief from the ſeveral Princes of *Chriſtendom*, who reſented the Injuſtice of his Caſe, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themſelves in it, till upon the laſt War he fell into his Share of the Confederacy, with the Weight of two or three thouſand *Lorrainers* that ſtill follow'd his Fortune, and entered into Leagues with the Emperor and moſt of the Allies for his Reſtitution. He ſeem'd not to deſerve the Fortune of a Prince, only becauſe he ſeem'd not to care for it, to hate the Constraints and Ceremonies that belong to it, and to value no Pleaſures in Life but the moſt natural and moſt eaſie; and while he had them, was never out of Humour for wanting the reſt; Generous to his Servants and Soldiers when he had it; and when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the Liberties he gave them; very much belov'd and familiar among both: And to give his Picture by a ſmall *Trait*, one of his Miniſters told me, That not long before he died, all his Family was, a Gentle-

man of the Horſe (as he was called), another of his Chamber, and a Boy that look'd to a little Nag he us'd to ride: One Day he called for his Horſe; the two firſt told him, the Boy was not to be found; he bid them however get him his Horſe: They could not agree which of them ſhould go and ſaddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or elſe he ſwore he would go down and ſaddle his Horſe himſelf: They were aſham'd, and 'twas done.

About the ſame Time died at the *Hague* the old Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*; a Woman of the moſt Wit and good Senſe, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great Part in forming the Race of the Prince, and the mighty Improvement it received from three very extraordinary Women, as well as three ſo great Men in the laſt Deſcents. None has ſhew'd more the Force of Order and Oeconomy than this Princeſs; who with ſmall Revenues, never above twelve thouſand Pounds a Year ſince her Husband's Death, liv'd always in as great Plenty, and more Curioſuſneſs and Elegance, than is ſeen in many greater Courts. Among other Pieces of Greatneſs, She was conſtantly ſerved all in Gold Plate, which went ſo far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Ciſtern for Bottles, to the Key of her Cloſet, and every thing of that kind ſhe uſually touch'd; which I mention, becauſe I think 'tis what the greateſt Kings of *Chriſtendom* have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this Side *Persia*.

In *November* this Year, happen'd a Storm at *North-Weſt*, with a Spring-Tide, ſo violent, as gave Apprehenſions of ſome Loſs irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*; and by ſeveral Breaches in the great *Digues* near *Enchuyſen*, and others between *Amſterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for ſuch Inundations as had not been ſeen before by any Man then alive, and filled the Country with many Relations of moſt deplorable Events. But the incredible Diligence and unanimous Endeavours of the People upon ſuch Occaſions, gave a ſtop to the Fury of that Element, and made Way for recovering next Year all the Lands; tho' not the People, Cattle, and Houſes that had been loſt.

Before the End of the Year, the *Danes* took *Wiſmar* from the *Swedes*, and by an open War thoſe two Crowns came to be engaged in the common Quarrel: And after a great Expectation of ſome extraordinary Succeſſes in the *Spaniſh* Affairs from *Don John's* intended Expedition into *Italy*, to command all the Forces and Provinces of that Crown both there and in *Sicily*, when he was ready to go and meet *De Ruyter* at *Barcelonea*, who attended him there, with the *Dutch* Fleet deſign'd for *Meffina*, he was by a Court-Intrigue recall'd to *Madrid*: The King was then arriv'd in his Fourteenth Year, and took upon him the Government, as now in Majority; and by the Advice of ſome near him in Favour, writ a Letter to *Don John* to invite him to Court, to aſſiſt him in the Government: He obey'd, but ſtay'd not there above a Fortnight or three Weeks, till by the Credit and Authority of the Queen Mother, he was forc'd to quit his Ground there, and return to *Saragoſſa*. And ſo vaniſh'd a mighty Expectation that had been rais'd in *Spain*, and other Places, of great Effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and very great Sums of Money were wholly loſt that had been employ'd in the Preparations of his Journey and Equipage for *Italy*. And *Sicily* was left almoſt hopeleſs of Recovery, from the Succeſſes of the *French*, who had taken many Poſts about *Meffina*, and threaten'd many more; and other Towns were fear'd to follow the Example of that great Revolt.

After the Prince's Return from the Campaign to the *Hague*, in *October*, I had ſeveral Conferences with him upon the Subject of the Peace, and the Terms that both his Majeſty and the States might think reaſonable between *France* and *Spain*, and both thoſe Crowns be in any Probability of conſenting to. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy* which had been ſince conquered; or if either this Province, or ſome of the moſt important Frontier Towns of *Flanders*, ſhould be reſtored, than an Equivalent to be made them for ſuch Reſtitution. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing leſs than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and

and that they would rather lose the rest of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; and said, both the King and the States were as much concerned in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*; and had the same Interest to see it safe by a War or a Peace, which could not be by such a Frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

That which my Lord *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Pensioner, and which pass'd for His Majesty's Sentiment, tho' he pretended no Orders, was the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: But in regard of the Necessity for the *Spaniards* to have a better Frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that Peace, That the *French* should give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*: And that if they parted with the County of *Burgundy*, it should be for something in Exchange. His Majesty commanded me to assure the Prince, That if a Peace could be made upon these Terms, or any so near them that he might hope to obtain the Consent of *France*, His Majesty for the Security of *Flanders* would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the strictest Alliance the States could desire for preserving it, or defending *Flanders* in case of a new Rupture. He bid me further assure the Prince, That for his Patrimonial Lands in *Burgundy* (which were about eight thousand Pounds a Year, and Lordships of the greatest Royalty in that County) he would undertake for his secure possessing them, though that County should remain in the *French* Hands; or for selling them to that King, and at what Price the Prince himself could think fit to value them.

The Prince's Answer was, That for his own part he could be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to His Majesty himself, and believ'd the States would do so too; but they were both engag'd by Treaty and Honour to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That he believ'd the *Spaniards* might be persuaded to it upon the Terms of *Aix*, with Restitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards composing some kind of necessary Frontier on that Side; but to part with *Aire* and *St. Omer*, without any further and greater Exchange, he believ'd they would not in the present Posture of Things. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, as conquer'd in this last War, he was sure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever consent to it; unless they were beaten into it by Disasters they had no Reason to expect; tho' for his own part, he should be content with it, provided the *French* would restore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liste* and *Drway*, with their Dependencies, to the *Spaniards*, in lieu of it; because by that means *Flanders* would have a secure Frontier on that Side, and a reasonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other; and the Security of *Flanders* was the chief Interest of the States upon the Peace. That for himself, he thank'd His Majesty for his Offer, as to his Lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his Thought upon the Terms of a Peace, nor should ever hinder it; but on t'other side, he would be content to lose them all, to gain one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

When I put him in mind, as the King order'd me, of the Apprehensions he and the States might have of the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, if their Successes continued; he told me, *There was no need of that, till they should go beyond the Peace of the Pyrenees; whenever that should happen, he should be as much a French-man as he was now a Spaniard; but not before.* He ended, in desiring that whatever Plan His Majesty thought fit to propose for a Peace, he would do it at the Congress at *Nimeguen*; for the Number and Variety of Pretensions and Interests were grown so great, by all the Parties now engag'd in the War, that it could not be done in any other Place; and for his part, he could never consent to any Treaty separate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reasonable; and if *France* would be so too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reason; and that this might have done it, if some Differences between him and the *Spaniards* in the Actions propos'd, had not hindered the Successes they hop'd for in *Flanders*, and if *Montecuculi's* Impatience to be at

Vienna, and pass the Winter there, upon the Factions stirring at Court, had not made him repass the *Rhine*, and take his Winter-quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; because if he had done it in *Alsace*, he doubted his Preference with the Army might be thought necessary.

After this Conference, and no Return from his Majesty to the Account I gave him of it, the Discourse ceas'd of private Measures to be agreed between His Majesty and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congress at *Nimeguen*.

I had another Testimony given me of the Firmness I had always found in the Prince upon the Subject of the Peace, by what one of the *Spanish* Ministers told me had lately pass'd between him and the Duke *De Villa Hermosa*. His Highness had a long Pretence depending at *Madrid*, for about Two hundred thousand Pounds owing to his Family from that Crown since the Peace of *Munster*. It had ever been delay'd, tho' never refus'd: An Agent from the Prince had of late very much press'd the Queen Regent of *Spain* upon this Subject, and with much ado had obtain'd an Order for Fifty thousand Pounds; and Bills were put into his Hands by the Ministers there, which when they arriv'd in *Flanders*, instead of being pay'd, were protested. The Duke *De Villa Hermosa* was so ashamed of this Treatment, that he sent a Person purposely to excuse it to the Prince, and assure him the Fault was not in the Queen nor Ministers, but only in the Choice of Hands by which it was transmitted, and desired his Highness would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince answer'd, No, not at all; on t'other side I have Reason to take it well of the Queen, for if she did not think me the honestest Man in the World, she would not use me so; however, nothing of this kind shall hinder me from doing what I owe to my Allies, or to my Honour.

Norwithstanding all I had written from the Prince to His Majesty upon this Subject, yet my Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to persuade him that he knew not the Prince's Mind for want of some body that had more Credit with him than I had; and at the same time he pursu'd the Prince by Letters, to desire the King to send over some such Person as he might treat with in the last Confidence in all Matters between them. The Prince shew'd me his Letters, and bid me assure the King and my Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me, and would not say so much to any other Man. However, my Lord *Arlington*, upon the former Suggestions, prevail'd with the King to send over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* instructed, to know the Bottom of the Prince's Mind upon the Subject of the Peace, before the Campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this Resolution, and that he was a Person they knew His Highness would trust: The Prince shewed me this Letter too, and said, He knew not what he meant; that Lord *Arlington* knew as well as any Man how far he trusted both Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and me. This good Usage ended all Correspondence between Lord *Arlington* and me, which had lasted by Letters to this Time, tho' coldly since my being last in *England*. But upon Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my Preparation to go for *Nimeguen*, I ended that Scent; having not learn'd enough of the Age, nor the Court I liv'd in, to act an un sincere Part either in Friendship or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel* came to the *Hague*, he pass'd for a Man of some great Intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in Conversation and Visits with the Persons near the Prince, or most employ'd in the State. But he and Lord *Arlington* were soon satisfy'd to how good Purpose he came over; for the Prince, who is the sincerest Man in the World, hating all Tricks, and those that use them, gave him no Mark of the least Confidence while he staid, and sent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by trusting another Hand with all he writ of Consequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. The Truth is, the Prince took this Journey of his to have
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been designed by my Lord *Arlington*, both out of Spight to me, and to give Jealousies to the Confederates, by the Suspicion of something in Agitation between the King and the Prince that I was not thought fit to be trusted with. And indeed several of their Ministers at the *Hague* were apt to fall into such Surmises; but Monsieur *De Lyra*, a *Spanish* Minister, a Person much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the Belief of his Highness's Honour and Constancy (which he us'd to say his Master trusted to more than to any Treaties,) and so help'd to prevent all such Impressions.

In the mean time, all Motions necessary towards forming the Congress at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the several Parties, and gave Appearances of the Ambassadors meeting suddenly there. The great Obstruction hitherto had been the Point of Prince *William* of *Fursenburg's* Liberty, which *France* had absolutely insisted on before they sent their Ambassadors, and the Emperor had been induc'd to promise only upon Conclusion of the Treaty. But an Expedient was found out to save the Honour of *France* upon this Point, rather than the Treaty should be hinder'd, which was at that Time thought necessary for their Affairs: The Bishop of *Strasbourg* made a formal Request to the King of *France*, That no private Interests or Respects of his Brother, might delay the Treaty of a Peace which was of so much Consequence to all *Christendom*; and this Request being at this Time easily receiv'd and granted, no further Difficulty was made upon this Point.

His Majesty thereupon invited all the Princes concern'd in the War, to hasten away their Ministers to the Place of Congress, and acquainted them with his having order'd his own to repair immediately thither; and having some Months before appointed the Lord *Berkley* (then Ambassador at *Paris*) Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* His Ambassadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir *Lionel* was accordingly dispatch'd away, and arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the End of *January* 1676, and brought with him our Instructions for that Ambassy; and after some few Days Stay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the Expedition of the Passports, from and to all the Ministers of the several Parties, having been for some time under my Care, and many of them come to my Hands, tho' others were entangled still in some Difficulty or other, we both concluded it necessary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was dispatch'd; whilst Sir *Lionel* should go upon the Place of Congress, and by the Presence of a Mediator, invite the rest to make more haste than many of them seem'd dispos'd to at this Time.

The *French* Ambassadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they staid for their Passports only, to go on with their Journey; and upon Sir *Lionel's* Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us to acquaint us with the States Orders for their immediate Repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magistrates of that City (which they now consider'd as a Neutral Town) to receive all Orders from us the Mediators, and particularly any we pleas'd to give about our Reception upon our Arrival there.

We told them His Majesty's Thoughts were upon the Successes of the Treaty, and that nothing could more obstruct it than the Ceremonies which us'd to attend those Meetings; and therefore he order'd us to introduce as much as we could among all the Ambassadors, the Method of living there as much like private Men as could consist with the Honour of their Characters; and to this End, that we should make no publick Entries, and give thereby an Example to those that came after us.

To avoid all Punctilioes about the Time of the several Parties dispatching the Passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the *Hague* from the several Courts, and there should be put into my Hands; to the end, that when I found my self possess'd of them, I should make the Distribution reciprocally to both Parties at the same Time. Those of *France* were early with me, but short in some Points of those from the Confederates; the Chief whereof was the Omission of Liberty granted to the Ambassadors to

dispatch Couriers to their Masters Courts upon Passports of the respective Ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the Progress of the Treaty. Another was the Omission of Passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers in the Form usual and expected: For whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of *Lorraine* with the Title of Duke, and Appellation of Brother; their Passports now treated the new Duke only with *Cousin*, and *Prince Charles of Lorraine*; the rest were minute Differences or Mistakes of Words, which are not worth the Mention, and were easily surmounted. Of all these his Majesty had early Notice, and employed his Offices towards *France* for some Months, without Answer upon that of *Lorraine*, and with positive Refusal of inserting the Clause for Liberty of Passports; tho' Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* several times, during this Pause, writ to the States, That the King often assur'd him (their Ambassador at *London*) that there should be no Difficulty in the Business of *Lorraine*.

About the Beginning of *February* this Year 1676, I receiv'd a Letter from Monsieur *De Pomponne*, then Secretary for foreign Affairs in *France*, to tell me, That his Master having been acquainted from his Majesty with the Difficulties occurring in forming the Congress, had order'd him to let me know his Reasons upon them. As to that of Couriers, That he thought it not fit to have his Countries and Towns lie open to his Enemies Observations and Discoveries, upon pretext of such Couriers frequent Passage; That the Inconvenience would be the same to the Confederates; and that he ask'd no more than he gave. As to the Point of *Lorraine*, That his Master could not give Passports with the Stile of *Duke*, which carried that of *Brother*; pretending that *Dutchy* belong'd to his most Christian Majesty by the Treaty in 1662 between him and the last Duke.

Not many Days after, I receiv'd Notice from Secretary *Williamson*, of the same Account having been given his Majesty by Monsieur *De Ruvoigny*, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monsieur *De Pomponne's* Letter, as not thinking fit to make any Paces in these Matters without Orders from his Majesty. The States and all their Allies were very much surpris'd with this Pretence of *Lorraine*, which *France* had never before advanc'd, or so much as mention'd, either upon the Seizure of that *Dutchy*, or since that Time, in the Accounts of it by their Ministers in the several Courts of *Christendom*; they had only profess'd to have found such a Seizure necessary for preserving the Peace wherein *Christendom* then was, from the dangerous or uncertain Dispositions of that Duke, with whom his most Christian Majesty could take no certain Measures, and his Enemies would be practising; but that it was without any Intention of retaining any part of that *Dutchy*, otherwise than for this End of preserving the Peace of *Christendom*. All this, with many more Circumstances, Monsieur *Srinchamps*, the *Lorraine* Envoy, alledg'd at the Conferences with the States and Allies upon this Occasion; and for the Treaty of 1662, he seem'd to wonder it should ever be mention'd, as a Thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, there-upon long since forgotten; That the last Duke had no Power to dispose of that *Dutchy* from his Nephew; because, if the *Salique Law* had place in *Lorraine*, it was alienable from the next Heir-Male; if the *Feminine Succession*, then that Duke himself had no Title at all to it, but it belong'd to the present Duke even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, That it was invalid; by the *French* Non-performance of the only Condition on their Side, upon which the Old Duke pretended to have made it; which was, *That the Princes of that Family should be assumed into the Rank of Princes of the Blood in France*; and that upon registering that Treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of *Paris*, without that Clause, the Old Duke had declar'd it void within three Weeks after it was made. Thirdly, That a Treaty was concluded the Year after, being 1663, at *Munsal*, between the most Christian King and the said Duke; by which he was to continue in the Possession of all his Territories, besides *Marsal*, in the same manner as he enjoyed them by the Treaty of 1661, as he did till the Seizure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound Peace, and with

the Professions above-mention'd made by *France* to his Majesty at that Time (as Monsieur *Serinchamps* averr'd) as well as to the other Courts of *Christendoms*.

These Arguments were of such Force with all the Confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in positively insisting upon the Passports of that Duke, with the usual Forms; and the more, since *France* had advanc'd a Pretence to that Dutchy, which was never thought of before among the Allies. The *Austrian* Ministers told me frankly, That the Treaty should never be without this Allowance of the Duke of *Lorraine's* Title, nor the Peace without his Restitution. The States said, They for their parts would willingly refer this, and any other Matters concerning the Treaty, to his Majesty's Arbitration; but that they were bound already by other Treaties to their Allies; and particularly, to the Duke of *Lorraine*; and could not break from them upon a Point of such apparent Right as this. The Prince spoke the same Language, and said further, That he was bound by his Oath of Stadtholder, among other Things, to endeavour to the utmost of his Power to keep the States to the due Observance of their Treaties; and so, by the Grace of God, he would do in this as well as others.

All this being signified to his Majesty, and by him to *France*, that Court continued peremptory in the Matter; and the Allies persisting in the same Disposition, the Congress began to be look'd upon from all Sides as a Thing ended before it began. The Allies took this Pretence for a Declaration from *France* of their Resolution there shou'd be no Treaty at present; and grounded it upon some great Expectation or Design they had upon further Progresses in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*; or else from Hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the Assistance of *Sweden*.

But the Truth was, That *France* had been forced to discover upon this Incident what they had always at Heart: And I ever observed in the Course of all these Negotiations, That there were three Points for which *France* thought the War worth continuing to the last Extremity; which were, rather than restore *Lorraine*, or *Burgundy*, or leave a good Frontier on both Sides of the *Spanish* Territories in *Flanders*. The two first would hinder the Progress of their great Design, whether of extending their Empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: The last would hinder their Conquest of *Flanders*, whenever they pursu'd the finishing of that Adventure; by leaving a Passage for the *Germans* to relieve it, and by so great and dangerous a Diversion as entering *France* through *Lorraine* or *Burgundy*.

His Majesty most certainly disapproved, and was surpris'd with this Pretence of the Dutchy of *Lorraine*; but yet was prevail'd with by Monsieur *De Ruwigny* to offer the Expedient of his Majesty, as Mediator, giving all Passports necessary to the Congress at *Nimeguen*. Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* in this Matter acted the Part rather of a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, than an *Ambassador* of the States; and to make Court to that Town, which began to express great Impatience for the Peace, he assur'd his Majesty, That his Masters could not fail of consenting to this Expedient. I foresaw it would be refus'd, and gave his Majesty Notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his Honour, and that of the Mediation, concerned in such a Refusal; but receiving direct Orders to propose it, I did so. The States told me, They wou'd of themselves consent to this, or whatever else his Majesty should propose; but having communicated it to their Allies, they would not hear of it; some refusing it with Heat, and Reflection upon his Majesty's Partiality to *France*; others with Sullenness and Silence, referring themselves to new Orders from their Masters.

Hereupon the Congress grew wholly desperate, and all Parties prepar'd for the Field; without any other View, for the three Months following the first Rise of this Pretension. In the mean time there pass'd a Fight between the *French*, and *Dutch* and *Spanish* Ships, near *Messina*; wherein *De Ruyter* was shot in the Heel by a Cannon-bullet, of which he died within few Days after, and determin'd the greatest Loss to have certainly happened on that Side, by that of the ablest Sea-Captain of his Age, and the best Servant that
any

any Prince or State could have: For the rest, the Advantage was not considerable on either Part in this Fight, nor the Consequence material in the Progress of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, or in any Prospect of great Enterprizes upon *Naples*. On the other side, the *Swedish* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threatened with great Invasions the following Campaign, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. This decry'd the Counsels of those Persons that engag'd them in this Quarrel. Two Ambassadors, Count *Oxenstiern* and *Olivereans*, were appointed for the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had ever been of the Sentiments of the Faction which now began to prevail in the *Swedish* Court: They grew impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it: They declar'd their Disapproval of the *French* Pretension rais'd to *Lorraine*, which seem'd only to obstruct it; and that they would send their Ministers to the Congress, whether the *French* came or not: And their Commissary at the *Hague* so well seconded these new Dispositions of his Court, that whilst the Congress look'd desperate by the declared Obstinaity of both Sides upon the Point of *Lorraine*, Ships and Passports were dispatch'd by the States, with Consent of their Allies, to fetch the *Swedish* Ambassadors from *Gottenburg* into *Holland*.

The Confederates were besides much animated in their Hopes, from the Dispositions and Humours express'd in a late Session of Parliament in *England*; which grew so high against the *French*, or at least, upon that Pretence, against the present Conduct of his Majesty or his Ministers, that the King prorog'd them about *Christmas*, before any of the Matters projected by the warm Men amongst the House of Commons were brought into Form.

The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a great and brave Army threatened some great Enterprize. The Prince was preparing to go into the Field, with Resolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battle at the Opening of the Campaign; all Thoughts of the Congress meeting before the End of it were laid aside; when about the middle of *May* I was extremely surpris'd to receive a Packet from Secretary *Williamson*, with the *French* Passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, in the Form and with the Stiles demanded by the Allies. And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Passports were exchange'd by the End of *May*.

Some Days were lost, by a new Demand of the Allies for Passports likewise for the Duke of *Neuburg's* Ministers, who was newly entered into the common Alliance; and the same Paces were expected likewise for the Duke of *Bavaria* (at least so the *Germans* flattered themselves or their Friends.) Upon this, some of the Ministers of the Allies at the *Hague*, whose Masters were very unwilling the Congress shou'd begin before the Campaign ended, prevail'd with the States to send Deputies to me, to demand Passports for the Duke of *Neuburg*, and any other Princes that shou'd enter into their Alliance; and to declare, That if these were refus'd by *France*, they would look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was something surpris'd at so unexpected a Message from the States; and told their Deputies, That such a Resolution was unpracticable: That his Majesty had undertaken to procure Passports for the Parties engag'd in the War, and all the Allies they had nam'd on both Sides, which was done, and thereupon the Congress ready to begin; and such a Delay as this would occasion, was both a Disrespect to his Majesty, and that could not be consented to by *France*, nor the Reciprocal of it by any of the Allies that foresaw the Consequences which might happen upon it: That some Ally of *France* might fall off to the Confederates, or some of the Confederates to *France*; and with such Circumstances, as it could not be expected either of them shou'd think fit to give Passports, or treat with them at the Congress; nor was it a Thing in any Form, to demand Passports without naming for whom they shou'd be. After several other Exceptions, the Deputies desir'd me to let them represent my Reasons against it to the States, and to expect their Answer till the next Afternoon; and one of them told me as he went out, That I had all the Reason

Reason in the World, and that they had been too easy in it upon the Instances of some Allies. Next Day the Deputies came to let me know the States had alter'd their Resolution, and desir'd only, That His Majesty would procure Passports for the Duke of *Neuburg's* Ministers; which I easily undertook. This Change had not pass'd without violent Heats between the States Deputies and the Ministers of some Allies, who press'd them so far, that one of the Deputies answer'd him, *Que pretendez-vous donc, Messieurs, de nous faire déchirer par la Canaille?* [Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in Pieces by the Rabble?] Which shews the Disposition that ran so generally at this Time throughout the Trading Provinces towards a Peace.

There remained now but one Preliminary undetermin'd, which was, To fix some Extent of Neutral Country about the Place of Congress: *France* would have extended it two Leagues round; the Allies would have it bounded on one Side by the River *Waal*, upon which *Nimeguen* stood, and was divided by it from the *Betuwe*, a Part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the straight Road into the rest of that Country. Both these Proposals were grounded upon the same Reason: That of *France* to facilitate the Commerce of their Ambassadors with the Towns of *Holland*, incite the De-sires, and enter into Practices of Peace distinct from the Motions of the Congress; that of the Allies to prevent or encumber the too easy and undiscovered Passage of the *French* Emissaries upon this Occasion. However, both were positive in their Opinions; so as this Matter came not to be determin'd till some time after the Congress began, and but lamely then.

C H A P. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the Field, and told me, That before he went, he must have some Talk with me in private, and at leisure; and to that Purpose desir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honflaedyck*. We appointed the Hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would easily believe, That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often press'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Persons propos'd to him, as their several Humours led them: That for his own part, he knew it was a Thing to be done at one Time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the War was ended: That, besides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every Day, and the more, as they saw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reason to do it than any others: That he had at last promis'd them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had, and resolv'd he would marry; but the Choice of a Person he thought more difficult: That he found himself inclin'd to no Proposals had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occasion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*: That before he concluded to make any Paces that Way, he was resolv'd to have my Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unless I promis'd to answer him as a Friend, or at least an indifferent Person, and not as the King's Ambassador. When I told him he should be obey'd, he went on, and said, That he would confes to me, during the late War, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without Applications from several Persons, and considerable, in *England*, who would fain have engag'd them to head the Discontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might perhaps have prov'd very dangerous to that Crown, if it had not ended as it did: That all these Persons, who pretended to be much his Friends, were extremely against any Thoughts of his marrying in *England*; their Reasons were, That he would by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought

so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the Point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance, unless they changed their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done: And upon this he desir'd my Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the young Lady; for tho' it would not pass in the World for a Prince to seem concern'd in those Particulars; yet for himself, he would tell me, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a Degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest could engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions: That he might, perhaps, not be very easie for a Wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age: That if he should meet with one to give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the Course of his Life: And that after the Manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could; he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Disposition and Education; and if I knew any Thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in these Points, he desir'd me to tell him freely.

I answer'd his Highness, That I was very glad to find he was resolv'd to marry, being what he owed his Family and Friends: That I was much more pleas'd that his Inclination led him to endeavour it in *England*: That I thought it as much for his Interest, as others of his *English* Friends thought it was against it: That the King and his Highness would ever be able to do one another more Good, and more Harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being Friend or Enemies: That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next: That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they must see much further than I did, to believe the King in any such Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd: That the Crown of *England* stood upon surer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had pass'd in the last Reign; and that I believ'd the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himself believ'd them: That it was however in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as short Turns to such an End; if not, yet with the Help of a little good Husbandry, he might pass his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with so much Ease at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People: That if the Court were of Sentiments different from those of his Highness, yet his Advisers would make him a greater Compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that should happen, the most seditious Men in *England* would be hard put to it to find an ill Side in such a Match: That for the other Point, I could say nothing to it, but that I had always heard my Wife and my Sister speak with all the Advantage that could be of what they could discern in a Princess so young, and more from what they had been told by the Governess, with whom they had a particular Friendship, and who they were sure took all the Care that could be in so much of Education as fell to her Share.

After Two Hours Discourse upon this Subject, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this Pursuit; and in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave that he might go over into *England* at the End of the Campaign: That my Wife, who was then going over upon my private Affairs, should carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her Stay there, should endeavour to inform her self the most particularly she could, of all that concern'd the Person, Humour, and Dispositions of the young Princess, in which he seem'd so much concern'd.

Within two or three Days after these Discourses, the Prince brought his Letters to my Wife, and went immediately to the Army, and he went suddenly after into *England* with those Dispatches, and left me preparing for my

my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *Dutch* first, and after them the *French* Ambassadors were arriv'd, and consequently those of the two principal Parties in the War.

Before I went, *Du Moulin* met my Chaplain in the *Voorhout*, and told him he was so ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he could not die in quiet, without asking my Pardon for so many false and injurious Things as he confess'd to have said of me since my last Embassy in *Holland*, tho' he had before had all the Esteem that could be for me. He desir'd my Chaplain, since I had always refus'd to see him, that he would do this Office for him, and ask my Pardon as from a dying Man. This *Du Moulin*, after having been much employ'd and favoured by my Lord *Arlington*, during the Councils and Vogue of the Triple Alliance, and disgraced by him after the Change of those Measures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries, grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War, was made use of by the Malecontents of *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington's* Instances and Endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. I receiv'd afterwards Commands to the same Purpose, and compass'd it not without Time and Difficulty: He had not been long laid aside when this happen'd; and whether that, or the Knowledge of the Prince's late Resolution to pursue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart; or whether it were a Consumption, as his Friends gave out, I know not; but he died soon after, and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for some time employ'd him, and busy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

After many Delays in the Dispatch and Exchange of the Passports, I got loose from the *Hague* about the Beginning of July 1676, upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*; where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors being already arriv'd, press'd very much for my coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* excus'd himself from performing any Acts or Offices of the Mediation till my Arrival, and contented himself to pass only the usual Visits. The Dispositions I observed in the several Parties towards the Success of this Congress, when I went in order to the Opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any sudden Issue; but only to attend and be govern'd by the Successes of the several Armies in the Field, and the Events expected from the Actions of the Campaign. The *French* had given all the Facility they could for some Months past to the forming of the Congress, and made all the Haste they could for their Ambassadors to be upon the Place, desiring no better Peace than upon the present Plan of Affairs; and hoping by their Forwardness, and the great Backwardness of some of the Allies, to make Way for some separate Treaties with those among them who began to be impatient for Peace. The House of *Austria* was fullen, as Losers use to be, and so were very slow and resty in all their Paces towards this Treaty; the *Germans* hoping for great Successes of their Arms in this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flattering themselves with the Interests His Majesty had in the Preservation of *Flanders*, and with the Part which the Parliament in *England* seem'd of late to have taken in their Affairs; and both were in hopes that something might arise from one of these Sides, to make Room for Pretensions that could not be in Countenance as Things stood at present. The *Swede* was very earnest for a Peace, as having more Hopes of recovering himself that Way, than by the Course of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the War; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France*, any otherwife than with their Money, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The States were very desirous of the Peace, having no Pretences of their own, but to get well out of a War that ruin'd their Trade, and drain'd their Money; but they durst not break from their Confederates, not trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, so as to leave themselves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Peace should be made. One general Thread ran through the Councils on both Sides; on the *French*, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confedera-

cy by different Paces and Advances to the several Parties in the Course of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preserve the same Confidence and Union with which they had carried on the War, even after the Peace should be made. His Majesty, tho' he was offer'd by some of the Parties to be Arbitrer, as well as Mediator, in the present Differences; and was known by them all to have it in Power to make that Figure as he pleas'd; yet chose the other, and gave us Orders accordingly, only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties submitting their Differences to his Determination: So that upon the whole, it was easy to foresee the Congress would only prove a Business of Form; and proceed no otherwise than as it should be moved, or rather governed by the Events of the Field.

However, the Opening of it might well be called the Dawn of a Peace; which put me in mind of the only Prophecy of this Sort that I had ever thought worth taking Notice of; nor should I have done so, but that Monsieur Colbert shewed it me at my coming to Nimeguen, and made me remember to have seen it in my Lord Arlington's Hands in the Year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in some Abbey of Germany. It was in these Terms:

*Lilium intrabit in terram Leonis, fer-
vas in brachiis gerens; Aquila movebit
alas, & in auxilium veniet filius hominis
ab Austro: Tunc erit ingens bellum per
totum terrarum orbem; sed post quatuor
annos pax elucescet, & salus erit filio ho-
minis unde exitum putabatur.*

*The Lilly shall invade the Land of
the Lion, bearing wild Beasts in its
Arms; the Eagle shall move its Wings,
and the Son of Man shall come to his Af-
sistance from the South: Then there shall
be great War throughout the World; but
after Four Years Peace shall dawn, and
the Son of Man be deliver'd by those from
whom his Ruin was expected.*

Those who have a Mind to give Credit to such Prophecies from the Course of Events, must allow the Leopards (the Ancient Arms of England) to be meant by the wild Beasts; the King of Spain by the Son of Man; the Congress at Nimeguen (Four Years after the War began) by the Dawn of Peace; and Spain's having been sav'd by the States and the Prince of Orange, by those from whom its Ruin was expected. But I easily believe, that as most Prophecies which run in the World, arise from the Contrivances of crafty, or the Dreams of enthusiastical Heads; and the Sense of them (where there is any) lies wrapt up in mystical or incoherent Expressions, fit to receive many sorts of Interpretations; and some perhaps from the Leisure of great Wits that are ill employ'd, and seek Diversion to themselves, by writing Things at random, with the scornful Thought of amusing the World about nothing: So others are broach'd for old, either after Events happen, or when they are so probable as to be easily conjectur'd by foreseeing Men: And it seems strange, that of the first Kind (being so many) no more happen to be fulfill'd, with the Help of so much Inclination to believe, as well as so much Invention to wrest the Meaning of Words to the Sense pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the last Kind, is uncertain; for in that very Year it was produc'd, and given my Lord Arlington by a French-man (as he told me) the Design of this War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practices of Monsieur Colbert upon the Ministers of our Court (where he was then Ambassador) and by the violent Humour of my Lord Clifford to enter into the Leagues then projected by France; so that the very Day the Parliament gave His Majesty a mighty Sum of Money, to compliment him upon so applauded a Council and Success as that of the Triple Alliance in the Year 1668, that Lord, coming out of the House of Commons, where he was then a Member, could not hold saying to a Friend of mine who came out with him, That for all this great Joy, it must not be long before we have another War with Holland. And which of these two Prophecies were the more to be consider'd, or the better inspir'd, I leave it to every one to guess as they please.

Nimeguen is seated upon the Side of a Hill, which is the last of *Germany*; and floops upon the River *Waal*, which washes the lower Part of the Town, and divides it from the *Betuwe*, an Island lying all upon flat low Ground, between the *Waal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the ancient Seat of those the *Romans* called *Batavians*, and, for their Bravery and Love of Liberty, took into their Confederacy, when they subjected all the neighbouring Parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betuwe* and *Waal* were the Ancient *German* Names, and turn'd into *Batavia* and *Vabalis* by the *Roman* Terminations, as *Cologne* and *Cleves* are *Roman* Names changed into *German*. *Betuwe* signifies in the old *German* fat Earth, as *Veluwe* (a great Hearthly Country on t'other Side the *Rhine*) does coarse or barren Earth. Whether *Nimeguen* came from *Neomagum*, or *Neomagium* from *Nimeguen*, I cannot determine; but the old Castle, as well as many Antiquities found about it, shew it to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; and it is seated in very good Air, encompass'd on three Sides by great and dry Heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good Sort of People.

I excus'd my self from letting the Magistrates of *Nimeguen* know what Time I design'd my Arrival there, tho' they sent to inform themselves while I was upon the Way; and I refus'd any Ceremonies at Entry, to prevent that Pretence in other Ambassadors, and the Troubles and Disturbances such publick Receptions might occasion. However I could not escape some Part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth. The River of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the middle of the Stream, which lies near the Town, and spreads very broad upon the other Side to the *Betuwe*, being upon flat Grounds. The first Part of it is pass'd by a very large Ferry-Boat, which held at once my Two Coaches and Six Horses, one Waggon with my Trunks, Eight Saddle-Horses, and wou'd have receiv'd many more. This Boat is of a Contrivance so singular, as well as so commodious, that I have much wonder'd never to have seen it practis'd in any other Place; for the Force of the Stream drives the Boat cross the River without the least Pains of the Men, being kept to its Course by a strong Cable extended from one Side to the other, and fastened to a Pulley set up for that Purpose in the Boat; so that no Strefs of Weather hinders this Passage, and the harder the Stream runs, the sooner 'tis made. Where the River grows shallow, and the Current slack, on the *Betuwe* Side, it is supply'd by a Bridge of Planks for about Two Hundred Paces, which are ill kept, many loose or shaking, and no Defence on the Sides. When my Coaches were upon this Bridge, the Cannon of the Town began to fire, and so continued all the while as I was upon the River; which was a Piece of Civility well understood; but my Horses were so unruly with that Noise, and the Clatter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the River than into the Boat. But when, with the Help of my Servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were safe as in a House, and got well away to the Town, where I landed at Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* House, and stay'd there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Visits or Ceremonies that Night.

The next Day I was visited by the *French* Ambassadors. With Monsieur *D'Avaux* pass'd little but what was common upon such Occasions: But the Marechal *D'Esstrades* and Monsieur *Colbert*, being of my particular Acquaintance in my former Ambassies at the *Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle*, pretended, in their first separate Visits, to enter with me upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon Matters that gave me Light into the whole Design of *France* intended by the Steps of this Treaty, to which they had of late shew'd so great Forwardness, at least in the forming of this Congress, and Dispatch of their Ambassadors, before those of the Allies were in any Motion, or perhaps Disposition towards it. They both told me, That they had exprest and private Orders from the King their Master, to make me particular Compliments upon the Esteem his most Christian Majesty had for my Person, and to make their Application wholly to me in the Course of this

Negotiation, tho' one of us Ministers Mediators came from residing in their own Court; but they knew very very well I had the King my Master's Confidence, as well as that of his Ministers; and that having had the Framing of this Congress from the first Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there was no other Hand but mine capable of finishing it; and therefore they presag'd me all the Glory of it: That I might reckon upon all the Facility their Master could give towards it; but that after such Successes in the War, and at the Head of so great Forces both at Land and Sea, it could not be expected he should yield to restore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other Side, they knew very well, that tho' the States were bent upon the Peace, yet the Frowardness or extravagant Demands of their Allies, would engage them as long as they could in the War, unless the Prince of *Orange* would interpose his Authority, which was so great with all the Allies, that they were sure of their consenting to whatever Terms the Prince should be resolute in proposing for the Peace: That to draw it therefore to a happy Issue, there was no Way but for his Highness first to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party should content themselves with; and afterwards, in the Course of the Treaty, to draw all Things, by Concert together, to the Scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make use of the known Temper of the States to bring it to a sudden Issue, and to make a Separate Peace, in case the unreasonable Pretences of their Allies should hinder or delay a General one: That this Part was acted by the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munster*, who was in private Concert with *France* thro' the whole Proceedings of that Treaty, tho' he went on with the Allies in the publick Transactions: That he ow'd the Greatness of his House to this Counsel, and to the Consideration and Support it had ever since receiv'd from the Crown of *France*: That by pursuing the same at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince of *Orange's* Power to do the same for himself and his Family; and that for what concern'd his own personal Interests and Advantages, their Master had given them power to assure him, he should have *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho' they had other Ways of making this Overture to the Prince, yet they had Order to do it by none but me, if I would charge my self with it: That they knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would deferr to my Opinions in what concern'd the Publick Interests of his Allies as well as his own; and that if I would espouse this Affair, besides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Christendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my self from the Bounty and Generosity of the King their Master.

This was the Sum of what was said by them both, tho' in several and private Visits; but I observ'd Monsieur *Colbert* to have been instructed with more particular Confidence, and to design it with me, even apart from both his Colleagues and mine, in the Pursuit of this Intelligence; but Monsieur *D'Estrades* valued himself chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, tho' he had several other Ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what Practices he should think fit with the States, by the Help of so many Friendships and Habitudes as I knew he had contracted in *Holland* during so long a Course of Employments there.

I answer'd, That I was oblig'd to his most Christian Majesty for a good Opinion, and to them for giving it him, not having my self at all the Honour of being known to him: That I should make no ill Use of this great Honour and Confidence, whether I should be able to make a good one or not: That for his Majesty's Dispositions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many Considerations had engag'd him to instruct us the Mediators only to promote a general Peace, and not to enter into any Paces towards any particular one, or separate, between the Parties, which such a private and previous Concert between *France* and the Prince of *Orange* would look very like; and therefore I did not see how I could enter upon it without particular Orders from the King: That besides, I would confess to them, that I did not think they would be of any great Effect should I receive such Orders; and

and that the best Service I could do them (the Ambassadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at least thought, of the Prince of *Orange*, and his Dispositions in this great Affair, that they might the better guess what Paces to expect from him: That I was sure he desir'd the Peace as much as the States could do; that the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and distracted Councils of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other Circumstances that were too well known to trouble them with. That the Prince knew very well there would be no Difficulty at all in the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that all would arise from their Allies, who had enter'd into the War only in their Defence: That their Faith and Honour were since engag'd by many Treaties concluded with them, and which hindered them from making any separate Peace: That in all those Treaties the Prince's Honour was more particularly engag'd, upon which personally the several Confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any publick Resolution or Instrument of the States. That if any Ways could be found, or Offers made towards bringing his Highness out of this War, with the Safety of his Honour, by the Satisfaction of his Allies, upon any sort of Terms, I was sure he would fall into them with all the Joy that could be; but to break from them against all Faith and Agreements, by separate Measures, I believ'd he would never be induc'd, but by the last Extremities of the War, or Necessities at home: And that for his own Personal Interests, I was confident no Advantages to be offer'd him, would ever be consider'd by his Highness, how great soever; but that two or three Towns, more or less, to the *Spaniards*, for the Strength of their Frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his Interest in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other Propositions of Advantages more than were avow'd in the Course of the Treaty, were, I believ'd, what he would take ill from any that should make them; and yet whenever I saw him next, I would tell him of all that had pass'd in this Conversation: But for the Defeference they believ'd his Highness might have for my Sentiments, I would assure them, my Opinion was, he had none for mine, or any Man's else, further than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judgment: That he had Sense enough to govern himself, and I believ'd he would always trust to it, tho' he might advise with other Men.

After these Conversations, during the Time I stay'd at *Nimeguen*, Monsieur *Colbert* made many small Attacks of this kind upon me, and sometimes contented himself only to let fall some Things in Conversation, to try if I was dispos'd to enter further upon that Subject: But the Marechal *D'Estrades* immediately began to turn his Battery another Way, which was upon the Pensioner *Fagel*, by the Intervention of a Person of *Maeffricht*, many of whose Letters the Pensioner shew'd me upon the same Occasion; and with all the Offers that could be made of Consideration and Advantage to the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*; which met with no other Reception from his Highness than what I foretold.

After the first Visits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, whom only we found at *Nimeguen*, we receiv'd a Visit from the Magistrates of the Town, who told us, they had Order from the States to remit the Government of the City to our Disposition, during the present Treaty; and to proceed no otherwise in it, than according to such Orders as they should receive from us the Mediators. We told them, It was his Majesty's Pleasure, that we should not at all intermeddle with it, but that on the contrary, we should consign into the Hands of the ordinary Justice of the Town any of our Domesticks that should be guilty of any Crime against the Peace or Government of the Place; and that Justice should be done upon them, according to their Faults; and that we should not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary Course of Justice, by the Rights and Privileges of that Character his Majesty had given us.

After this we applied our selves to propose some Regulations for the Order and Quiet of so numerous an Assembly as this was like to prove (in a Town but

but too frait, and compos'd of narrow Streets) and to the Establishment of some Compaſs of Neutral Country about it, for the Convenience and Diverſification of the Company that ſhould compoſe it. For the firſt, we gave in a Paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, with certain Articles, to which we deſir'd their Conſent; not doubting, but all others that ſhould come after, would eaſily fall into what they ſhould previously agree to upon our Deſire. They were theſe, as we gave them in *French*, the Language uſed in all Conferences, and moſt Papers, that paſſ'd in this Treaty.

1. *Que pour eviter les Inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues qui ſont ſi etroites, & entre des coines ſi incommodes, Les Ambaſſadeurs Mediateurs propoſent, De ne faire les Viſites, meſme celles de Ceremonie, qu'avec chacun Ambaſſadeur deux Pages & quatre Laquais; & un Carroſſe, a deux Chevaux; & de n'aller a aucune place de Conſerence, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un Page & deux Laquais a chaque Ambaſſadeur.*

2. *Qu'en cas de rencontre de Carroſſes dans les lieux trop etroits pour le paſſage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au-lieu de ſ'embarrasſer pour le pas, y apportera toute ſorte de facilite, & ſ'arreſtera le premier quand il ſera le premier averti que le paſſage eſt trop etroit, & ſera place en cas que de ſon coſte cela ſe trouve le plus facile.*

3. *Que les Laquais ne porteront eſpee, baton ni baguette, par les rues, ni les Pages plus que de baguette ſeulement.*

4. *Que les Ambaſſadeurs ſur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre la paix publique, renonceroient a la protection des dits domeſtiques, & les remettroient auſſi-toſt entre les mains de la Juſtice de la ville, la prians et autorifans de proceder contre eux ſelon les regles ordinaires.*

5. *Qu'en cas de quelque injulte ou querelle faite par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Ambaſſadeur ou Miniſtre Public, Les Ambaſſadeurs remettront tels domeſtiques entre les mains du Maiſtre de la Partie offenſee pour eſtre punis a ſa diſcretion.*

1. *That for avoiding the Inconveniences which may happen by the great Number of Trains in the Streets, which are ſo narrow, and Turnings ſo incommodious, the Ambaſſadors Mediators propoſe, Not to make any Viſits, even thoſe of Ceremonie, with more than two Pages and four Lackeys each Ambaſſador; and one Coach, with two Horſes; and not to go to any Place of Conſerence, or other publick Places, with more than one Page and two Lackeys to every Ambaſſador.*

2. *That when Coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to paſs by one another, every one, inſtead of contending for Precedency, ſhall mind rather to make the Paſſage eaſie to each other, and ſtop firſt if he have the firſt Notice that the Paſſage is too ſtreight, and give Place to the other, in caſe it be more eaſy on his Side.*

3. *That Lackeys ſhall not wear a Sword, nor carry a Staff or Stick in the Streets; nor Pages any more than a little Stick.*

4. *That the Ambaſſadors, upon any Crime committed againſt the publick Peace, by any of their Domeſticks, ſhall renounce all Protection of the ſaid Domeſticks, and deliver them up into the Hands of the Magiſtrates of the City; deſtring and authorizing them to proceed againſt them according to their ordinary Rules.*

5. *That in caſe any Inſult or Quarrel be made by the Domeſticks of one Ambaſſador, againſt thoſe of another Ambaſſador or publick Miniſter, the Ambaſſador ſhall deliver up ſuch their Domeſticks into the Hands of the Maſter of the Party offended, to be puniſh'd at his Diſcretion.*

The *French* Ambaſſadors receiv'd this Paper with much Approbation and Compliment to us, upon the Deſign and Conception of it, and ſaid they were ready to give their full Conſent to every Part of it, excepting only the ſecond Article; but upon this they could not, without firſt acquainting their Maſter, from whom they had Orders to maintain, upon all Occaſions, the

Rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by Treaty; so that they could not stop or make way for the Ministers of that Crown, though they would do it for those of *Brandenburg*. We told them, we doubted not but the Emperor's Ambassadors would be content to fall into the General Rule for so good an End; and that for our selves the Mediators (who were out of all Competition by that Quality) we resolv'd to practise it with the rest, and give the Example.

The *French* Ambassadors seem'd satisfied, in their own Opinions; but however, desir'd they might first communicate it to their Court. The *Dutch* Ambassadors wholly approv'd it, and resolv'd to conform their Practice accordingly, unless they found other Ambassadors should decline it. However, about a Fortnight after, the *French* Ambassadors, upon Dispatches from their Court, began to change their Language; and told us, that for the first Article, Monsieur *De Pomponne* thought it not necessary to restrain the Numbers of Ambassadors Trains, since they were well provided against Disorders by the following Articles: That besides, this would in a manner level the Ambassadors of the greatest Kings with the Ministers of smaller Princes, at least in the Eyes of the *menu Peuple* [*the Vulgar*] who measure the Dignity of Persons by the Train that attend them. For the second Article, they consented to it, with an Apostyle of their own upon it, providing, that it should not prejudice the Rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into consequence in any other Place or Time: We found by these Answers, that the *French* Ambassadors had less Vanity than their Court, and wonder'd to find it so avow'd, and to descend to Circumstances so low and so minute: For tho' Vanity be a Weakness, or a Fault, that the fewest Men are without; yet it is that of all others that the fewest will own; and few private Men, tho' perhaps affected with the Gazes and Opinion of the Rabble that fill the Streets as they pass, will yet pretend or confess to consider them. However, we thought best to let it pass, and the rather, because we knew it was no more the Sense of the *French* Ambassadors than ours; for which they had one more particular Reason, which was the Noise that ran of the magnificent Preparations and Equipage design'd by the Marquess *De Balbases* and Count *Antoine* towards their Appearance in this Congress; the first whereof was one of the richest Subjects of *Spain*, Heir and Descendent of the Famous *Spinola*; and the other had great Revenues from the Duke of *Oldenburg* (being his Natural Son) and was chosen by *Denmark* on Purpose to appear with Lustre in this Embassy: And the *French* Ambassadors apprehended, either being outshined by these at their Arrival, or being engag'd in greater Expences upon the Vye than they expected from their Court; which usually leaves those kinds of Services to future Rewards, by succeeding Employments and Advances, rather than present Supplies. When we receiv'd this Answer from them, we only said Monsieur *Pomponne's* reasoning from the *menu Peuple* [*the Vulgar*] seem'd a little below the Greatness of his Master, or the Stile of a Great Minister; but that we should acquaint the *Dutch* Ambassadors with it, that they might be at Liberty to retract the Consent they had already given, since they, the *French*, seem'd to have done so; but that, for our selves, we would observe at least the Rules we had propos'd to others, and let them follow either the Rules or Examples as they pleas'd. The *French* would by no Means allow to have reas'd them, and said, they had only told us Monsieur *Pomponne's* Reflections upon them; but that they could not absolutely consent till they had concerted with their Allies, the *Swedish* Ambassadors, whose Arrival they daily expected. However, tho' they were by these wholly approv'd, yet the *French* Ambassadors, during the Assembly, made all their first Visits with the three several Ambassadors Coaches and six Horses, and the whole Number of their Train; which sometimes reach'd further than the Space between their Houses, and of the Ministers where the Visit was paid. But we continu'd to make ours only with two Horses, and the Number of Servants we had propos'd; and the rest of the Rules were observ'd by all with so good Effect, that for

one whole Year I resided there together, there never happen'd any Disorder or Complaint from so numerous Trains.

For the Neutral Country, we at first propos'd by Concert with the *French* Ambassadors, to extend it about three Leagues, so as to take in the Town of *Cleves*, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleasantest Seats of *Germany*; but upon transmitting this Proposal to the *French* Court, a Resolution came back to their Ambassadors to admit only two Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and that to continue subject to Contribution, and to Execution upon Failure of that being paid, as was usual to the Garrison of *Maestricht*. This we thought unpracticable, with the Safety of the Ambassadors or their Retinues, that should make use of a Neutrality subject to Inroads of arm'd Troops upon Pretence of Contribution, and admitted of many Disputes. The *French* Ambassadors had Orders from their Court, to go out of Town upon any Occasion of Airing and Entertainment; the *Dutch* desir'd us to let the *French* know, the States could not be answerable for their doing it safely, till a Neutral Country were establish'd without being liable to Contribution. After some Time, rather than continue Prisoners to the Town, or venture the Inconvenience and Danger of Parties ranging within the Bounds of a Neutral Country, a Compass was agreed, about two *English* Miles from the Town; and mark'd out with several great Posts erected to that Purpose, within which all Persons should have Liberty, and no Soldier should be suffered to come in upon any Pretext whatsoever.

Several Pretensions was raised at the Opening of this Congress (which was reckon'd from the Time of two Mediators Arrival upon the Place) about the Right of several Princes to send Ambassadors, and many Disputes arose upon them. It had been agreed at the Treaty of *Munster*, that every Elector should be allow'd to send a Minister thither, with the Character of Ambassador; but if they sent more than one in Commission, that the First only should be treated with Excellence, and other Ceremonies of Ambassadors. This Rule was agreed to follow at *Nimeguen*: And the Elector of *Brandenburg* sent two Ambassadors thither; but we treated the first only with the usual Ceremonies, and left the other to his Pretences and Complaints. The *French* follow'd our Example; and the other Ambassadors did some one, some the other, according as their Interests engag'd them to comply with that Elector in this Pretence.

Upon Admission of the Electors to send Ambassadors to the Congress, the same Pretence was soon after rais'd by the Dukes of *Lorraine*, *Neuburg* and *Lunenburg*: Much Altercation was us'd upon this Subject; but the Precedents alledg'd, not being found without Dispute, the Thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arrived after some Time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed neither to give the first Visit, nor the Hand in our Houses, to any Character under that of Ambassador; nor to other Persons of Quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or General Officers of Armies.

There was no Dispute about the Rank with the Mediators, the *French* having first yielded it by Order of their Court, till the *Imperialists* came; who neither yielded nor refus'd it, but seem'd desirous to have that Mark of Distinction allow'd the Emperor's Ambassadors and those of all other Crown'd Heads. We held on our Pretence of it from these, as well as the rest; but kept it from coming to any Decision till the very signing of the Treaty; finding the Emperor not inclin'd to yield it, and knowing that if it were refus'd there, the Admission granted by the rest might come to be retract'd upon that Example.

The other Ambassadors were left to their usual Pretences: The *French*, that all should yield to them; and the rest, of none yielding to one another; in which the *Suedes* carried the Point, even with their Allies the *French*, as nicely and positively as any others.

The *Suedes* arriv'd about the middle of *August*, sent first to us, and then to the *French*, to notify their Arrival. This happen'd late in the Evening; so we deferred our Compliments and Desires of an Hour till next Morning.

The

The *French* made theirs the same Night to Monsieur *Oxenstiern*, the first in Commission; who gave them an Hour the next Morning; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that Time, they gave an Hour in the Afternoon. The Visits were made accordingly: But upon our insisting that the first Visit ought to be return'd to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first should be received; the *Swedish* Ambassadors, after some Time to consider it, determin'd the Point, and made us the first Visit, tho' the *French* had first made it to them. And this was observ'd by the Ambassadors that afterwards arriv'd during my Residence there.

I remember no other Points of the Ceremonial that seem to have been establish'd by the Course of this Assembly; unless it was one particular to our selves, who declared that we would dine with no Ambassador till the Peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the Trouble and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindness of Excuses, at one Time, or to some Person, more than another; but our own Tables were open, each of us three Days in the Week, Two Post-days being reserved to our selves for Business, and one for Diversion or Exercise abroad; and several of the Ambassadors, especially the *French*, came to our Tables, notwithstanding this Resolution, which they seem'd to take a little to Heart. But to make amends, we divided the Nights by Turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambassadors Houses, and where the Evenings were spent in Dancing or Play, or careles and easy Suppers or Collations; in these Entertainments, as I seldom fail'd of making a Part, and my Colleague never had any; so it gave Occasion for a good Saying that pass'd upon it, *Que la Mediation estoit toujours en pied pour faire sa fonction* [That the Mediation was always in a Posture to go on with its Business:] For I us'd to go to bed, and rise late; while my Colleague was a-Bed by Eight, and up by Four: And to say truth, Two more different Men were never join'd in one Commission, nor agreed better in it.

For Business, there was very little for many Months after the Congress began, till the Arrival of the *Imperial* Ministers; only the *French* Ambassadors, soon after my coming, demanding an Audience, came to make us the Offer of exhibiting their *Plein-Pouvoirs* [Full Powers] into our Hands, not doubting, as they said, of the *Dutch* being ready to do the same. But upon our acquainting the *Dutch* Ambassadors with this Overture, they told us, That it was in the Choice of the *French* Ambassadors to do it when they pleas'd; but they did not conceive the hastening of it would gain any Time, since they had no Orders to make that Pace without a previous Concert with their Allies; and consequently, tho' the *French* should do it, yet they would, at present, neither exhibit their own, nor make any Reflections (as might be necessary) upon those of the *French*. From this Answer, the *French* took Occasion to press the *Dutch* extremely upon making Instances to all their Allies to hasten to the Treaty, or else to declare that they would enter into Affair with them; and not without some Intimation of their Master's being resolv'd to recall them, in case this was refus'd or much longer delay'd. The *Dutch* excus'd the Retardments given to the Treaty so long, by the many Difficulties rais'd by the *French* Court upon Occasion of the Passports, which were not yet dispatch'd to some of their new Allies; but however promis'd to acquaint the States with these Instances, and endeavour to dispose them to fix some Time, by which they would order their Ambassadors to enter into Matter, unless the Ministers of the Allies were arriv'd at *Nimeguen*.

In these, and several other Points, interceding between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, we carried the Proposals and Answers from one to the other, at their Houses, by Word of Mouth; which continued till the Assembly was compleated, and a Place of Conference, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouse of *Nimeguen*; where, after many Difficulties between the two Confederacies, and many more between the Parties that compos'd each of them, Two Chambers were at length agreed for the Parties,

ties, and One for the Mediators, by which our Pains was lessen'd, but without other Advantage. Nor was there any Point that gave us more Trouble than the adjusting this among the Parties; for the *French* were from the very first most declaredly averfe from treating, either by Writings, or from agreeing to a Place of publick Conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as the War; whereas their Design was to break that Union here, which they could not in the Field; and find some Way or other of entering into separate Measures for a Peace with some of the Parties engag'd. In the mean time the Allies found, or took, as many Occasions as they could of delaying the Dispatch of their Ministers to the Congress, while they had Hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and that they believ'd might be done till this Campaign should end; from the Events whereof the several Princes might the better take their Measures for the Conditions of a Peace that should be propos'd or insisted on in this Treaty. And this Disposition of theirs was so well pursu'd, that no other Ambassadors arriv'd at *Nimeguen* till *November*; tho' we, and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been so long upon the Place, and the *Suedes* soon after us.

In the mean time the Successes of the Campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the Motions of the Treaty, were various as to the Gross of the War; but ran as high to the Advantage of the *French*, as to the Disadvantage of the *Swedish* Affairs. By Force of great Treasures, and the great Order in disposing them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, so as to enable them to take the Field as they pleas'd in the Spring, without fearing the Weather for their Foot, or expecting Grass for their Horse. On t'other Side, the *Spaniards* Want of Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders* neither capable to act by themselves upon any sudden Attempt, nor to supply with Provisions in their March either *Dutch* or *Germans* that should come to their Relief. Their Towns were ill fortify'd, and worse defended; so that the King of *France* marching in the Head of a brave and numerous Army, took *Conde* in Four Days in the Month of *April* this Year 1676, before any of the Confederates were in the Field; and in *May* sent to the Duke of *Orleans* to besiege *Bouchain* with some Part of his Troops, being a small, tho' strong Place, and very considerable for its Situation to the Defence of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*. The King with the Strength of his Army, posted himself so advantageously, as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without Disadvantage.

The Prince struggled through all the Difficulties from the Season, or Want of Provisions and Magazines in *Flanders*, and marched with his Army in sight of the *French* King by the Middle of *May*. The Armies continued some Days facing one another, and several times drawing out in Order to a Battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without Necessity or Advantage, so decisive an Action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themselves to carry their Point by hindering the Relief of *Bouchain*, which must fall without it; while the Prince of *Orange* was with-held by the *Spaniards* from pursuing his, which was to give a Battle that the *Spaniards* knew could not be lost without the Loss of *Flanders*. The Armies continued facing one another till *Bouchain* was surrendered the eighth Day of the Siege. The Prince returned to refresh his Army, harraisd with so hasty a March upon so sudden Preparations; and the King of *France* return'd home, leaving his Army under the Marshal *De Schomberg*, to attend the Motions of the Enemies. The Prince fell into Concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the *Lower Rhine* for the Siege of *Maestricht*; which, tho' the strongest of the *Dutch* Frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortify'd by the *French* since they possess'd it with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Garrison of eight thousand chosen Men, under *Calvo*, a resolute *Catalonian*, who commanded there under the Marshal *D'Estyades* Governour of the Place, but then at *Nimeguen*.

About the End of *July* the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with such Bravery, so many and desperate, Assaults, for about three Weeks; that as Wagers were continually offer'd, with Odds, at *Nimeguen*, that it would be taken within such or such a Time, so we did not observe the Marshal *D'Estrades* was willing to take them, or seem'd at all confident it would be so well defended. The Prince, or the *Rhingrave* (who was design'd for Governour of the Town, as his Father had been) was ever in the Head of the Attacks; and made great Use, as well as Proof of the desperate Courage of the *English* Troops, upon all those Occasions: Many of the Outworks were taken, with great Slaughter on both Sides; but were supplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Industry of a resolute Captain, and brave Soldiers, within. About the Middle of *August*, the Prince, exposing himself upon all Occasions, receiv'd a Musket-shot in his Arm; at which perceiving those about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head, to shew the Wound was but in the Flesh, and the Bone safe; at which they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Paces of the Siege. But a cruel Sickness falling into his Army, weaken'd it more than all the Assaults they had given the Town. The *Germans* came not up with the Supplies they had promis'd, and upon which Assurance the Siege was undertaken; and the *Rhingrave*, who, next the Prince, was the Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded soon after, was forc'd to leave the Camp for a Castle in the Neighbourhood, where he died: By all which the Army grew disheartened, and the Siege faint. In the mean time Monsieur *De Schonberg*, who trusted to a vigorous Defence at *Maastricht*, had besieg'd and taken *Aire*; and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by the Accidents of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spanish* Low-Countries, to the Relief of *Maastricht*; upon whose Approach, and the Resolutions of a Council of War in the Prince's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* or *Spanish* Provinces. And from this time the Prince of *Orange* began to despair of any Success in the War, after such Tryals and Experience of such Weakness in the *Spanish* Forces and Conduct, and Uncertainty in the *German* Councils or Resolutions.

However, the *Imperial* Army took *Philipsburg* in the End of *September* this Year 1676; which was yielded for want of Provisions, and as much against common Opinion and Expectation, as the contrary Event in the Siege of *Maastricht*.

The Affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* prosper'd all this while against *Sweden*, with Advantage in most of the Sieges and Encounters that pass'd this Summer and the first Part of the Winter following, so that the *Svedes* seem'd to be losing apace all they had so long possess'd in *Germany*: But the *Imperial* Forces, tho' join'd by those of the several Princes upon the *Upper Rhine*, had made no Progress in their design'd Conquests there, and were forc'd to seek their old Quarters on the *German* Side of the *Rhine* upon the Approach of the *French*, which was a true and undisputed Decision of the small Success of this Campaign.

After it was ended, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, or at least their Eyes, more towards the Motions of the Treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of *Orange* writ to me, desir'd to see me for a Day or two at *Soesdyck* near *Amersfort*, about a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*. He complain'd much, and with too much Reason, of the Conduct of his Allies; the Weakness, or rather Usefulness of the *Spanish* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay or Order; the *Imperial* Armies acting without Design upon the *Rhine*, or with Dependence upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of the Ministers made such Distraction, and Counter-paces of their Generals, that the Campaign had pass'd with small Effect, after the Promise of vigorously invading either *Lorraine* or *France*: How the Dukes of *Lunenburg* had fail'd of sending their Troops to *Maastricht*; which,

with the Sickness of the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual: So that he began to despair of any good Issue of the War; and wou'd be glad to hear I hop'd for a Better of the Peace, upon our Scene at *Nimeguen*, after the Paces and Progress whereof he made particular Enquiries. I told him how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowness of his Allies dispatching their Ministers thither; how little Success could be expected from the Pretensions of the Parties when they should meet; especially *France* pretending to keep all they had got by the War, and *Spain* to recover all they had lost; how his Majesty seem'd of the Mind to concern himself no further than the Paces of a Mediator, our Orders being only to convey the Mind or Proposals of the Parties from one to another, and even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to his Majesty's Determination; so that my Opinion was, That it must be the War alone that must make the Peace, and that I suppos'd it would do at one time or other, by the Weakness and Weariness of one of the Parties.

The Prince seem'd of my Mind, and said, The Events of the War would depend upon the Conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next Campaign; for without some great Successes, he did not believe the States would be induc'd to continue it longer. I told the Prince the Discourses Monsieur *Colbert* had entertain'd me with upon my Arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which his Highness was chiefly concern'd. Upon which he reply'd coldly, He had heard enough of the same Kind another Way, which Monsieur *D'Estrades* had found out to Pensioner *Fagel*; but that they knew him little that made him such Overtures; and for his own Interests or Advantages, let them find a Way of saving his Honour, by satisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his Concerns should retard the Peace an Hour.

After my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found the *French* making all the Advances they could towards the Progress of the Treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earnest; for being in a Posture to insist upon their present Possessions, and having made a great Hand of this last Campaign, they were willing, like Gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless oblig'd to play on by those that had lost. The *Swedes* were more in haste and in earnest for the Peace than any, hoping no Resource for their Losses in *Germany* by the War. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the Peace, finding *France* would make no Difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their Embassaries, especially at *Amsterdam*, such a Reglement of Commerce as they could desire, the Restitution of *Maastricht*, and of all Satisfaction the Prince of *Orange* could pretend upon his Losses, or their Seizures, in the War. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were as violent against the Peace, having swallow'd up in their Hopes all that *Sweden* had possess'd in *Germany*: And tho' the Emperor seem'd to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburg*, besides the Restitution of *Lorraine*, and the Towns of *Alsace*, to the Posture they were left in by the *Munster* Treaty; yet they were so fast linked, both with their *German* Allies and with *Spain*, that they resolv'd to make no Paces in the Treaty but by common Consent: And *Spain*, tho' sensible of the Condition their Affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as in *Sicily*; yet upon a Design then hatching at *Madrid*, for Removal of the Queen Regent and her Ministry, to introduce *Don John* to head the Affairs of their Government, had conceived great Hopes to recover those desperate Infirmities that their inveterate Disorders both in Counsels and Conduct, especially in their Finances, had for so long time occasion'd. Besides, they had Confidences still given them from their Ministers in *England*, that his Majesty would not, after all, be contented to see *Flanders* lost, or wou'd be forc'd into the War by the Humour of his Parliament. For these Reasons the Allies seem'd to make no Haste at all to the Congress, and some of them hardly to look that Way; and none of the Parties were yet arriv'd, besides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But about the End of *September*, the *French* Ambassadors gave us Notice, That their Master having made so many Advances towards Peace, and being so ill seconded by the Proceedings of the Confederates, and their Slowness in coming

coming to the Treaty, was resolv'd to recall his Ambassadors, unless those of the chief Confederates should repair to *Nimeguen* within the Space of one Month.

This we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and they to the States; who, after some Conferences with the Ministers of their Allies, came to a Resolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their Confederates should not repair to *Nimeguen* by the first of *November*; which was afterwards, upon some Disputes, declar'd to be meant Old Stile, being that of the Place where the Congress was held.

The Noise of this Resolution of the States was more, among the Allies, than the Danger; since there were Ways enough to raise Difficulties, and spin out Time, after the Ambassadors should arrive, as well as before; but yet it had so much Effect, that the several Confederates did upon it begin to hasten away one or other of their intended Ambassadors towards *Nimeguen* (as Count *Kinski* from *Vienna*, *Don Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then resided as *Spanish* Envoy;) but not the Persons principally intrusted, or at the Head of their Ambassies, nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from *Denmark* Monsieur *Heug*, without any News of Count *Antoine's* Preparation, who was appointed chief of that Ambassy; any more than of the Bishop of *Gurck*, or Marquess *De Balbaces*, the chiefest of those designed from the Emperor and *Spain*.

In the mean time the *Dutch* began to lay Load upon their Allies, for their Backwardness, so declar'd, in making any Paces towards the Treaty; to cavil upon the Obligations they were under of so many great Subsidies to so many Princes their Allies, for carrying on a War which the Allies pursued for their own separate Interests or Ambition, though enter'd into perhaps at first for Defence of *Holland*, with whose Safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Ministers, both at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, took the Liberty to say publicly, and upon several Occasions, and in several Companies, that their Masters would pay no Subsidies to their Allies the next Campaign, unless, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and sincere Proceedings in the Treaty, put the *French* in the Wrong, as their Expression was.

The *Suedes* had, as well as the *French*, offer'd to deliver us their Powers; but this was deferred by the *Dutch* to the Arrival of their Allies, till after the first of *November* was elapsed. The *French* began to press them upon it, in Consequence of the States Resolution; and after some little Demurs, the *Dutch* Ambassadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by Consent, not without Difficulty, we agreed, that on the 21st of *November* the several Powers should be brought to us the Mediators, by the several Ambassadors, at such Hours as they should severally take from us; should be deposited in our Hands; and that we should afterwards communicate the Originals mutually to the several Ambassadors at their Houses, and leave Copies with them, attested by us the Mediators.

This was done accordingly; and the Morning after, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us an Account of several Exceptions they were forc'd to make against several Expressions in the *French* and *Swedish* Prefates to their Powers, which they said were fitter for *Manifestoes* than for *Powers of a Treaty*, especially those of justifying the War and maintaining the Treaty of *Westphalia*. But the greatest Stress they laid, was upon a Clause in the *French* Powers, mentioning the Pope's Mediation; which they said their Masters could never consent to now, no more than they had at *Munster*. To say Truth, tho' the gaining of Time for the Allies coming might have some part in these Exceptions of the *Dutch*, yet they were fram'd with great Art; and shew'd the great Quickness and Sharpness of Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Apprehension, as well as his Skill and Experience in these kind of Affairs; being, I think, without dispute, the most practis'd and the ablest Ambassador, of any I have ever met in the Course of my Employments.

The *Dutch* Exceptions were return'd, by others from the *French* and *Suedes*, against their Powers; but with Offer from both of entering into the Treaty, while

while these Matters should be adjusting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided the *French* would oblige themselves to procure new Powers, free from the Exceptions rais'd against them, as the *Dutch* offer'd to do. After much Debate, they all agreed in desiring us the Mediators to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties: We did it, and it was approv'd by them all; with some Reserve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to mention any Mediation, since that of the Pope's was left out; and some little Tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all Mention of his Majesty's Mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excus'd our selves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congress having proceeded from his Majesty's Mediation, without any Intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very Mention of it in the Powers declar'd against by several of them. And by Orders we receiv'd from Court upon occasion of this Dispute, we declared to all the Parties, that tho' his Majesty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act jointly with that of the Pope; nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of his that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*.

In *November* arriv'd Monsieur *Heug*, one of the *Danish* Ambassadors; Monsieur *Somnitz* and *Blaspyl*, the two *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; Lord *Berkley* from *Paris*; and soon after, *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but the last continu'd incognito till the arrival of Count *Kinkski*, who, whether he had taken the Gout, or the Gout had taken him, continu'd upon that Pretence at *Coloque* till the new Year was begun.

The *Spanish* Ambassador coming upon Visits to my Wife, and meeting me there, found that Way of entering into the present Business of the Scene, as much as if he had been declar'd upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of desiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers; or that his Majesty, in Consideration of the Peace, would suffer the Mention of his to be left out: But the *Dane*, on t'other Side, agreed with the *Dutch*, in refusing to admit any Power with Mention of the Pope's Mediation. There arose likewise another Difficulty, from a seeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies: And in these Disputes or Difficulties the Year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the Detail, or so much as Mention, of the many Incidents that fell into the Course of this Treaty upon Punctilio's of Visits or Ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many Impertinencies that are grown this last Age into the Character of Ambassadors; having been rais'd and cultivated by Men, who wanting other Talents to value themselves upon in those Employments, endeavour'd to do it by Exactness or Niceties in the Forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this Treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the Original Papers of our Ambassy, which are in two or three several Hands: Whereas I intend chiefly to declare the Course of this great Affair, by the more material Circumstances, and from true Springs of those Events that succeeded, rather than trouble my self with the Forms that serv'd to amuse so long this Assembly at *Nimeguen*.

I shall only make two Observations upon the Ceremonial; the first is, upon the Emperor's Conduct towards the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; allowing his Ministers to treat them both like Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads, though we gave it only to the first of the Ambassy upon the Precedent of the *Munster* Treaty, and were follow'd in it by the *French* and *Swedes* in the whole Course of this Treaty at *Nimeguen*. This Pace of the Emperor seem'd not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his Compliance with so considerable an Ally, as upon a Design to assist another Pretension of his own; which is, not only a Difference of Place, but also of Rank, from all other Crown'd Heads

of *Christendom*: Whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the Place, yet they do not allow him a Difference of Rank. But if the Emperor could by his Example prevail with other Kings to treat the Electors like Crown'd Heads, it would fortifie the Pretensions of the Emperor to a Difference of Rank; since there is a great one, and out of all contest, between him and the Electors.

My second Remark is, That among all the Punctilios between the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, none seem'd to me to carry them to such Heights as the *Suedes* and the *Danes*. The first standing as stiff upon all Points of not seeming to yield in the least to the *French* Ambassadors, tho' their Allies, and from a Crown not only of so mighty Power, but from whom alone they expected the restoring of their broken State in *Germany*: And the *Danish* Ambassador, upon the *French* Powers being exhibited in *French*, said he would give his in *Danish*, unless they would do it in *Latin*, as a common Language; alledging he knew no Difference between Crown'd Heads; that the *Danish* Kings had been as great as the *French* are now, and in their present Dominions are as absolute. Upon all which Monsieur *Van Beverning* could not forbear to reflect, and say to us, That in his Remembrance there was no sort of Competition made by those two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of *Christendom*; That the Treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Ministers made no Difficulty of signing any Instruments after the Ministers of the three great Crowns. 'Tis, I think, out of question, that the Pretension of Parity among the Crown'd Heads, was first made in the North by *Gustavus*, when he told Monsieur *Grammont* the *French* Ambassador in *Sweden* upon this Occasion, That for his part he knew no Distinction among Crown'd Heads, but what was made by their Virtue; and this Pretence was not disputed with him, in respect to the Greatness of his Qualities, as well as of his Attempts and Successes; and his Example was follow'd by the Kings of *Denmark*, and has since left Place for a Thing contested among them all. 'Tis true, the *French* have claim'd the Precedence next to the Emperor, with more Noise and Haughtiness than the rest, but have been yielded to by none except the *Spaniards*, upon the Fear of a War they were not able to deal with; nor have they since been willing to own the Weakness of that Concession, but have chosen to fall into what Measures they could of encouraging and establishing the Pretence of Parity among Crown'd Heads. The most remarkable Instance of this happen'd at *Nimeguen*; where upon a publick Meeting of the Allies, the Dispute arising between *Spain* and *Denmark* for the Place at Table, *Don Pedro* consented to have it taken by turns, and the first to be divided by lot. The *French* Ambassadors made their Pretence of Preference next the Mediators at *Nimeguen*, in the first Return of their Visits from Ambassadors arriving; but 'twas neither yielded to by *Swede* or *Dane*, nor practis'd by the Emperor's Ambassadors, who made their first Visit to the Mediators, and the next without Distinction to the first that had visited them. The Emperor took Advantage of the *French*, as well as the rest, having yielded to the Mediators; and during this Treaty made a Scruple, tho' not a Refusal, of doing it; by which he distinguish'd himself from the other Crown'd Heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from Decision with them; but it once happen'd, that upon a Meeting with the Allies at the *Dane's* House, Count *Kinski* was there before I and Sir *Lionel* came into the Room, where Chairs were set for all the Ambassadors. After the common Salutations, I went strait up to the Chair that was first in Rank, and stood before it, to sit down when the rest were ready; but my Colleague, either losing his Time by being engag'd in longer Civilities, or by a Desire not to be engag'd in Contests, gave room to Count *Kinski* (a very brisk Man) to come and stand before the Chair that was next me, and consequently between me and my Colleague: When I saw this, and consider'd, that tho' the Place was given me by the Imperialists, yet it was not given to the King's Embassy; I chose not to sit down; but falling into the Conference that was intended, I stood all the while as if I did it carelessly, and so left the Matter undecided.

The

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter End of *December*, writ very earnestly to me, to make a Step for some few Days to the *Hague*, knowing I had leave from His Majesty to do it when I thought fit. And finding all Things without present Motion at *Nimeguen*, I went thither, and arriv'd the last Day of the Year. The first of the next, being 1677, I attended his Highness: We fell into large Discourses of the Progress of the Treaty, the Coldness of the Parties, the affected Delays of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, the declar'd Aversion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburgh*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Paces of this Congress. Upon all which the Prince ask'd, if I had heard any more of his Majesty's Mind upon the Peace, since I had been last with him? I told him what I remember'd of his last Letter to me upon that Subject; which was, That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to me, that he had then no mind to Peace; that he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his Interest to have it: That he had try'd to know the Mind of *France* upon it; but if they would not open themselves further on one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing only his Part of Mediator, and in the common Forms. The Prince said, This look'd very cold, since his Majesty was alone able to make the Peace, and knew well enough what it could come to by the Forms of the Congress. That for his own part, he desir'd it, and had a great deal of Reason; both because his Majesty seem'd to do so, and to think it his own Interest as well as the Prince's; and because the States not only thought it their Interest, but absolutely necessary for them. That he would not say this to any but to the King by me; because if *France* should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms: That both *Spain* and the Emperor had less Mind to it now, than they had at the End of the last Campaign; the new Ministers being less inclin'd to it than the old had been; so that there was not one of the Allies that had any mind to it, besides the States. That for his own part, he should be always in the same mind with them, and therefore very much desir'd it; but did not know which way to go about it, at least so as to compass it before the next Campaign. And if that once began, they should be all at Sea again, and should be forced to go just as the Wind should drive them: That if his Majesty had a Mind to make it, and would let him know freely the Conditions upon which either he desir'd or believ'd it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincerity in the World; so it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Interests of his Country.

All this he desir'd me to write directly to his Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only Leave, but Command to do, upon any Occasion that I thought deserved it.

Two Days after, I saw the Pensioner *Fagel* upon some common Affairs incident to my Embassy at the *Hague*, which had been left in the Hands of the Secretary of that Embassy. When these Discourses were past, he ask'd me if I had brought them Peace from *Nimeguen*? I reply'd, That since he was so ignorant of what had pass'd there, I would tell him, That they had carried their Matters there *En habiles gens* [Like able Men:] That to bring their Allies to the Congress, they had pretended to treat by the First of *November*, whether they came or not: That after that Day pass'd, they had found Fault with the Powers exhibited, had offer'd at new, made the Mediators course from one to another, spun out two Month's Time in these Paces, and thereby were gotten in Sight both of *Spanish* and *Imperial* Ministers, which I suppos'd was the Point they always intended, and afterwards to keep Pace with them. The Pensioner answer'd me, with something in his Face both serious and sad, That either I did not know them, and the Course of their Affairs since I left the *Hague*, or else I would not seem to know them: That they not only desir'd the Peace from their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them: That they would certainly have entered into

the Treaty at the Time, if the *French* had either exhibited Powers in a Form to be at all admitted, or would have oblig'd themselves to procure new ones; nay, That they would not insist upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretensions, nor could he answer that they would not make a Separate one. I said, That was a Matter of such moment, as I was sure they would think of it another Year before they did it. With this he drew up his Chair closer to me, and began a Discourse with more Heat and Earnestness than agreed well with the Posture of Health he was in; saying, first, That they had thought enough of it already; and with thinking much, had begun to find it was without Remedy: That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entering into the War to save their Country, and thereby to save *Flanders* too; but they had made them no ill Return, by continuing it now three Years only for the Interests of *Spain*, since there remain'd nothing of Consequence between *France* and them: That they had further engag'd themselves to carry it on this following Year, and so would have done with the Forces they did the last, if their Allies had perform'd the Parts they had likewise engag'd; but for *Spain*, they took no Care, but to let them see they were resolv'd to perish: That they had sent their Fleet home from *Sicily*, without the Payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their Return: That not a Penny could be got of a great Sum they ow'd them for Carriages and Provisions the last Summer, and which was design'd for Magazines against next Year in *Flanders*, without which their Armies could not march in that Country, where they were sure to find none of the *Spaniards* providing: That they had represented to *Spain* the Necessity but of keeping so many Forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their Towns while the Prince should take the Field with the Army of the State, and hinder or divert any great Sieges there; but not a Word of Answer: That they had then desir'd them to receive so many of the Troops of the *German Princes*, their Allies, as might defend their most important Places; but instead of this, they drove them out of their Country: That for the Emperor, they had always told him, That unless his Army would march into *France*, or at least force them to a Battle by such Forces as might draw great Detachments of the *French* out of *Flanders*, that Country would not be sav'd the last Summer, or at least not the next, unless his Army took up their Quarters this Winter in *Alsace*, or on that Side of the *Rhine*: But at *Vienna* they consider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*; and because the Imperial Officers could better find their private Account by Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in a Country harass'd like *Alsace*, their Armies must repass the *Rhine* this Winter, and thereby lose all the Advantages of the last Campaign, and Hopes of the next: That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, two or three strong Frontiers would be lost there next Spring, before the Imperialists could take the Field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons*, were taken, all the rest would revolt, considering the Miseries they had already suffer'd, and must by a longer War: That the Prince would not be able to prevent it, or be soon enough in the Field to march, for Want of Provisions in *Flanders*, the Country growing desolate by the unsettled Contributions; or at least, not with such an Army as to venture a Battle, or raise a Siege, while the *Spanish* Troops were so weak, and the *French* would be so strong, at a Time when they had no Enemy to divert them upon the *Rhine*: That the Prince's Friends could not suffer him to go into the Field, only to see Towns lost under his Nose, and perhaps all *Flanders*, while he was expected to defend it; and at the same time was render'd incapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards*, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his Enemies abroad, and Ill-willers at home, that would be glad of the Occasion. In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either by restoring *Maastricht*, a Reglement of Commerce, or any Advantages to the House of *Orange*; and as to this last, whatever the Prince himself would demand: That to this Purpose they had every Week pressing Letters from Monsieur *D'Estrades* to

make the Separate Peace; and tho' he should fall into it with the greatest Regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done, and did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the same Mind: That he did not talk with me as an Ambassador, but a Friend, whose Opinion he esteem'd and desir'd: That he told me freely *Leur Fort & leur Foible* [*Their Strength and their Weakness*;] and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do upon all these Circumstances, *Et dans l'Accablement de leur Estat par une si longue Guerre* [*And in the Distress of their State by so long a War.*] I returned his Compliment, but excus'd my self from giving my Opinion to a Person so well able to take Measures that were the fittest for the States Conduct or his own; but desired to know what he reckon'd would become of *Flanders* after the *Dutch* had made their Separate Peace, because the Fate of that Country was that wherein the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd as well as they. He answer'd it wou'd be lost in one Summer, or in two, but more probably in one: That he believ'd *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be lost in one Summer: That after their Loss, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting *Antwerp* and *Ostend*, for which they might perhaps take some Measures with *France*, as I knew the *French* had offer'd Monsieur *De Wit* upon their first Invasion in 1667. I ask'd him how he reckon'd this State was to live with *France* after the Loss of *Flanders*? And if he thought it could be otherwise than at Discretion? He desir'd me to believe, 'That if they could hope to save *Flanders* by the War, they would not think of a Separate Peace; but if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their Country and dishonour the Prince: That after *Flanders* was lost, they must live so with *France*, as would make them find it their Interest rather to preserve their State than to destroy it: That it was not to be chosen, but to be swallowed like a desperate Remedy: That he had hop'd for some Resource from better Conduct in the *Spanish* Affairs; or that some great Impression of the *German* Armies upon that Side of *France*, might have brought the Peace to some reasonable Terms: That for his own part he had ever believ'd, that *England* it self would cry Halt, at one Step or other that *France* was making; and that if we would be content to see half *Flanders* lost, yet we would not all; nor *Sicily* neither, for the Interest of our Trade in the *Mediterranean*: That the King had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years past, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he should think fit, of Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbours as well as himself: That all Men knew, *France* was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms his Majesty resolv'd on, or to venture a War with *England* in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies: That the least Shew of it, if at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the Peace: That they had long represented all this in *England* by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and offer'd his Majesty to be the Arbitrer of it, and to fall into the Terms he should prescribe; but not a Word in Answer, and all receiv'd with such a Coldness as never was, though other People thought we had Reason to be a little more concern'd: That this put him more upon thinking a Separate Peace necessary, than all the rest: That he confess'd, *Cuncta prius tentanda* [*All Means were first to be tried*] till he found at last 'twas *immedicabile Vuluus* [*an incurable Wound*.] That for their living with *France* after *Flanders* was lost, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but after that, the Aims of *France* would be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us, than them: That it could not be the Interest of *France* to destroy or conquer this State, but to preserve it in a Dependence upon that Crown: That they could make better Use of the *Dutch* Fleets, than of a few poor Fisher-Towns that they should be reduc'd to if any Violation were made either upon their Liberties or Religion: That the King of *France* had seen their Country, and knew it, and understood it so, and said upon all Occasions, 'That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects; but if, after all, I concluded their State must fall in Four and

and twenty Hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the last Hour, and that it should happen at Night rather than at Noon.

This was discours'd with such Vehemence and Warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having said, it was not Matter to be resolv'd between us Two, I left him, after wishing him Health enough to go through the Thoughts and Busineses of so great a Conjunction.

Next Morning I went to the Prince, and after some common Talk, told him what had pass'd in my Visit to the Pensioner, and ask'd his Highness, if he had seen him since, or knew any thing of it? He said No; and so I told him the Detail of it; and upon Conclusion, that he said he saw nothing else to be done but to make a Separate Peace; and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind. The Prince interrupted me, saying, Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my self, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing should happen to me, I know it would be done in two Days Time. I ask'd him, whether he was of the Pensioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? He said, The Appearances were ill; but Campaigns did not always end as they began: That Accidents might happen which no Man could foresee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none could answer for the Event: That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if we were so indifferent as to let this Season pass, for his part he must go on, and take his Fortune: That he had seen that Morning a poor old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, against the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal: That when with the last Endeavours he was just got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as soon as he could, and fell to his Oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince saw him; and concluded this old Man's Business and his were too like one another, and that he ought however to do just as the old Man did, without knowing what would succeed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Case.

All that pass'd upon these Discourses I represented very particularly to the Court, the first Part immediately to the King, the rest to the Secretaries of State; and added my own Opinion, that if his Majesty continu'd to interpose no further than by the bare and common Offices of this Mediation in the Place and Forms of a Treaty, and the *Austrians* held off from the Progress of it, as well as the Northern Allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* would fall into private Negotiations, and by what I could observe on both Sides, were like to adjust them in a very little Time, and leave them ready to clap up a Peace in two Days, when the *Dutch* should grow more impatient of the Slowness or Unfincereness of their Allies Proceedings in the General Treaty, or whenever the violent Humour of the People should force the Prince to fall into the same Opinion with the States upon this Matter. This I esteem'd my self oblig'd to say, that his Majesty might want no Lights that were necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a Conjunction. I had his Majesty's Answer in a long Letter of his own Hand, complaining much of the Confederate Ministers in *England* caballing with Parliament Men, and raising all Mens Spirits as high against the Peace as they could; and that they had done it to such a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with *France* towards a General Peace, unless the *Dutch* Ambassador would first put in a Memorial, pressing his Majesty from the States to do it, and declaring, that without it they saw *Flanders* would be lost.

From Secretary *Williamson* I had no other Answer material upon all the Pensioner's Discourses, nor my own Opinion upon the present Conjunction, but that his Majesty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee, wonder'd I should think the *French* were so ready for a Separate Peace, if the *Dutch* should fall into those Thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever receiv'd any thing from either Me or my Colleague at *Nimeguen* that look'd that Way. Upon which I told him the frequent Conversations I

had had with Monsieur *Colbert* upon that Subject, and the several Letters the Pensioner had shewn me from the Marshal *D'Esbrades*, or his Instrument at *Maeſtricht*. But to all this I receiv'd no Answer, nor so much as Reflection; though I thought this Part was my Duty as Ambassador at the *Hague*, whether it were so as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

The Prince and Pensioner were both willing the King should be comply'd with in the Government of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* Paces and Language at *London*; but press'd me to write once more to know his Majesty's Opinion upon the Terms of a Peace, or else he said it would be too late, while the Season advanc'd towards the Campaign. Upon which I desir'd him to consider there might be three Weeks Difference between his first telling his own Thoughts to his Majesty, and receiving his Majesty's Opinion upon them; or sending first to know his Majesty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again in case they differ'd: Besides, I believed his Majesty would take it kinder, and as a Piece of more Confidence, if his Highness made no Difficulty of explaining himself first. The Prince paused a while, and then said, to shew the Confidence he desired to live in with his Majesty, he would make no further Difficulty of it, though he might have many Reasons to do it: That if the King had a mind to make a sudden Peace, he thought he must do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which he would have the more Ground for, because it was a Peace he both made and warranted: That for Exchanges, he thought there should be no other propos'd upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy* for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; which two last he thought imported a great deal more to *France*, than the others, unless they would declare that they intended to end this War with the Prospect of Beginning another, by which they might get the rest of *Flanders*: That this was all need'd pass between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the first having taken *Philipsburg* from the *French*, should raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maeſtricht* from the *Dutch*, should raze it too; and so this whole War should pass, *Comme un tourbillon qui avoit cesse, apres avoir menace beaucoup, & fait fort peu de Remuemens au Monde* [As a Storm that had ceased, after it had threatened much, and made but little Alterations in the World.]

I was surpriz'd to hear a Proposition so on the sudden, so short, and so decisive, and that seem'd so easy towards a short Close, if his Majesty should fall into it; and I esteem'd it a Strain in the Prince of the most consummate Knowledge in the whole present Scheme of Affairs, and most decisive Judgment upon them that he could have given after the longest Deliberation and maturest Advice. I observ'd however to his Highness upon it, that he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorraine* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*, after such Acquisitions made in this War, and so many more expected, should come to such Restitutions of what they possess'd, without any Equivalent. The Prince reply'd, both were explained by the Terms he propos'd of *Aix la Chapelle*: That for *Lorraine*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but from the last Duke only: That *Burgundy* could not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* restoring so many Towns for it in *Flanders* as would raise endless Debates, draw the Business into Lengths, and so leave it to the Decision of another Campaign. For the Second, he said, he had Reason to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done but by his Majesty's vigorous Interposition, but by that he was sure it would be easily effected; but if his Majesty would not endeavour it, the War must go on, and God Almighty must decide it: That all the Allies would be glad of it, and believed that upon *Don John's* coming to the Head of the *Spanish* Affairs, there would be a new World there: That however one Town well defended, or one Battel well fought, might change the Scene: That for himself he would confess, the King could never do so kind a Part, as to bring him with some Honour out of this War, and upon some moderate Terms; but if he was content that *France* should make them insupportable, they would venture All rather than receive them; and for *Holland's* making

making it a Separate Peace, let the Pensioner, or any others, tell what they would, they should never do it while he was alive and was able to hinder it. And he would say one thing more to me, that he believed he was able to hinder it: That if he died, he knew it would be done next Day; but when that should happen, this Matter must be some other's Care, and perhaps we in *England* were the most concern'd to look after it.

I promis'd to represent all he had said directly to his Majesty, and so I did immediately; and the Prince went next Day to *Dieren*, within six Leagues of *Nimeguen*, where I promis'd to come to him as soon as I should be possess'd of his Majesty's Answer. And I am the more particular in all these Discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great Conjunction, because they do not only discover the true Springs from which the Peace was afterwards deriv'd, but represent most of the Interests of *Christendom*, as they were observ'd by the Two Persons that, next to Monsieur *De Wit*, understood them the best of any I have ever met within the Course of my Negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one Conference more with the Pensioner, who told me he was still of Opinion it must come to a Separate Peace: That he had told the Emperor's Ministers the same Thing; and that if they did not at *Vrema* fall into the Measures propos'd and insisted on by the States before the middle of *February* next, they should be forc'd to make it: That if *Don Emanuel de Lyra* had not now assur'd them of the Remises being actually come from *Spain*, for Payment of the last Year's Charge of the Fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to Agreement, the Peace could not have been kept off this Winter it self. I told him the Prince was of another Mind, and had said to me a Separate Peace should never be made while he liv'd, and was able to hinder it; and that he believed he should have it in his Power. The Pensioner reply'd, He should come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himself; but that his Highness himself might be forc'd to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies, the ill Successes of the next Campaign, and the Mutinies of the People, to which they were already but too much dispos'd at *Amsterdam* by the Delays of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: That the late Revolution in *Spain* against the Queen Regent and her Ministry, had shew'd enough what might be brought about by a violent and general Humour of the People; and the Prince knew the Country too well to go too far against it: That it was in his Majesty's Hands to make a General Peace, if he pleas'd, before the Campaign began; and perhaps it was in the Conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor to engage *Holland* in one Campaign more, by the Measures they had propos'd: If both these fail'd, a Separate Peace must be made.

While I staid at the *Hague*, which was about a Month, my Colleagues at *Nimeguen* had, it seems, found out a Negotiation grown between the *French* Ambassadors and Monsieur *Van Beverning*, separate from the Ministers of his Allies, and without any Communication of the Mediators, which they suspected would end in a Separate Peace. Of this they thought fit to give Part to the Court, and of their Suspicions upon it; as they had done in my Absence; and receiv'd an immediate Order upon it, That in case they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they should protest publicly against it in his Majesty's Name. This my Colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins* writ to me at the *Hague* about the 10th of *January*, and was in great Pain upon it. He apprehended the Thing, but expected not to know it till 'twas done, and then doubted any good Consequences from our Protestation. He desir'd I would both send him my Thoughts upon it, and the same to the Court, as soon as I could.

I did so, both to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; and told them very freely, That I could not understand the Reason or the Drift of such an Order as my Colleagues had receiv'd to make such a Protestation: That if a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the Country, the King might endeavour

your to prevent it, and had it still in his Power, as he had had a great while : But if it were once concluded, I did not see any other Effect of our Protestation, unless it were to irritate both the Parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their Conjunction. Nor did I know what Ground could be given for such a Protestation ; for tho' the Parties had accepted his Majesty's Mediation of a General Peace, yet none of them had oblig'd themselves to his Majesty not to treat a Separate One, or without his Offices of Mediation ; and if they had, I did not see why the same Interests that could make them break through so many Obligations to their Allies, should not make them as bold with a Mediator : That, as to prevent the Thing may be a very wise and necessary Counsel, so his Majesty's Resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that End, which was to *France* : But if the Thing should be first done, as I could not tell how to ground our Offence, so I could as little how to seek our Revenge ; and it wou'd be to stay till we were struck, and then trust to crying out : That to the best of my Sense, it were better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, than both of them after ; and if we must strain any Points of Courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a Fair and General Peace, than by complaining or protesting against a Separate One.

I thought, I confess, that upon this Representation from my Colleagues, without any Knowledge of mine, or Suspicion that the Matter was working up at *Nimeguen* when I left it, and yet agreeing so much with what I had foreseen and represented from the *Hague*, and meeting such a Resentment at our Court as appear'd by the Order transmitted to my Colleagues upon it ; there was little Question but his Majesty would declare himself upon the Terms of a General Peace to both Parties, which I knew very well would be refus'd by neither, if he were positive in it, and supported, as he would certainly have been, by the Prince : But our Counsels at Court were so in balance, between the Desires of living at least fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent Sessions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like cross Purposes, which no Man at home or abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the House of Commons, till the Thing was wrested out of our Hands.

About the Twenty Fifth of *January 1677*, I receiv'd his Majesty's Answer to my last Dispatches by the Prince's Directions, and carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, which was little out of my Way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They consisted of two Parts ; the First, An Offer of his Majesty's entering into the strongest Defensive Alliance with the States, thereby to secure them from all Apprehensions from *France*, after the Peace should be made. The Second, was his Majesty's Remarks, rather than Conclusion or Judgment, upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace : That he believ'd it might be compass'd with *France*, upon the Exchange of *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charlevoy*, *Oudenarde*, *Conde*, and *Bouchain* : That this Scheme was what his Majesty thought possible to be obtain'd of *France*, tho' not what was to be wish'd.

I observ'd the Prince's Countenance to change when I nam'd *Cambray* and the rest of the Towns ; yet he heard me through, and the many nice Reasons of Sir *J. W.* upon the Matter ; as of a double Frontier this would give to *Flanders*, the Safety whereof was a Thing both his Majesty and the States were most concerned in ; and many other Ways of cutting the Feather. After which the Prince said, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had din'd ; and so went out ; but as he was near the Door, he turn'd to me, and said, Tho' we should talk more of it after Dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few Words, That he must rather die than make such a Peace.

After Dinner, we went again into his Chamber, where he began with telling me I had spoil'd his Dinner : That he had not expected such a Return of the

the Confidence he had begun towards his Majesty. He observ'd the Offer of Alliance came to me in a Letter of his Majesty's own Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only: That it was in a Style as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with Whipt Cream: That since all this had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambassador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from *France*. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain Language they amounted to: That *Spain* must part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, which were of the Value of two other Provinces in the Consequences of any War between *France* and *Spain*; and all for the Five Towns mention'd: That in short all must be ventur'd, since he was in, and found no other Way out. I told the Prince that I hop'd he would send his Majesty his own Thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He said, he would write to the King that Night, but would not enter into the Detail of the Business, which was not worth the Pains, but would leave it to me. He desir'd me further to let his Majesty know, That he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own Thoughts upon this whole Matter, and had gone as low as he could with any Regard to the Safety of his Country, and his Allies, or his Honour: That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have consented to those very Terms; but for these he knew they could not, tho' they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the War: And for himself, he could never propose it to them; but if *Flanders* were left in that Posture, it could never be defended upon another Invasion, neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* it self, and he was so far of the *Spaniards* Mind, That if *Flanders* must be lost, it had better be so by a War than by a Peace: That whenever that was, *Holland* must fall into an absolute Dependence upon *France*; so that what his Majesty offer'd of an Alliance with them, would be to no Purpose; for they would not be made the Stage of a War after the Loss of *Flanders*, and wherein they were sure no Alliance of his Majesty, nor Forces neither, could defend them. He concluded, That if his Majesty would help him out of this War with any Honour and Safety, either upon Kindness to him, or Consideration of what Concernment his own Crowns were like to have in the Issue of this Affair, he would acknowledge and endeavour to deserve it as long as he liv'd; if not, the War must go on, be the Event what it would; and for his own part, he would rather charge a thousand Men with a hundred, nay, tho' they were sure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon these Conditions.

I gave his Majesty an Account of all that pass'd in this Interview, and return'd to my Post at *Nimeguen*.

The Allies had taken great Umbrage at my Journey to the *Hague*, as design'd for negotiating some Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; but the Prince and Pensioner seem'd careless to satisfy them, and made that Use only of it to let them know that no such Thing was yet intended, but that *Holland* would be forced to it at last, if the Emperor and *Spain* fell not into those Measures that they had propos'd to them, both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous Prosecution of the next Campaign. Which had some Effect at *Vienna*, but little in *Spain* or *Flanders*, as was felt in the Beginning of the Spring.

At my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my Absence Count *Kinkski* was arriv'd, who was a Person of great Parts, of a sharp and quick Apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his Conduct, rigid in his Opinions, never before vers'd in these sort of Employments, and thereby very punctilious: This had engag'd him in Difficulties upon the Ceremony of Visits, both with my Colleagues and the *French*, upon his first Arrival; which lasted with these till the End of the Congress, so as to hinder all Visits between them: But I had the good Fortune to retrieve all ill Correspondence that had happen'd between the Mediators and him. I found likewise, that a secret Intelligence was grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, which was manag'd by Monsieur

Oliverians;

Olivereans, the Second *Swedish* Ambassador, and wholly apart from my Colleagues, whose Intervention had been only us'd when the Matter was first agreed between those Parties: That Monsieur *Van Beverning* drove on very violently towards a Peace, and with little Regard of his Allies; and said he had Order from the States, *De pousser l'Affaire tant qu'il lui seroit possible* [To push the Business on as vigorously as possible:] That those Ambassadors had come to a sort of Agreement about the Form and Number of Powers, which was, That the Mediators should be desir'd to draw up a Form of Preamble, which should be common to all the Parties, and contain nothing more, but that such and such Princes, out of a sincere Desire of Peace, had sent such and such Persons to *Nimeguen*, which had been chose for the Place of Treaty, by the Intercession of the King of *Great Britain*: That the Mediators should likewise draw up an Obligatory Act, to be sign'd by the several Ambassadors, and put into their Hands on the same Day, for the procuring new Powers within Sixty Days after the Date: That the Titles in the new Powers should be inserted, *bona fide*, according to the usual Stile of the Chancellery of each Court; and that an Act of *Salvo* should be sign'd by the several Ambassadors, for no Consequence to be drawn hereafter, for the Use or Omission of any Titles in these Powers.

I found likewise, That these Points had been agreed among all the Allies, by the formal Intervention of my Colleagues, after they had first been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*: That these Ambassadors had entered into a Course of mutual Visits; owning publicly, that they did it as necessary to facilitate the Progress of the Treaty: And that the *Dutch* began to talk of finishing an Eventual Treaty (as they call'd it) for themselves, as soon as the Acts about Powers were wholly dispatch'd; which should not take Place till the General Peace was concluded; but after which they, the *Dutch*, intended to employ their Offices between their Allies and the *French*.

I found likewise, that Mr. *Hide* had increas'd the Number of the Mediators in my Absence, who having been sent into *Poland* the Summer past, to Christen that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empress's Death, had perform'd the first Compliment from his Majesty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and so pass'd on privately home, and arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, soon after I left it upon my Journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having staid a Fortnight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, That upon his Return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met Letters from Court with a Commission to stop for some short time at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambassadors Mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his Return to give his Majesty an Account of the State and Progress of Affairs there. He said, this Commission was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the Stop he made there; but having not arriv'd till he had left that Place, he was in doubt whether he should make any Use of it or not, and desir'd my Advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen*, or to go forward for *England*. I easily perceived what this Dispatch was intended for, to introduce him into those kinds of Characters and Employments; and so advis'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a Part of the Embassy during a short Stay there, but excus'd himself from entering into the Management of any Conferences or Dispatches, so that by his Modesty, and my Lord *Berkley's* great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay still upon me and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who writ alternately the Dispatches from the Embassy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Ministers, by Concert, all the while I was upon the Place.

I found likewise, at my Return to *Nimeguen*, some few Difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the Dispatch intended about the Powers: For tho' the *French* had consented to furnish new Powers, and several for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refus'd a distinct one for *Brandenburg*, which these Ministers insisted on; and the *Dutch* were in such Obligations to that Prince, that they were forc'd to do so too, tho' unwillingly,

ingly, as doubting the Success with *France*, and foreseeing the Consequence of the same Pretence to be rais'd upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the Houses of *Lunenburg* and *Neuburg*, who yielded to the Electors in no Point, but that one of Precedence. But the *Dutch*, to distinguish that of *Brandenburg*, alledg'd to us, that he was Principal in the War of *Sweden*, and so could not be included as an Ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The *Danish* Ambassador stood positively upon the common Use of the *Latin* Tongue between *France* and them in their Powers, or else to give his in *Danish*, if they gave theirs in *French*. These said, That it was a Novelty and an Impertinence; and that if in all the Intercourse that had ever been between these two Crowns, the Language had not been *French* on their Side, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one Instrument, they were content they should give their Powers not only in *Danish*, but in *Hebrew* if they pleas'd. The *Dane* said, He could not give Account of all Precedents: That if ill ones had been hitherto us'd, 'twas time to establish new ones that were good: That his Master had more right to do it than any former King, being now Successive in that Crown, which was before Elective; and being more absolute in his Dominions than any other King of *Christendom*; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *La Volonte du Roy* [*The Will of the King*]; upon all which he said his Orders were positive, and he could not proceed without the Seile he pretended.

These two Points chiefly had obstructed the final Agreement about the Powers, for near a Month; after which we prevail'd with the *French* to yield to new Powers for *Brandenburg*, upon Assurance from the *Dutch* Ambassadors that they expected no such Pretension for any other of their *German* Allies; but that if any should be rais'd and refus'd by *France*, yet that should not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the Treaty. The *Dane's* Pretence about the Languages, being neither countenanc'd nor approv'd by any of his Allies, was at last yielded by him; which had been better never started, as having left him Ground in that which was intended by it, which was to establish the Principle of a Parity among Crown'd Heads.

There was an Accident happen'd likewise in my Absence, which had rais'd great Heats among the Parties. Upon Count *Kinkiki's* Arrival, the Allies began their Meeting at his House; by which they hop'd to govern the General Resolutions, and keep the Alliance from breaking into any separate Pieces. The *Dutch* Ambassadors, who pretended to influence the Peace more than any of their Allies, stomach'd the Count's Design and Carriage at these Conferences, where they said he pretended to be sole Dictator, and they were unwilling to enter into plain Contradictions, or the same Heats at his own House; upon which they went to the Stadthouse, and chose there a Room for their Conferences among all the Allies, which, upon the first Practice, gave great Offence to the *French* Ambassadors. They said it was a Breach upon the Neutrality of the Place, establish'd by the Assembly's being there; and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themselves the Disposal of the Town-House, without common Agreement. The *Dutch* alledg'd, the Rooms they had taken were not belonging to the Town, but to the Nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below Stairs; and that all above remain'd to be dispos'd of still by the Mediators for the common Use of the Parties when they should desire it. The *French* were not satisfy'd with these Reasons, and threatened to break the Assembly. We at last prevail'd with the Allies to forbear the Use of the Stadthouse, till we drew up a formal Proposal to be made by us the Mediators, to all Parties, desiring them, That for their Ease and Convenience, all Parties would meet in one Room at the Stadthouse, or at least the two Alliances in two several Rooms, whilst we should meet in another, and be there ready to perform all Offices between them. This last was accepted, and we design'd the several Rooms for our selves and the Parties; but were forc'd to find two Rooms for the *French* and *Swedes* to meet apart,

whose Competition, tho' Allies, would not suffer them to meet in one, or decide it by Lot, as the *Spaniard* and *Dane* had done.

There remain'd one Difficulty more, which particularly concern'd his Majesty, both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as *Imperialists*, had inflid, even with Emulation, That the Pope's Mediation should be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as his Majesty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had absolutely refus'd to treat upon any Powers where the Pope's Mediation should be mention'd. We had likewise represent'd to them, How great a Difference there was between his Majesty's Mediation, that had been accepted by all Parties, and the Pope's, that had been so only by a Part of them; and the very Mention of it absolutely refus'd by several others, to be admitted into the Powers: That his Majesty's Mediation had propos'd the Place of Treaty, exchange'd the Passports, form'd the Assembly, manag'd all the Negotiations in it so long, without the Appearance of any Minister from the Pope, or Knowledge whether he would be receiv'd if he came, or by whom his Mediation would be accepted or employ'd. At length it was resolv'd, That the Mention of his Majesty's Mediation alone should be made in the several Powers: And so all being agreed, about the middle of *February* all the several Acts were sign'd, and put into our Hands, and by us exchange'd among the several Parties.

After this Dispatch of all Preliminaries to the Treaty, the several Parties, by Agreement, brought into our Hands their several Propositions or Pretensions. The *French* seem'd in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperor and of *Brandenburg*, but the entire restoring of the Treaty of *Munster*: Of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquer'd in this War, upon the *Spaniards* having first broken the Peace. From the States-General they made no Demand, but offer'd them the restoring of their Friendship, and that they would hearken to a Treaty of Commerce. On the other side, the Emperour's Demands were, that *France* should restore to him, to the Empire, and all his Allies, whatever they had taken from them in the Course of this War, and make Reparation for all Damages they had suffer'd in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the Places they had lost, and all the Damages they had suffer'd from *France* since the Year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France* the Restitution of *Maastricht*, Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* in what did concern the Principality of *Orange*, and a Reglement of Commerce, with a Renunciation of all Pretensions each Party might have upon the other. As for the great Damages they had sustain'd, they said, they sacrific'd them all to the publick Peace, provided Satisfaction might be given to their Allies.

For the Northern Kings, and *German* Princes, their Demands were so extended, that I shall forbear relating them, and sum them up in this only; that those who had gain'd by the War, pretended to retain all they had got; and those that had lost, pretended to recover all they had lost, and to be repaid the Damages they had suffer'd by the War. Count *Kinski* deliver'd into our Hands likewise the Duke of *Lorraine's* Pretensions, seal'd as the rest were; but we open'd them not, upon the *French* telling us they had not receiv'd from Court any Counter-Pretensions upon the Duke of *Lorraine*; whereof they believ'd the Reason to be, That no Minister of his had yet appear'd at the Congress. Indeed, their Pretensions against *Lorraine* had never yet been made since the Death of the late Duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ablest Ministers or Advocates themselves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reserve them for the Terms of a Peace, when they should be able to prescribe, rather than to treat them.

By these Propositions of the several Parties, it easily appear'd to the World, what wise Men knew before, how little Hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty in the present Circumstances of Affairs; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Course and Influence of future Events in the Progress of the War.

About the 24th of *February*, I went to the Prince at his House at *Seslyck*, a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a Letter from his Highness, desiring it of me. I had about a Week before written to him by the King's Command, upon which his Highness desir'd to speak with me. I went, and told him the Contents of my last Dispatch. He ask'd me whether it were from the King himself, or from any of the Ministers: I told him, it was from Secretary *Williamson*, by the King's Command. The Prince said, Then he knew from whence it came; but however desir'd me to read the Particulars to him: Which were, the King's Apprehension of a Mistake in the Prince, because the Terms mention'd by his Majesty were not any Propositions (which he did not think his Part to make) nor had he any Authority for it, but only a Piece of Confidence he had enter'd into with the Prince. Next, That the Exchange of *Cambray* was only propos'd as a Thing to be with'd; that so six Towns might be restored to *Spain*, instead of five the Prince had propos'd, which in his Majesty's Opinion would make a kind of a double Frontier to *Brussels*, and so leave *Flanders* safer than by the Prince's Scheme: Therefore his Majesty desir'd the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last Answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But however offer'd, That if his Highness had any other Proposition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.

Whilst I was reading this to the Prince, he could hardly hear it out with any Patience, Sir I ————'s Stile was always so disagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Cast of this so artificial, that he receiv'd it at first with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with those further Thoughts that were desir'd of him. He said the Stile of *Letting it fall so flat*, was my Lord *Arlington's*; and *The double Frontier, as it were, for Brussels*, was some of the Secretary's *Cresme Fouettee* [*Whipt Cream*] and fit for Children. The rest he took to be all the *French* Ambassadors; who would fain continue a private Treaty with him by the King's Hand, while his Master went into the Field. His Answer was very plain: That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this Time. That when he spoke to me so lately at the *Hague*, He believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better Terms than he propos'd, if the King had desir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindness to him, or upon the Interests of his own Crowns. That he was sorry to find the King's Thoughts so different from his; and that whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun; and believ'd at the Time we talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he saw now no Hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War; unless *Flanders* should be lost, and in that Case the States must make the best Terms they could. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, to make an ill Figure in it himself, and to bare the Shame of Faults that others would make; but if the Emperor had perform'd what he had promis'd, the Campaign might not end as it began. That however he was in, and must go on, *Et quand on est a la grande messe, on y est* [*And when one is at High-Mass, one is at it;*] (meaning, I suppose, that one must stay till 'tis done, because the Crowd is so great one can't get out.) That he gave his Majesty Thanks for his Offer of handing over to *France* any Proposition he should make; but that never was his Meaning: For if it had, he could easily have found a directer Way. That his Intention was only to enter into a Confidence with his Majesty upon the Subject of the Peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was propos'd by the King to *France*, otherwise than as his own Thoughts, it must be from the Body of the Alliance, and not from him.

After these Discourses, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I return'd to *Nimeguen*; where all Negotiations seem'd wholly at a Stand, and so continu'd till towards the End of *April*. In this time arriv'd Monsieur *Siratman*, one of the Imperial Ambassadors; Monsieur *Christin*, one of the *Spanish*; but he and *Don Pedro* having only the Character of Plenipotentiaries;

ries, and pretending thereupon the Treatment of Ambassadors, and the *French* and *Suedes* refusing it to that Character, they continued *incognito* till the Arrival of the *Marquês De Balbases*.

For Monsieur *Stratman*; Upon his Notification to the several Ambassadors (at the same Time, as he said) the *Dane* and the *Swede* made him first their Visits, and after them the *French*: Whereupon, having first made his to the Mediators, he returned them to the *Swede*, the *Dane* being out of Town; after which he sent to demand an *Honour* of the *French*; but Monsieur *D'Estrades* return'd his Answer, That having fail'd of the Respect due to the King his Master, they would not admit of any Visit from him. Hereupon Monsieur *Kinski* and Monsieur *Stratman* desir'd us to ask upon what Point the *French* refus'd their Visit, saying, It could be upon no other but a Pretence of Preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the first Visits to be made to the *French*, tho' other Ambassadors had first visited the Imperialists. This they desir'd much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Suedes* as well as with us, who they knew would declare against any such Pretence. But the *French*, upon our Application from the Imperialists, kept stanch to their first Answer, That Monsieur *Stratman* *avoit manque du respect au Roy leur Maistre*. [Had been wanting in the Respect due to the King their Master.] That he had done it in several Points, and knew very well in what: And further than this they would not enter into the Matter, but continued positive in refusing the Visit.

Whilst such Matters as these help'd to amuse the Congress, and keep them in Countenance, the essential Parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field: *France* had in the Beginning of the Year block'd up *Cambray*; and *Valenciennes* about the End of *February*. Having provided sufficient Magazines in the Winter for the Sustainance of their Forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on t'other Side the *Rhine*, and with all the most cruel Ravages of burning and spoiling those Parts of *Germany* that could be exercis'd, and such as had not yet been us'd on either Side since the War began. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of War to his Majesty; who employ'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder such Prosecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation: But the Thing was done, and their Point was gain'd; which was, by an entire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialists from finding any Subsistence for their Troops, if they should march into *Alsace*, and thereby divert those Forces that the *French* resolv'd to employ this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field and march to the Relief of those Places they intended to attack.

About the Seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; having surmounted the very Force of the Seasons, and set down before it about the Beginning of that Month. From thence he marched with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days Siege from the Opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spanish* Towns, by Surrender upon Articles; but the Citadel held out for some Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* to go on with their Design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Treaty serv'd but for an Amusement, resolv'd to go on with the War for another Campaign; being kept up to this Resolution by the Vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, in pressing them upon the Observance of their Treaties, and Pursuit of their Interest, in the Defence of *Flanders*. Upon the first Motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his Troops likewise, and pres'd the *Spaniards* to have theirs in Readiness to join him; and with all imaginable Endeavours provided for the Subsistence of his Army in their March towards *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no Care of. But with all the Diligence and Application that could be us'd, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*; but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or so much as Guides, furnish'd

furnish'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*, resolute to raise that Siege with the Hazard of a Battle, at what Disadvantage soever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a small part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before *St. Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the Way was forc'd by Monsieur *De Luxembourg* with all the Troops the *French* King could send out of his Army, leaving only enough to continue the Siege before the Cittadel of *Cambrai*. These Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mont-Cassel*, where, after a sharp Dispute, the first Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fell into Disorder: The Prince went immediately to that Part where the Shake began, rally'd them several times, and renew'd the Charge; but at last was born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to resist like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the first cross the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Coquin je te manqueray au moins, afin de te faire pendre* [*Rascal, I'll set a Mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee afterwards.*] Voice nor Actions, Threats nor Examples, could give Courage to Men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carried him back to the rest of his Troops, which yet stood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the Confession of his Enemies, make a Part of that great Character they so justly allow him. The Safety of the *Dutch* Army, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to his Highness's Conduct as well as Bravery in the Course of this Action; after which, both *St. Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambrai* were surrender'd to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* lost the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that side (as they had done that on the other side by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War) and all the Hopes of raising any Contributions in *France*, which was a great Part of the Subsistence of the *Spanish* Troops; so as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier considerable, besides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Ostend* and *Newport* to the Sea; and the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands* consisted only of great Towns, by which no Resistance could be hop'd for, whenever the *French* should think fit to attack them, and could spare Men enough to garrison them when they should be taken. For the Greatness of those Towns, and Multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate Hatred to the *French* Government, was such, as without very great Garrisons they could not be held; unless upon one sudden Conquest and great Revolution, the whole *Spanish Netherlands* should become *French*, and thereby be made a new Frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germanes*, and, like a new Conquest, the Seat of their Armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be suffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and so they seem'd to have abandoned the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Resignation that became good Christians, rather than good Reasoners. For I have long observ'd, from all I have seen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the Counsels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Interest of their Countries: For there is in all Places an Interest of those that govern, and another of those that are govern'd: Nay, among these, there is an Interest of quiet Men, that desire to keep only what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who desire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better Way of judging the Resolutions of a State, than by the personal Temper and Understanding, or Passions and Humours, of the Princes, or Chief Ministers, that were for the Time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reason'd only from what they thought the Interest of each Country. They knew *Holland* would save *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were sure could if they would, and believ'd would be brought to it at last by the Increase of the Danger, and Force of their own Interest, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Presumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their

Ministers

Ministers then in *England*, *Don Bernard De Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca* Consul there; who did indeed very industriously foment the Heats that began about this Time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehensions of the *French* Conquests both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the End of *March*, to make an Address to the King, representing the Progresses of *France*, and desiring his Majesty to put a Stop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernard De Salinas* told some of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Address, and had said upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues; which made a great Noise in the House of Commons. The King resent'd it as a Piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at least as a Design to inflame the House; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Yet, about a Month after, the Parliament made another Address, upon the same Occasion; desiring his Majesty to make a League Offensive and Defensive with the States-General, for opposing the Progress of the *French* Conquests. This his Majesty receiv'd as an Invasion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Answer, and prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

However, *France* had so much Regard to the Jealousies rais'd both in *England* and *Holland*, of their designing an entire Conquest of *Flanders*, that, after having gain'd those three important Frontier-Towns so early in the Spring, and dispers'd his Army after that Expedition, that King return'd home; writ to his Majesty, That to shew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithstanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at present, to make a General Truce, in case his Allies the *Suedes* would agree to it; which he desir'd his Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not Convenience of doing it, for Want of Liberty of Couriers into *Sweden*.

The Contents of this Letter were pron'd by the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too gross an Artifice. It pass'd very ill with Monsieur *Van Beverning* himself, who, of all others there, was the most passionately bent upon the Peace. But he said openly upon this, That the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor so much as of Amusement: That *France* had given their Blow, and would now hinder the Allies from giving theirs: That the Reserve of *Sweden's* Consent, was an easy Way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies should accept it: That this it self could not be done, because *Flanders* would be left so open, as to be easily swallow'd up by the next Invasion, having no Frontier on either Side. That the Towns now possess'd by *France*, would in the Time of a Truce grow absolutely *French*, and so the harder to be restor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he desir'd the Peace; contrary to the Politicks of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and the other Ministers of the Allies in *England*; affirming always, That notwithstanding all their Intrigues and Intelligencies there, He, Monsieur *Van Beverning*, was assur'd, That his Majesty would not enter into the War, to save the last Town in *Flanders*. This Confidence made him pursue all the Ways towards a Peace, and by Paces which some thought forwarder than his Commission, and very ill concerted with those of his Allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the Project of a Treaty of Commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and desir'd we would make the Communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that those Ministers had been before possess'd of them from the *Dutch* Ambassadors themselves. And some few Days after, they enter'd into Conferences upon this Project at the *French* Ambassadors Houses, whom they found very easy in the Terms the *Dutch* insist'd on for their Commerce, which was all that could make any Difficulty between them.

1677. About the End of *April*, the Ministers of the Allies came, and presented us their several Answers in Writing to the *French* Propositions; which they

they offer'd to leave with us, whenever we should assure them that the *French* and *Swedcs* were ready with theirs. Upon this Communication given to the *French*, they were positive to give no Answer in Writing, nor to receive any, alledging both Reason and Example for their Opinion; *this* from the Practice of the *Master-Treaty*, *that* from the Danger of the invective Stile or Language that are apt to enter into the Writings of each Party upon such Occasions. The Allies were for some time as peremptory in their Resolution of delivering their Answers in Writing; but both at last agreed upon the Expedient we propos'd, of dictating to us what they intended should be said to the other Party, of our setting the Substance down in Writing, and reading it over to them first who dictated to us, so as they might be Judges whether we had rightly apprehended and express'd their Meaning; and yet the Thing might go on in our Stile, and not in theirs; by which all Sharpness and Provocation would be avoided.

About the middle of *May*, arriv'd President *Canon*, Envoy from the Duke of *Lorraine*, and put his Master's Pretensions into our Hands; upon which the Allies expected a Return of those from *France* upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the Want of a Minister upon the Place: But the *French* said very plainly, It was a Matter they were not instructed in; which the Allies receiv'd with great Stomach, and perpetual Complaints to us the Mediators; all professing, they were resolv'd not to proceed in the Treaty without carrying on the Interests of that Duke, an equal Pace with their own.

About the End of *May* arriv'd the Pope's Nuncio; whereupon the *Swedish* and *Danish* Ambassadors resorted immediately to us, desiring to know how we intended to carry our selves in what regarded that Minister; professing themselves to be much in pain, being on one side very much press'd, the *Swedcs* by the *French*, and the *Danes* by the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, to the Interchange at least of common Ceremonies and Civilities, with a Minister for whom they all with Emulation profess'd so great Respect and Deference: On t'other side, the *Swedcs* and *Danes* pretended neither to have Instruction nor Example from their respective Courts, to determine them in this Matter; but said they were resolv'd to observe and consider the Steps that should be made by us. We cut the Business very short, and declar'd to them our Resolution to have no sort of Commerce with the Pope's Nuncio, either in the Affairs of our Function, or in Matters of Ceremony; and told them, our Orders from Court were so precise in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next Day, Monsieur *Colbert* and Monsieur *D'Avaux* came formally to give us part of the Nuncio's Arrival, and of his Desire to make us his first Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd: Our Answer to them was the same we had made to the *Swedcs* and *Danes*; and soon after, all the Ministers of Protestant Princes at *Nimeguen* resolv'd to follow our Example, and to have no Commerce at all with the Nuncio.

About the same time, after many Messages carried by us between the Parties, they were perswaded at last into the Agreement of delivering and exchanging by our Hands, their Answers to each others Propositions in Writing, tho' without pretending to pursue that Method in the succeeding Paces of the Negotiation. Nor was there need of that Caution, for this I take to have been the last Pace of any free and general Negotiation between the Parties engag'd in the War and in the Treaty; nor were the Answers any thing nearer agreeing, than the first Propositions.

The last Day of *May* arriv'd the Marquess *De Balbaes*, First Ambassador from *Spain*; and about the same time, my Lord *Berkley* return'd into *England*, where he languish'd out the rest of the Summer, and died.

About the Seventeenth of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambassador brought us the Project of a Treaty between them and *France*, digested and extended in all its Forms and Articles; and told us soon after, They had in a Conference upon it with the *French* Ambassadors, agreed, in a manner, all the Points of it; at least that there remain'd but Two, which concern'd Commerce only, undetermin'd

determin'd between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewise upon Return of the *French* Dispatches from Court: That after their Business was ended, they would perform the best Offices they could between their Allies and the *French*. And indeed, by the Beginning of *July*, all Points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monsieur *Van Beverning* began to play the Part of something more than a Mediator; pressing on his Allies towards a Peace with Paces very earnest and something rough, and, as some believ'd, more than he had Order for from his Masters, who yet pretended to hold Hands with their Allies. But Monsieur *Van Beverning* profess'd to believe, that their Friends at the *Hague* were impos'd upon by *Van Bekninghen* and the *Spanish* Ministers at *London*, who still animated them with Hopes of the King's entering into the War, or at least prescribing a Plan of the Peace to be receiv'd by all Parties; which *Van Beverning* believ'd neither one part nor t'other of, and pretended to be morally assur'd of his Opinion, and thereupon grounded the absolute Necessity of a Peace.

In this Month, the Duke of *Zell* began to make a Difficulty of sending the five thousand Men he had promis'd to the Allies, without some new Stipulations: And the *French* offer'd a Guaranty to the House of *Lunenbourg* of all their Conquests on the *Swede* in *Bremen*, upon a Neutrality to be declared by those Dukes; which began to give great Umbrages to the Allies, as well as the *Swedes*, of some separate Measures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole House of *Brunswick*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were likewise in Pain, upon new Intelligence, both from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, about a Separate Peace being treated between *Don John* and the *French*; with an Exchange of the *Spanish Netherlands* for what should be restor'd them in *Roussillon* and *Sicily*. The Ministers of the Confederates made great Instances in *England*, That his Majesty would recall his Troops that were in the *French* Service, attributing most of their Successes in *Germany* to the Bravery of those *English* Regiments. But his Majesty excus'd it upon the Equality of a Mediator, since there were *English* Troops of greater Number in the Service of the Allies: Who took this Answer however for an ill Sign of that Prosecution which they hop'd from his Majesty for the Relief of their languishing Affairs. The Hopes of those great Actions promis'd by the *Imperialists* this Summer on the *Rhine* began to flat, their Troops finding no Subsistence in those Countries, which had been wholly desolated by the *French* in the Beginning of the Year, to prevent their March. The Prince of *Orange* observing all these Circumstances, and foreseeing no Resource for the Interest of the Allies, unless from his Majesty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive Summer in *Flanders*, the *French* resolving not to come to a Battle, and he not able to form a Siege, and oppose a *French* Army that should come to relieve it; he sent Monsieur *Bentink* over into *England* about the Beginning of *June*, to desire his Majesty's Leave that he might make a Journey thither so soon as the Campaign ended. He receiv'd a civil Answer; but with Wishes from the King, That he would first think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treasurer, to signify his Majesty's Pleasure that I should come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. *Coveanty* had offer'd his Majesty to lay down upon the Payment of Ten thousand Pounds: That the King would pay half the Money, and I must lay down the rest at present; tho' his Lordship did not doubt but the King would find the Way of easing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treasurer to make my Acknowledgment to his Majesty; but at the same time my Excuses, That I was not in a Condition to lay down such a Sum, my Father being still alive, and keeping the Estate of the Family; and desiring that the King's Intention might at least be respited, till he saw how the present Treaty was like to determine. In Return of my Letters, on the Second of *July*, Mr. *Smith*, one of the King's Messengers, being sent Express, and making great Diligence, arriv'd at *Nimeguen*,

meguen, and brought me his Majesty's Commands to repair immediately over in a Yacht which he had sent on purpose for me: In Obedience to this Command I left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a sudden Journey into *England*, but saying nothing of the Occasion, further than to my nearest Friends.

At my Arrival, the King ask'd me many Questions about my Journey, about the Congress, *draping* us for spending him so much Money, and doing nothing; and about Sir *Lionel*, asking me how I had bred him, and how he pass'd among the Ambassadors there; and other Pleasantries upon that Subject. After a good deal of this kind of Conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that 'twas what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that Place. I told his Majesty, That 'twas too great a Compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my Country, and which I thought it did not deserve: That I believ'd there were a great many in it fit for That, or any other Place he had to give; and I could name two in a Breath that I wou'd undertake shou'd make berter Secretaries of State than I. The King said, Go, get you gone to *Sheen*; we shall have no Good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested your self, come up again. I never saw him in better Humour, nor never knew a more agreeable Conversation when he was so; and where he was pleas'd to be familiar, great Quickness of Conception, great Pleasure of Wit, with great Variety of Knowledge, more Observation and truer Judgment of Men, than one wou'd have imagin'd, by so careless and easy a Manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own Temper, he desir'd nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else shou'd be so; and wou'd have been glad to see the least of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuse no Man what he ask'd. But this Softness of Temper made him apt to fall into the Persuasions of whoever had his Kindness and Confidence for the Time, how different soever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change Hands, when those he employ'd seem'd to have engag'd him in any Difficulties: So as nothing look'd steady in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any certain End. Yet sure no Prince has more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Constitution: Nor can he suffer Flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon the first Approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this Humour has made him lose many great Occasions of Glory to himself, and Greatness to his Crown, which the Conjunctions of his Reign conspired to put in his Hand; and have made Way for the aspiring Thoughts and Designs of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the World, without the Applications and Arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious Humour of the King.

I staid two Days at *Sheen*, in which Time some of Secretary *Coventry's* Friends had prevailed with him not to part with his Place, if he could help it, unless the King would let him recommend the Person to succeed him, who should pay all the Money he expected, and which the King had charg'd himself with. When I came to Town, the King told me in his Closer all that had pass'd between him and Mr. *Coventry* the Day before upon this Occasion: That he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the bottom; for he had first spoke to his Majesty about parting with his Place, said his Health would not go thro' with it, made the Price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: That now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unless he might present one to succeed him; and he hoped he had not deserved as his Majesty should turn him out. But the King said upon it, That, under Favour he was resolv'd to take him at his Word; and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he could. Upon this I represented to the King, how old and true a Servant Mr. *Coventry* had been of his Father and Him; how well he had served him in his Place;

how well he was able to do it still by the great Credit he had in the House, of Commons, where the King's great Business lay in the ill State of his Revenue; how ill such a Treatment would agree with his Majesty's Nature and Customs: And for my own part, That it would be a great Favour to me to respite this Change, till he saw what was like to become of the Treaty, or the War; and therefore I begg'd of him that he would not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, against both their Wills; but let Mr. *Coventry* keep it, at least till he seem'd more willing to part with it. The King said, Well then, he would let it alone for the present, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us would change our Mind.

In the mean time, the Design of my Journey was known, my Lord *Arlington* and others still asking me when they should give me Joy of it, and many making Applications to me for Places in the Office; which made the Court uneasier to me, and increased my known Humour of loving my Country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into Conversation with me, and often in his Closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke or my Lord Treasurer, and often both. The Subject of these Conversations was usually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*. The King always expressed a great Desire for the First, but not at all for the Other, till that was concluded. He said, his Parliament would never be quiet nor easy to him while the War lasted abroad: They had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no: That they pretended publick Ends, and Dangers from *France*; and there might be both meant by a great many honest Men among them; but the Heats and Distempers of late had been raised by some factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves than of any thing else, had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their Terms in removing and filling of Places; and he was very loth to be so much at their Mercy, as he should be if he were once engaged in the War: That besides, he saw the longer it continued, the worse it would be for the Confederates; more of *Flanders* would be lost every Day: the Conduct of *Spain* must certainly ruin all in Time; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they would not do it for themselves: That if he and the Prince could fall into the Terms of it, he was sure it might be done. And, after several Discourses upon this Subject for near a Month, his Majesty at last told me, he had a great Mind, I should make a short Turn to the Prince, and try if I could persuade him to it; and assure him, That after it was agreed, he should be the gladdest in the World to see him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treasurer both prefs'd me upon the same Point; but I told them, at a long Conference upon it, how often I had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how sure I was to find him so still, unless the King would consider of another Scheme for the Peace than had been yet propos'd to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more Safety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own Honour: That I had spent all my Shot, and was capable of saying no more to him than I had done, in Obedience to all the Instructions I had received: That his Answers had been positive; so that some of my good Friends at Court pretended they had been my own Thoughts rather than the Prince's: That his Majesty would do well to try another Hand, and he would the better know the Prince's Mind, if his Answers were the same to both; if not, he would at least know how ill I had served him. The King said, it was a Thing of Confidence between him and the Prince, and must be so treated, and he knew no body he had besides to send. I told him, if he pleas'd I would name one: He bid me; and I said, Mr. *Hide* was idle ever since his Return from *Nimeguen*, had been enter'd into the Commission of the Mediators there, staid with us a Fortnight or three Weeks, might pretend to return thither to exercise the same Function in my Absence, since the Commission run to any two of the Number, and might take the Prince of *Orange's* Camp in his Way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's Com-

mands to his Highness, inform himself of his last Resolution upon the Subject of the Peace, go on to *Nimwegen*, without giving any Jealousy to the Allies, or without the Noise that my going would make, since Sir *Lionel* had writ to Court and to me, That *Monsieur Van Beuning* had desir'd all Pieces shou'd stop there till my Return, which he had heard would be sudden, and that the King would send by me his own Plan of the Peace. The Duke tell in first to the Proposal of Mr. *Hide's* going; and, after some Debate, the King, and my Lord Treasurer, and that it shou'd be as soon as possible. He was sent for accordingly, and dispatch'd away in all Points as I had propos'd. He found the Prince at the Camp, but unmoveable in the Business of the Peace upon the Terms his Majesty had Thoughts of proceeding; give Account of all that pass'd in that Conference to the King, and went straight away to *Nimwegen*, and writ me Word of his Conversation with the Prince, and that he never saw such a Firmness in any Man.

I knew Mr. *Hide's* going to reside at *Nimwegen* wou'd be of great Comfort and Support to Sir *Lionel*, who was in perpetual Agonies (as his Word was) after he was left alone in that Station; having ever so much Distrust of his own Judgment, that tho' he had the greatest Desire that cou'd be to do well, yet he many times cou'd not resolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplex'd about the little Punctillios of Visit and Ceremony that were left to bury the Ambassy, as if greater Affairs had still attended it. Besides, he lay under the Lash of Secretary *Williamson*, who, upon old Grudges between them at *Cologne*, never fail'd to lay hold of any Occasion he cou'd to censure his Conduct, and expose it at the Foreign Committee, where his Letters were read to his Majesty. It happened about this Time, that the *Spanish* Ambassador first appearing in publick upon a new Commission to all Three, gave immediate Notice of it to the Imperialists, who made their Visits upon it, and were within two Hours revisited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they sent their formal Notifications to all the other Ambassadors, and to the Mediators in the first Place. Sir *Lionel* was in Pain, having Orders to pretend the first Rank of Respects before the Imperialists, as well as other Ambassadors there; and not to yield, if it came in Competition. He had likewise another Order, which was, that upon Matters in Ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the Delay of new Orders, he shou'd consult with the other Ambassadors, especially *French* and *Suedish*, who us'd to carry those Points the highest and govern himself as well as he cou'd by Precedents and Examples. He consulted both these Ambassadors, whether he shou'd visit the *Spaniards*, after their having given the first Notice to the Imperialists? And they concluded, That he shou'd first know of them, whether it was done in Form, as to Ambassadors in general; or whether it was upon the Account of the near Alliance in Blood between those Two Houses of *Austria*? That if it were the First, he ought not to visit them, as having but a Disrespect upon the Mediation, and distinguish'd the Emperor from all the other Crown'd Heads, who had yielded the Precedence wholly to them; which they wou'd not have done, if the Emperor had refus'd it. But if the *Spaniards* affirm'd it was only upon the Nearness of Blood between them, none of the other Ambassadors need take any Notice of it, since the same had been done between those two Crowns at *Munster* upon the same Score; which being there declar'd, it gave no Offence to the Mediators, tho' they were the Pope's Nuncios, with whom there was otherwise no Competition. Sir *Lionel* was satisfied by the *Spaniards* (who gave it him in Writing) that the Visits were made only upon the Score of Kindred, as at *Munster*; and thereupon made them his Visit, and received theirs: For which he was sharply reprov'd by Secretary *Williamson's* Letter upon it, who had represented it to the King as a Disobedience to a positive Order, and giving up the Point to the Imperialists. But being at Court soon after these Dispatches, I endeavoured to justify my Colleague's Intentions and his Proceedings, by shewing that he had conform'd to his other Orders of consulting the other Ambassadors, and proceeding according to the best Precedent, which was that at

Munster; and that if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this Point, he would have provok'd the Imperialists to declare their Resolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambassadors would recall the Concession which they had already made in this Point, and so hazard, if not lose, the Possession his Majesty was in, of the first Respect given to his Mediation. I had the good Fortune to satisfy his Majesty and his Ministers, and to obtain Orders for his gracious Pardon to be sent Sir *Lionel* (for they would suffer it to run in no other Terms) for which however the poor Gentleman made as great Acknowledgments, as if his Fault had been much greater and worse meant.

The rest of this Summer pass'd without any further Paces made in the Congress at *Nimeguen*; where the Messages carried and return'd about the Business of *Lorraine*, serv'd to keep the Mediators in Countenance, and no more. The whole Body of the Allies press'd for an Answer from the *French*, to that Duke's Pretensions, deliver'd in by President *Canon*. The *French*, after their former Exception of his wanting a Minister there, rais'd another to stave off these Instances of the Allies, and declar'd they cou'd give no Answer, about *Lorraine*, till the Bishop of *Strasburg*'s Agents were receiv'd by the Allies, upon which the Emperor made an invincible Difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a Vassal of his own: And in these Conferences about *Lorraine*, the *French* Ambassadors began to insinuate to the Mediators, That their Matter never intended That to be treated as a Principal, but only as an Accessary to the Treaty,

In *August*, arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the Bishop of *Gurck*, chief of the Imperial Ambassy; and Count *Antoine*, of that from *Denmark*: The first was immediately visited by the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and return'd it; after which he sent his Notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambassadors; upon which no Difficulty was made by them, since the Bishop made the same Declaration the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like Occasion, that the first Visits passing between the two Ministers of the two Houses of *Austria*, were Visits of Kindness and Consanguinity, and not of Ceremony. But Count *Antoine* fell into endless Difficulties upon his first Arrival. He intended to have sent his first Notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the *Imperialists* having Notice of this Intention, sent him direct Word, they expected the first Respect should be given to the Emperor; and this was the first time they own'd that Pretension, in Prejudice of the Honour hitherto done to the King's Mediation. Count *Antoine* sent Monsieur *Heug*, his Colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this Incident, and desire them to find out some Expedient: They excus'd themselves, alledging their positive Orders to expect the first Notification. The *Danes* were as unwilling to disoblige his Majesty, as the Emperor; and found no Temper in this Matter, after many offer'd both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors; so that Count *Antoine* resolv'd to leave it undecided, and to give no Notifications, or receive or make any Visits; but however assisted at the Conferences among the Allies, and made a part of all the Evening Entertainments, at Play and in Conversation, in the Apartments of the several Ambassadrices; and this Course he observ'd, during his Stay at *Nimeguen*, which was seven or eight Months: For the rest, a Person very much esteem'd for his generous Qualities, and Gentlemanly Humour and Conversation, and yielding to none upon the Place in the Greatness and Splendor of his Equipage; wherein the Marquess *De Balbaces*, and Count *Antoine* seem'd to distinguish themselves from all the rest.

About the End of *July*, the Prince of *Orange* made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a Siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who made a mien of entering into *Champagne*, on purpose to draw off the *French* Forces from attending the Prince's Motions and Design upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had Hopes to take it by Surprise; but found those of the Garrison upon their Guard, and very strong, as well as the Place, which had been fortified with all the Force of Art and Expence, that could be employ'd upon a Place of that Compass. He sat down before it, and would
have

have besieg'd it in Form, if the Duke of *Lorraine* could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it; but Monsieur *De Louvois*, with great Diligence, leaving the Marshal *De Crequi* with Force enough to face that Duke, assembled a very great Army for the Relief of *Charleroy*; upon Approach whereof, the Prince call'd a Council of War, to resolve whether to march and fight the *French* Army, or raise the Siege. The last was resolv'd upon Debate at the Council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this Campaign in *Flanders*. But this March and Retreat of the Prince pass'd not without many Reflections, not only among the Allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the Design upon some Intelligences and Expresses between him and the King about this Time. Monsieur *Bentink* had gone over and return'd, without any body's knowing his Business: My Lord *Ossory* happen'd to arrive in the Camp, the Day before the Council of War, upon which the Siege was rais'd; which made many think, something his Lordship brought from *England* was the Occasion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his Journey than the Hopes of seeing a Battle (which was ever a particular Inclination of my Lord *Ossory*) and a Cast of my Lord *Arlington* to preserve himself in the Prince's Favour and Confidence as much as he could, by my Lord *Ossory's* keeping close to him, at a Time when he saw the Business of *Christendom* roll so much upon the Person of the Prince.

About this Time, the Assembly at *Nimegueu* seem'd in danger of being broken by a passionate Motion the *Swedes* made in it. There had been a long Contest since it first began, between the *Swedes* and *Danes*, about Freedom of Passage for the *Swedish* Couriers through the *Danish* Territories, for managing the Correspondencies necessary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the Example of *France*, who refus'd the same Liberty to the *Spaniards*. This Dispute had been manag'd by many Messages, wherewith the Mediators had been charg'd between the Parties, wherein the Allies of both Sides took equal part. Sometimes the Matter had been treated with many pressing Instances, and sometimes with fainter; sometimes almost let fall, and then again resum'd; and thus above a Year pass'd: But about this time, the *Swedes* come to the Mediators, desire their Offices once more to the *Danes* upon this Subject, and declare, that without this Liberty insist'd upon so long for their Couriers, they find themselves incapable of giving Advices necessary to their Court, or receiving Orders necessary from it; and that without it, they must be forc'd to leave the Assembly. This Resolution of the *Swedes* continued for some time so peremptory, that it was expected to come to that Issue; but after some *Fugue* spent for about a Fortnight or three Weeks upon this Occasion, and some Temperament found out by the *Dutch* for the secure and speedy Passage of all the *Swedish* Dispatches by *Amsterdam*, those Ambassadors began to grow soft and calm again, and to go on their usual Paces. Soon after, the *French* Ambassadors, who had treated the *Swedish* Affairs and Ministers with great Indifferency, and Neglect in this Treaty (declaring to Monsieur *Van Beverning*, their Master would not part with one Town in *Flanders*, to restore the *Swedes* to all they had lost) began wholly to change their Language, and say upon all Occasions, That *France* could not make a Peace without the full Satisfaction and Restitution of the *Swedes*; and it was discours'd, that the *French* and *Swedes* had enter'd into a new Alliance at *Paris* to this Purpose: And some believ'd, it was by Concert between them, that this *Atteinte* was given by the *Swedes* to the Congress; that the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a Treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's Direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what Measures his Majesty might be induc'd upon the Progress of the *French* Conquests, and the Distempers rais'd in his Parliament upon that Occasion. But this Gust blown over, all was becalm'd at *Nimegueu*; so that Monsieur *Olivereanus* left that Place about the End of *August*, upon a Journey to *Sweden*.

Till this Time the Motions of Business had been respited in the Assembly, upon a general Expectation that the King was sending me over suddenly with the Plan of a Peace that he resolv'd should be made, and to which it was

not doubted but all Parties would yield, whatever it was; so great a Regard was held on all sides, of his Majesty's Will and Power. But a greater Stop was yet given to all further Paces there, by the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*, about the End of *September 1677*, which wholly chang'd the Scene of this Treaty, and for the present carried it over to *London*, and left all other Places at a Gaze only, and in Expectation of what should be there agitated and concluded.

C H A P. III.

THE Prince, like a hasty Lover, came Post from *Harwich* to *New-market*, where the Court then was, as a Season and Place of Country Sports. My Lord *Arlington* attended his Highness at his alighting, making his Presence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his Alliance and Journeys into *Holland*. My Lord Treasurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the Stairs, in a great Croud, coming down to the King. He whisper'd to us both together, and said to me, That he must desire me to answer for him and my Lord Treasurer one to another, so as they might from that time enter both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance; which was a wise Strain, considering his Lordship's Credit in Court at that Time, and was of great Use to the Prince in the Course of his Affairs then in *England*; and tho' it much shock'd my Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wonder'd at by such as knew what had pass'd of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only liv'd in common Forms during his Stay. He was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into Discourses of Business, which they wonder'd to see him avoid or divert industriously, so as the King bid me find out the Reason of it. The Prince told me, he was resolv'd to see the young Princesses before he enter'd into Affair; and to proceed in that, before the other of the Peace. The King laugh'd at this Piece of Nicety, when I told it him; but however, to humour him in it, said he would go some Days sooner than he had intended from *New market*; which was accordingly done.

The Prince upon his Arrival in Town, and Sight of the Princesses, was so pleas'd with her Person, and all those Signs of such a Humour as had been describ'd to him upon former Inquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well receiv'd and assented to, but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be first agreed on between them. The Prince excus'd himself, and said he must end his first Business before he began the other. The King and Duke were both positive in their Opinion; and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace as Things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Cost, and for his part he would never sell his Honour for a Wife. This prevail'd not, but the King continu'd so positive for three or four Days, that my Lord Treasurer and I began to doubt the whole Business would break upon this Punctilio. About that Time I chanc'd to go to the Prince after Supper, and found him in the worst Humour that I ever saw him; he told me, he repent-ed he had ever come into *England*, and resolv'd he would stay but two Days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his Mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest Friends, or the greatest Enemies; and desir'd me to let his Majesty know so next Morning, and give him Account of what he should say upon it. I did so, early in the Morning, told the King all the Prince had said

said to me the Night before, and the ill Consequences of a Breach between them, considering the ill Humour of so many of his Subjects, upon our late Measures with *France*, and the Invitations made the Prince by several of them, during the late War. The King heard me with great Attention; and when I had done, said, well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honesty by his Looks (of which he gave me some Examples) and, if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honestest Man in the World, and I will trust him, and he shall have his Wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my Brother so, and that 'tis a Thing I am resolv'd on. I did so, and the Duke at first seem'd a little surpriz'd; but when I had done, he said, The King shall be obey'd, and I would be glad all his Subjects would learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his Pleasure upon it, I obey him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my Story; which he could at first hardly believe, but embrac'd me, and said I had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly: And so I left him to give the King an Account of what had pass'd, and in the Prince's Anti-chamber met my Lord Treasurer, and told him the Story, who undertook to adjust all the rest between the King and the Prince; which he did so well, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next Day it was declar'd in Council, and receiv'd there and every where else in the Kingdom, with the most universal Joy that I ever saw any thing in the King's Reign. The *French* Ambassador, and my Lord *Arlington* appear'd the only two Persons unsatisfied upon it at Court; the first not knowing how he should answer it to his Master, That an Affair of that Importance should pass without his Communication, much less Advice, in a Court where nothing before had been done so for many Years; and my Lord *Arlington*, That it should pass without his Knowledge, who still endeavour'd to keep up the Court-Opinion of his Confidence with the Prince; who told me the Compliment his Lordship had made him upon it, That some Things good in themselves were spoil'd by the manner of doing them, as some Things bad were mended by it; but he would confess this was a Thing so good in it self, that the manner of doing it could not spoil it.

Within two or three Days the Marriage was consummated, and immediately after they fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but my Lord Treasurer and I were admitted. The Prince insist'd hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both Sides of *Flanders*; without which, *France*, he said, would end this War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campaign. The King was content to leave that Business a little looser; upon the Confidence that *France* was so weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King grew past his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the Pleasures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet. The Prince thought *France* would not make a Peace now, but to break the present Confederacy, and to begin another War with more Advantage and Surprize; That their Ambition would never end, till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an absolute Dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill Condition, and us in no good one: And that *Christendom* could not be left safe by the Peace, without such a Frontier as he propos'd for *Flanders*, and the Restitution of *Lorraine*, as well as what the Emperor had lost in *Alsace*. Upon this I told the King, That in the Course of my Life, I had never observ'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good Man; and a young Coxcomb, an old Fool; and a young *Frispon*, an old Knave; and that quiet Spirits were so, young as well as old; and unquiet ones would be so, old as well as young; That I believ'd the King of *France* would always have some Bent or other, sometimes War, sometimes Love, sometimes Building; but that I was of the Prince's Opinion, That he would ever make Peace with a Design of a new War,

War, after he had fix'd his Conquest by the last: And the King approv'd what I said. The Points of *Lorraine* and *Alsace* were easily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they would not hear of the County of *Purgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to, tho' the Prince insist'd much upon it; so as the King imagin'd he was touch'd by the Interest of his own Lands in that Country (which are greater and more *Seigniorial* than those of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, That for his Lands he would charge himself with either his enjoying them as safely under *France* as *Spain*; or if he should rather chuse to part with them than have that Dependence, he would undertake to get him what Price he should himself value them at. But the Prince answer'd briskly and generously, That he should not trouble himself nor the Peace about that Matter; and that he would be content to lose all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* upon the Frontier of *Flanders*; so all Difficulties began to terminate upon what was esteem'd necessary there. This admitted great Debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme; and t'other, that *Spain* would never consent to the other. But at the last it was agreed, That the Peace should be made upon these Terms, all to be restor'd by *France* to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorraine* to that Duke; and all on both Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charlevoix*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Ghislain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the Consent of *Spain*, and his Majesty that of *France*; for which purpose he should send some Person immediately over with the Proposition, who should be instructed to enter into no Reasonings upon it, but demand a positive Answer in two Days, and after that Term immediately return. The Question was, who should go? and my Lord Treasurer said, it must be he or I, for none else had been acquainted with the Debate of this Business. The Prince said, It must be I, for my Lord Treasurer could not be spar'd; and it must be some Person upon whose Judgment and Truth he could rely, as to the Intentions of that Court. The King order'd me to be ready in two Days, which I was; and the Evening before I was to go, meeting his Majesty in the Park, he call'd me to him, and, a little out of Countenance, told me, He had been thinking of my Journey and Errand, and how unwelcome I should be in *France* as well as my Message; and having a mind to gain the Peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Besides, the Thing being not to be reason'd or debated, any body else would serve the Turn as well as I, whom he had other Use of; and therefore he had been thinking to send some other Person. I saw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greatest Pleasure in the World; for I never had less mind to any Journey in my Life, and should not have accepted it, but in perfect Obedience. The King, that was the gentlest Prince in the World of his own Nature, fell into good Humour upon seeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he should send, and at last ask'd me what I thought of my Lord *Duras*? I said, very well; upon which he seem'd to resolve it. But the Thing had been agreed in the Morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's Desire, who thought *France* would accept the Terms, and that the Peace would be made, and had a mind to have the Honour of it, by sending a Servant of his own. Whether there were any other Motive, I know not; but my Lord *Duras* went immediately with the Orders before-mention'd; and some few Days after, the Prince and Princesses embarqu'd for *Holland*, where Affairs press'd his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*; the King assuring him, He would never part from the least Point of the Scheme sent over, and would enter into the War against *France*, if they refus'd it. However, he went not away without a great Mortification, to see the Parliament prorogued to next Spring; which the *French* Ambassador had gain'd of the King, to make up some good Mien with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Dispatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court.

Upon my Lord *Duras's* Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were surpriz'd, both at the Thing, and more at the Manner; but made good Mien upon it, took it gently, said, The King knew very well he might always be Master of the Peace; but some of the Towns in *Flanders* seem'd very hard, especially *Tournay*, upon whose Fortifications such vast Treasures had been expended; and, that they would take some short Time to consider of the Answer. My Lord *Duras* told them, he was ty'd to Two Days Stay; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to stay some few Days longer, and to come away without a positive Answer. What he brought, was what they had said to him before, That the Most Christian King hoped his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns; but even upon them too, he would send Orders to his Ambassador at *London* to treat with his Majesty himself. By this Gain of Time, and artificial drawing it into Treaty without any positive Refusal, this Blow came to be eluded, which could not easily have been so any other Way. The King was soften'd by the Softness of *France*: The Ambassador said at last, He had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for some Equivalent for that too, if the King insisted absolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had spirited the Vigour of the whole Resolution; and the Treaty of it began to draw out into Messages and Returns from *France*.

However, the ill Humour of People growing higher, upon the Noise of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prorogation of Parliament, this was by Proclamation anticipated soon after my Lord *Duras's* Return, tho' a Thing something unusual, and a Countenance made as if the King resolv'd to enter into the War: For which the Parliament seem'd impatient, whenever the King seem'd averse to it; but grew jealous of some Tricks, whenever the Court seem'd inclin'd to it. About the End of *December* 1677, the King sent for me to the Foreign Committee, and told me, he could get no positive Answer from *France*, and therefore resolv'd to send me into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refus'd, to make the Peace upon the Terms he had propos'd. I told the King, What he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from *France*: That this, perhaps, would satisfy both the Prince and Confederates abroad, and the People at home: But to make such a League with *Holland* only, would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both *France* and *Spain*. Besides, it would not have an Effect or Force, as the Triple-Alliance had; that being a great Original, of which this seem'd but an ill Copy; and therefore excus'd my self from going. The King was set upon it, tho' I pretended domestic Affairs of great importance upon the Death of my Father; and pleaded so hard, that the Duke at last desir'd the King not to press me upon a Thing I was so averse from, and would be so inconvenient to me; and desir'd I might propose who should be sent with the Treaty. I made my Acknowledgments to the Duke for his Favour, and propos'd, that Mr. *Thynn* should be sent from the Office with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. *Hide*, who was then come from *Nimegueu* to the *Hague* upon a Visit to the Princess. This was done, and the Treaty sign'd there, on the sixteenth of *January*, though not without great Difficulties and Dissatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet cover'd in it by the private Consent of the *Spanish* Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so as the War could not break but upon *France*, in case of their Refusal.

In the mean time, *France* draws out the Treaty upon the Terms at *London* into Length, never raising more than one Difficulty at a time, and expostulating the Unkindness of breaking for the single Town of *Tournay*, tho' that was indeed more important than any Three of the others, being the only strong one to guard that Side of the Frontier, and giving Way for any sudden Invasion upon *Ghent* and *Antwerp*, and the very Heart of the Country. But while this Game was playing in *England*, they had another on foot in *Holland*, especially at *Amsterdam*, by raising Jealousies of the Measures taken

between the King and Prince upon the Marriage, as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*; and making it there believ'd, that by the Match the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their Interests or Sentiments; whereas the Prince went away possess'd to have by it drawn *them* indeed into *his*. They propos'd to the *Dutch* other Terms of Peace, far short of the King's, and less safe for *Flanders*; restoring only Six Towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorraine* but ambiguously; which wou'd not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the Suspensions rais'd by the Prince's Marriage among the People there, who had an incurable Jealousie of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence of the Prince that he deserv'd.

There were two ruling Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* at this Time, who had the whole Sway of that Town (as this has a great one in *Holland*) *Hoeft* and *Valkenier*; the First, a generous, honest Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, Humour, without Ambition, having always refus'd all Employments the State had offer'd him, and serving only in that of Burgomaster of his Town in his Turn, and as little busie in it as he cou'd; a true Genius, and that said Two Things to me in Conversation I had not heard before; One, That a Man who were to die to-morrow in Torment, wou'd yet enjoy to-day, if he were *Sain* [*Sound*]; and, that it was some Disease, or Decay of Spirits, that hinder'd it. The other, That a Man was a *Coyon* [a *sorry Wight*] who desir'd to live after Threescore; and that, for his part, after that Age, which he was then approaching, he shou'd be glad of the first good Occasion to die: And this he made good, dying with Neglect upon a Fit of the Gout, talking with his Friends till he was just spent, then sending them away, that he might not die in their Sight; and when he found himself come a little again, sending for them up, and telling them, *Qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de Conversation* [*That he had Life still for one Half-hour's Conversation*]. This was the Character of Monsieur *Hoeft*, who was a great Inclination of mine, tho' he pass'd for a humorous Man; and told me, I was the only Ambassador he had ever visited in his Life. He had all the Credit that cou'd be in his Town, without seeking, or minding, or using it; whereas *Valkenier* fought and courted it all that cou'd be, without having half the other's, being a morose and formal Man, but of great Industry, much Thought, and, as we believ'd, Avarice, and making the Turns easily that were necessary in Government to carry his Ends. These two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcilable, till the *French* Instruments at this Time, with great Art and Industry, made up the Quarrel, and join'd them both in the Design of making the Peace upon the Terms offer'd by *France*.

The Parliament meets in *January* by the Anticipation of the Session, which seem'd to import something of great Consequence. The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and asks them Money upon it, for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War if the Peace fail'd; which the Parliament gave him, upon the Hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Constitution of this Parliament, that had sat Seventeen Years, was grown into two known Factions, which were call'd, That of Court and Country: The Court Party were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd by my Lord *Clifford*, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party was something greater yet in number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own Pretence of Steadiness to the true Interest of the Nation, especially in the Points of *France* and Popery. Where these came in Question, many of the Court Party voted with those of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court seem'd to fall in with the true Interests of the Nation, especially in those two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes; as they now did, upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and to resolve upon the War if the Peace were refus'd.

In *October*, *Friburg* had been taken by a Feint of the Duke of *Crequi*, before the Duke of *Lorraine* could come to relieve it; and in the same Month *Stein* had been taken by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, after a vigorous Resistance: Which left the Scales as even as they were before between the two Leagues.

In *January*, upon the Delays of *France* to agree to the King's Conditions of a Peace, his Majesty enter'd into a Negotiation with the Ministers of the Confederates at *London*, in case *France* went on to refuse them. But the Hopes of a Peace were on a sudden dash'd by the *French* Attempts upon *Ypres*, and Threats of *Ostend*, whither the King immediately sends Forces over, at the Desire of the *Spanish* Ambassador, for Security of that important Place. Nor did the *French* Ambassador seem to resent at all this Pace of his Majesty, but continu'd his Court and Treaty with all the Fairness that could be.

Towards the End of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the Head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Mentz*, seem'd to threaten *Luxemburg*, or *Namur*, or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spanish* Forces that Way, on a sudden crosses the Country, sits down before *Ghent*, and by the End of the Month takes both that Town and *Ypres*, and thereby gives a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and strengthens the Credit and Endeavours of those he had already dispos'd to his Terms of a Peace, as grown now absolutely necessary; while *England* seem'd resolv'd to go into the War, or at least furnish'd the Confederates with many such Hopes. About the first of *April*, *France* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which they were resolv'd to make the Peace; which though very different from those agreed between his Majesty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretensions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been first privately agreed with some Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Plan of the Peace both for *Holland* and all the other Confederates engag'd in the War. And here the *French* began that imperious Way of treating, which they afterwards pursu'd in the whole Negotiation of the ensuing Peace; declaring such and such were the Conditions they would admit, and no other, and upon which their Enemies might chuse either Peace or War as they pleas'd: and to which *France* pretended not to be ty'd longer than to the tenth of *May*, after which they would be at Liberty to change or restrain them as they should think fit.

About this Time, I happen'd to be with Lord Treasurer one Evening in his Closet, when a Packet came to him from Mr. *Montague* Ambassador at *Paris*, giving him an Account of a large Conference Monsieur *De Louvois* had with him, by the King his Master's Order: Wherein he represented the Measures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms: That since they were agreed there, they hop'd his Majesty would not be against it: That however *France* had order'd him to make his Majesty the Offer of a great Sum of Money for his Consent, tho' to a Thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein his Majesty was consequently not concern'd: That Monsieur *De Louvois* desir'd the Ambassador to write this immediately to Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable Sum for himself, that should be sent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he should chuse: And Mr. *Montague* added, That it was desir'd this Affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treasurer read the Letter to me, and I said, Well, my Lord, What do you say to the Offer? He answer'd, That he thought 'twas the same Thing as if it shou'd be made to the King to have *Windsoy* put into the *French* Hands, and so he should treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordship and I were charg'd with, and had brought near a Conclusion, when his Letters came from Mr. *Hide*, with Representations made him from the Pensioner at the *Hague*, of the Dispositions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, and the absolute Necessity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and Danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threaten'd, and the

Loss whereof would be so fatal to the Trade of *Holland*, especially *Amsterdam*. Hereupon Mr. *Godolphin* was dispatch'd immediately into *Holland*, to bring the last and surest Account he could get of the Resolutions there upon this Affair, and return with the greatest Speed he could. He did so, and brought the same Account of all Dispositions which Mr. *Hide* had given; and in the Process of our Treaty with the Concederates, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, when he came to the Point, was forc'd to confess, That he had no Powers to conclude, without first communicating to the States, which must draw into Length and Uncertainty.

About this Time the *French* Ambassador began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, That his Majesty should be always Arbitrer of the Peace: But now, assuring that his Master had agreed with *Holland*, he seem'd to wonder and expostulate why the King should pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards*, than their Allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then press'd by the King and Lord Treasurer to go into *Holland* to know their final Resolutions, whether they wou'd yet go on with the War in case his Majesty should go into it? But I excus'd my self, knowing the *Dutch* were too much press'd by so near Approaches of *France*, to declare themselves upon a Reserve of the King's; and said, If his Majesty resolv'd to go that Way, he must first take his Measures with the Parliament for the War, and then send them Word in *Holland*, He was ready to declare it in case they would pursue it; And upon this Message, I knew the *Dutch* so well as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late Alliance with his Majesty. This the King was unwilling to do, but posted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland* about the middle of *April*, to know their final Resolutions; and prorog'd the Parliament for fourteen Days.

During these Negotiations, and since the Moncy given by the Parliament; and in six Week's Time, the King had rais'd an Army of about twenty thousand Men, the compleatest, and in all Appearance the bravest Troops that could be any where seen; and might have rais'd many more, upon so great a Concurrence of the People's Humour with his Majesty's seeming Design of entering into a War against *France*: And it was confess'd by all the foreign Ministers, That no King in *Christendom* could have made and compleated such a Levy as this appear'd, in such a Time.

My Lord Treasurer, upon the twentieth, came to me, and assur'd me of the King's Resolution being at length fix'd to go into the War; and desir'd me to prepare what the King was to say to the Parliament upon this Occasion, which I did. When I carry'd it to my Lord Treasurer, I met there Letters from Mr. *Hide* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* absolutely desir'd the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and had resolv'd to send Monsieur *Van Lewen* over hither, to dispose the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King sent me immediately to him to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amsterdam*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and some others, in promoting the Peace, even upon the *French* Conditions: But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the Suspicion that *England* was still at Bottom in with *France*, and that all the rest was but Grimace; the Prince had procur'd him to be sent over, on purpose to satisfy himself (and thereby his Compliances for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which his Highness thought the only Means to prevent the Peace.

When I came to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, he told me freely, That it was the most against their Hearts in *Holland* that could be, to make a Peace upon Terms so low and unsafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into War, as was promis'd, upon *France* delaying or refusing to accept his Scheme, they would certainly have continued it: But his Majesty's Proceedings look'd ever since so uncertain or unresolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealousies in *Holland* of our Measures being at Bottom fix'd and close with *France*; which made

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most of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing else left to do, but to go in with them too as fast as they could, and the Approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerp* left them now no Time to deliberate: Yet he profess'd to me in private, That if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would still go on with it, in pursuit of their Alliance and the Terms therein contain'd.

I made this Report to the King, who seem'd positive to declare the War, in case the Parliament advis'd him, and promis'd to support it; when an unlucky peevish Vote, mov'd by Sir T — C — in sight to my Lord Treasurer, pass'd the House of Commons, *That no Money should be given, till Satisfaction was received in Matters of Religion.* This left all so loose and so lame, that the King was in a Rage, reproach'd me with my popular Notions, as he term'd them; and ask'd me when, or how, I thought he could trust the House of Commons to carry him thro' the War, if he should engage in it? And I had not much indeed to say, considering the Temper and Factions of the House; nor could I well clear it to my self, by my Observation, whether the King was firmly resolv'd to enter into the War; or if he did, whether the House of Commons would have supported him in it, or turn'd it only to ruin the Ministers by the King's Necessities. 'Tis certain, no Vote could ever have pass'd more unhappily, nor in such a Counter-Season, nor more cross to the Humour of the House, which seem'd generally bent upon engaging his Majesty in the War; and the Person that mov'd it was, I believe, himself as much of that Mind as any of the rest; but having, since the Loss of his Employment at Court, ever acted a part of great Animosity in opposition to the present Ministry, in whose Hands soever it was, this private ill Humour carry'd him contrary to his publick Intentions, as it did many more in the House, who pretended to be very willing to supply the King upon Occasion of the War or even of his Debts, but that they would not do it during my Lord Treasurer's Ministry. In short, there was such a fatal and mutual Distrust both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any sound Measures between them. The King, at least, now saw he had lost his Time of entering into the War, if he had a Mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord *Duras's* Return, and) with the whole Confederacy. And my Lord *Effex* told me, I had been a Prophet, in refusing to go into *Holland* to make that Alliance, which had, as I said, pleas'd none at home or abroad, and had now lost all our Measures in *Holland*, and turn'd theirs upon *France*.

But the Turn that the King gave all this, was, That since the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offer'd Money for his Consent to what he could not help, he did not know why he should not get the Money; and thereupon order'd me to treat upon it with the *French* Ambassador, who had Orders to that Purpose. I would have excus'd my self; but he said, I could not help seeing him, for he would be with me at my House by seven next Morning: He accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the Night, and could not enter into Business. The Ambassador was much disappointed, and press'd me all he could, but I defended my self upon my Illness, till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Sheen*, writ to my Lord Treasurer by my Wife, *May* the tenth 1678, how much I was unsatisfy'd with being put upon such a Treaty with the *French* Ambassador, that belong'd not at all to my Post, and which they knew I thought dishonourable to the King; and thereupon I offer'd to resign to his Majesty both my Embassy at *Nimeguen*, and Promise of Secretary of State's Place, to be dispos'd of by his Majesty as he pleas'd. My Lord Treasurer sent me Word, The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no Mind to; but if I resolv'd this should be said to him, I must do it my self, or by some other, for he would not make my Court so ill as to say it for me; and so it rested, and I continu'd at *Sheen*, without stirring till the King sent for me.

In the mean time, from the Beginning of *May*, the ill Humour of the House

House of Commons began to break out, by several Discourses and Votes, against the Ministers and their Conduct; which increas'd the ill Opinion his Majesty had conceiv'd of their Intentions in pressing him to enter upon a War: Yet notwithstanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good Hand) conceiv'd such an Indignation at one Article of the private Treaty propos'd by Monsieur *Barillon*, that he said he would never forget it while he liv'd; and though he said nothing to me of his Resentment, yet he seem'd at this time more resolv'd to enter into the War, than I had ever before seen or thought him.

Monsieur *De Ruigny* the Son, was dispatch'd into *France*, to know the last Intentions of that Court upon the Terms of the Peace propos'd by his Majesty, but brought no Answer clear or positive; so as his Majesty went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War: But *May* the eleventh, the House of Commons pass'd another Negative upon the Debate of Money; which so offended the King, that he prorogued them for ten Days, believing in that Time his Intentions to enter into the War would appear so clear as to satisfy the House, and put them in better Humour. Monsieur *Van Lewen*, distast'd with these Delays, and the Counter-faces between King and Parliament, begins to discourse boldly of the Necessity his Masters found to make the Peace as they could, since there was no relying upon any Measures with *England* for carrying on the War, and the Season was too far advanc'd to admit any longer Delays. Upon these Discourses from him, his Majesty began to cool his Talk of a War, and to say, The Peace must be left to the Course which *Holland* had given it: And though upon *May* the twenty third the Parliament met, and seem'd in much better Temper than they parted, yet News coming about the same Time that Monsieur *Van Beverning* was sent by the States to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propose a Cessation of Arms for six Weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the Terms of the Peace in that Time, the Affair began now to be look'd upon, both in Court and Parliament, as a Thing concluded, or at least as like to receive no other Motion than what should be given it by *Holland* and *France*. And indeed, the Dispositions were so inclin'd to it on both Sides, that the Terms were soon adjust'd between them. These Articles having been so publick, I shall not trouble my self to insert them, but only say, they seem'd so hard, both to *Spain*, and to the *Northern* Princes who had made great Conquests upon the *Suedes*, that they all declar'd they would never accept them; and when the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* desired Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry them to the Confederates, he refus'd to do it, or to have part in a Treaty or Conditions of Peace, so different from what the King his Master had propos'd, and what both his Majesty and *Holland* had oblig'd themselves to pursue by their late Treaty at the *Hague*.

About this Time, *France*, by a Conduct very surprizing, having sent Monsieur *De la Feuillade* to *Messina*, with a common Expectation of reinforcing the War in *Sicily*, shew'd the Intention was very different, and of a sudden order'd all their Forces to abandon that Island, with whom many *Messinese* return'd all fearing the Vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now expos'd: And this was the only important Service done that Crown by all his Majesty's Intentions or Preparations to assist them; for no Man doubted, that the abandoning of *Sicily* was wholly owing to the Apprehensions in *France* of a War with *England*, which they thought would give them but too much Occasion for employing of their Forces. And indeed the Eyes and Hopes of all the Confederates were now turn'd so wholly upon *England* for any Resource in their Affairs, after *Holland* had deserted them (as they thought) by such precipitate Terms of a Peace, that many of the chief Ministers at *Nimeguen* left that Place, as of no more Use to the Treaty it was design'd for, and went into *England*, where they thought the whole Scene of that Affair then lay; among whom was Count *Antoine* the *Danish* Ambassador, and soon after, Monsieur *Olivierans* the *Swedish*, with the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Envoy, and several others.

However, the Negotiation continued there, between the *French* Ambassadors and Monsieur *Van Beverning*, till he was sent to the *French* Camp; where he concluded the Terms of the Peace towards the End of *June*, and a Cessation from all Hostilities in *Flanders* for six Weeks, which was given to the *Dutch*, to endeavour the *Spaniards* entering into the Peace upon the Terms they had proposed for them. And, in the whole Course of this Negotiation, *France* seem'd to have no Regards, but for *Holland*; and for them so much, that the Most Christian King assur'd the States, That tho' *Spain* should not agree, yet he had such a Care of their Satisfaction, that he would always provide such a Barrier in *Flanders* should be left, as they thought necessary for their Safety; and, that after the Peace should be made, and the ancient Amity restor'd, he would be ready to enter into such Engagements and Measures with them, as should for ever secure their Repose and their Liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious Word, put in on purpose to cajole the Enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the Suspensions of his affecting more Authority than they desir'd; and thereby kept up a Popular Party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief Promoters of the present Peace. And indeed the Prince was not at all reserv'd in the Endeavours of opposing it, but us'd all that was possible and agreeable to the Forms of the State; yet all in vain, the Humour having spread so far, at first in *Holland*, and from thence into the other Provinces, that it was no longer to be oppos'd or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the Matter of the Peace, and *Spain* seem'd well inclin'd to accept their Part of it; but the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburg*, fell into the highest Declarations and Reproaches against the States that could be well invented, reaping up all they had ventur'd and suffer'd in a War they had begun only for the Preservation of *Holland*; how they were now abandon'd by them, in pretending to conclude Imperious and Arbitrary Terms of a Peace upon them without their Consent; that they were willing to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any safe and reasonable Conditions, but would never endure to have them impos'd, as from a Conqueror; and would venture all, rather than accept them, especially those for the Duke of *Lorraine*, whose Case was the worst treated, tho' the most favour'd in Appearance, by all the Confederates, and the least contested by *France*.

Notwithstanding all these Storms from their Allies, the *Dutch* were little mov'd, and held on their Course, having small Regard to the Satisfaction of any, besides *Spain*, in what concern'd the Safety of *Flanders*; and the Necessities of that Crown made them easie, tho' as little contented as the rest: So as the Peace was upon the point of signing by *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, when an unexpected Incident fell in, which had like to have overturn'd this whole Fabrick, and to have renew'd the War with greater Heats, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* to a Share of it in favour of the Confederates, which they had been long practising without Success, and now without Hopes.

In the Conditions which *Holland* had made for the *French* restoring the Six Towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular Mention made of the Time of that Restitution; the *Dutch* understanding, as well as the *Spaniards*, that it was to be upon the Ratifications of the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any of the other Allies on each Side were included, or not. But when the *Dutch* Treaty was near signing, the Marquess *de Balbases* either found or made some Occasion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. The *French* Ambassadors made no Difficulty of declaring, That the King, their Master, being oblig'd to see an entire Restitution made to the *Swedes* of all they had lost in the War, could not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders* till those to the *Swedes* were likewise restor'd; and, that this Detention of Places was the only Means to induce the Princes of the *North* to accept of the Peace.

Monfieur *Van Beverning* gave Account to his Masters of this new Pretence, and the States order'd him to let the *French* Ambassadors know, he could not sign the Peace without the Reftitution of the Places in *Flanders* upon the Ratification of the Treaty. The *French* Ambassadors were firm on t'other Side, and faid, Their Orders were positive to infist upon the Reftitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon fent to Monfieur *Van Lewen*, to acquaint his Majesty with this unexpected Incident, and to know his Opinion and Refolution upon a Point of fo great moment to the Peace of *Chriftendom* on the one fide, and to the Safety of *Flanders* on the other. The King was difficult at firft to believe it; but fending to the *French* Ambaffador at *London*, to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Mafter's Intention not to evacuate the Towns till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* fatisfied, he was both surpriz'd and angry at this Proceeding of *France*; and next Morning fent for me to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Refolution of fending me immediately into *Holland*, with Commiffion to fign a Treaty with the States, by which they fhould be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majesty to enter into it, in cafe *France* fhould not confent, within a certain Time limited, to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this Counfel with great Warmth, and faid at the Committee, That it was plain by this Pace, that *France* was not fincere in the Bufinefs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the Univerfal Monarchy; and, that none but his Majesty could hinder them from it, in the pofture that *Chriftendom* flood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed with fo general a Concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this fhould not prove a fteady Refolution, how little foever we had been given to any fuch. His Majesty took the Pains to prefs *Van Lewen* to go over with me, to perfuade the States of the Sincerity and Conftancy of his Refolution to purfue this Meafure with the utmoft of his Power; and took upon himfelf to excufe to the States his Mafters, the making this Journey without their Confent.

Upon this Difpatch, Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been lately in *Holland*, told me, that if I brought the States to the Treaty his Majesty propos'd upon this Occafion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statue fet up; the Succefs whereof may deserve a further Remark in its due Place.

Monfieur *Van Lewen* and I went over in *July* 1678, in two feveral Yachts, but met foon at the *Flague*, where, upon my firft Conference with the Commiffioners of Secret Affairs, one of them made me the handfom'ft *Dutch* Compliment I had met with, *That they esteem'd my coming into Holland like that of the Swallow, which brought fair Weather always with it.*

The Prince receiv'd me with the greateft Joy in the World; hoping by my Errand, and the Succefs of it, either to continue the War, or recover fuch Conditions of Peace for his Allies, as had been wrested out of his Hands by Force of a Faction begun at *Amfterdam*, and fpread fince into the reft of the Provinces.

To make way for this Negotiation, I concerted with Monfieur *Van Lewen* to dine at his Country Houfe, with Monfieur *Hoeft* of *Amfterdam*, *Van Tiel* of *Haerlem*, *Patz* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the chief Burgomasters, who had promoted the Peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the *French* Conditions. After Dinner, we enter'd into long Conferences, in which Monfieur *Van Lewen* affur'd them with great Confidence of the King's Sincerity in the Refolutions he had taken, and feconded very effectually all I had to fay upon that Subject; which had the more Credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in the Purfuit and Acceptance of the Peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had pafs'd in this Meeting, which made me go to him that Evening; and I told him, what I was very confident to have found, That Monfieur *Patz* was incurable, and not otherwife to be dealt with; but, that all the reft were good and well-meaning Perfons to their Country, abus'd firft by Jealoufies of his Highnefs's Match in *England*, by Apprehenfions of our Court being wholly in the Meafures of *France*, and by the plaufible Offers of *France* towards fuch a Peace as they could desire

fire for themselves : That they were something enlightned by the late Refusal of delivering up the *Spanish* Towns till the Satisfaction of *Sweden* ; and would, I doubted not, awaken their several Towns, so as to make them receive favourably his Majesty's Proposition upon this Conjunction. It happen'd accordingly ; for Monsieur *Hoest* proposing at *Amsterdam* to make a trial and judgment of the Sincerity of *France* upon the whole Proceeding of the Peace, by their evacuating the *Spanish* Towns, and without it to continue the War, he carried his Point there, in spite of *Valkenier* ; and the same follow'd in all the rest of the Towns : So that when I fell into this Negotiation, I concluded the Treaty in six Days ; by which *France* was oblig'd to declare within fourteen after the Date hereof, That they would evacuate the *Spanish* Towns ; or, in case of their Refusal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it against *France*, in conjunction with *Holland* and the rest of the Confederates.

It is hardly to be imagin'd what a new Life this gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*, who was now own'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Measures they were to expect both from *France* and *England* ; the last having proceeded so resolutely to the Offers of entering into the War (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so important a Difficulty in the Peace, having proceeded in the War so far as to block up *Mons*, one of the best Frontiers remaining to *Flanders* ; which was expected to fall into their hands before the Term fix'd for the Conclusion or Rupture of the Peace should expire.

Preparations were made with the greatest Vigour imaginable for his Highness's Expedition to relieve *Mons* ; and about Ten thousand *English*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that Way and join the Prince. He went into the Field, with a firm Belief that the War would certainly go on, since *France* seem'd too far engag'd in Honour to yield the Evacuation of the Towns ; and tho' they should, yet *Spain* could not be ready to Agree and Sign the Peace within the Term limited : And he thought that he left the States resolv'd not to conclude otherwise than in conjunction with that Crown. And besides, he hoped to engage the *French* Army before the Term for Signing the Peace should expire ; and resolv'd to relieve *Mons*, or die in the Attempt, whether the Peace succeeded or not ; so as the Continuance of the War seem'd inevitable. But no Man, since *Solomon*, ever enough consider'd how subject all Things are to Time and Chance, nor how poor Diviners the wisest Men are of future Events, how plainly soever all things may seem laid towards the producing them ; nor upon how small Accidents the greatest Counsels and Revolutions turn ; which was never more prov'd than by the Course and Event of this Affair.

After the Treaty concluded and signified to *France*, all the Arts that could be, were on that side employ'd to elude it, by drawing this Matter into Treaty, or into greater length, which had succeeded so well in *England*. They offer'd to treat upon it at *St. Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the King himself would meet such Ambassadors as the *Dutch* should send to either of those Towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late Treaty concluded with his Majesty, and so continued till about Five Days before the Term was to expire. Then arriv'd from *England* one *De Cross*, formerly a *French* Monk, who some time since had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and insinuated himself so far in the *Swedish* Court, as to procure a Commission (or Credence at least) for a certain petty Agency in *England*. At *London* he had devoted himself wholly to Monsieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambassador, tho' pretending to pursue the Interests of *Sweden*. About a Week after I had sent a Secretary into *England* with the Treaty sign'd, this Man brought me a Pacquet from Court, commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen* ; and there endeavour all I could (and from his Majesty) to persuade the *Swedish* Ambassadors to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the Good of *Christendom*, consent, and even desire the King of *France*, no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and consequently the Peace, upon the

sole Regard and Interest of the Crown of Sweden. I was likewise commanded to assure the said Ambassadors, that after this Peace his Majesty would use all the most effectual Endeavours he could, for Restitution of the Towns and Countries the Swedes had lost in the War.

It was not easie for any Man to be more surpriz'd than I was by this Dispatch; but the Pensioner *Fagel* was stunn'd, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mention'd it to any Man; and, that *De Crofs* had gone about most industriously to the Deputies of the several Towns, and acquainted them with it; and, that the Terms of Peace were absolutely consented, and agreed between the two Kings; that he had brought me Orders to go frait to *Nimeguen*; and, that I shou'd, at my Arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambassador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between them.

How this Dispatch was gain'd, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine: But, upon my next Return for *England*, the Duke told me, That he knew nothing of it till 'twas gone, having been a hunting that Morning. My Lord Treasurer said all that could be to excuse himself of it; and I never talk'd of it to Secretary *Williamson*; but the King indeed told me pleasantly, That the *Rogue De Crofs* had outwitted them all. The Account I met with at Court was, That these Orders were agreed and dispatch'd one Morning in an Hour's time, and in the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's* Chamber, by the Intervention and Pursuit of Monsieur *Barillon*. However it was, and what Endeavours soever were made immediately after, at our Court, to retrieve this Game, it never could be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Fate of *Christendom*; and with so little seeming Ground for any such Counsel, that before *De Crofs's* Arrival at the *Hague*, the Swedish Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very same Declaration and Instances to the French Ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the *Hague* upon the Pretence of persuading them to resolve on.

When I arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, there remain'd but three Days of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between his Majesty and the States, at the *Hague*, either for the French Assent to the Evacuation of the Towns, or for the carrying on of the War in conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and consequently the rest of the Confederates. I found all Men there persuaded, that the Peace would not succeed; and indeed all Appearances were against it. The French Ambassadors had given many Reasons, in a formal sort of *Manifesto*, to the Dutch, why the King, their Master, could not consent to it, without the previous Satisfaction of *Sweden*, whose Interests he esteem'd the same with his own; but yet declaring he was unwilling to receive any Expedients the States should offer in this Matter, either by their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, or such as they should send to his most Christian Majesty at *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*. The Dutch gave them an Answer in Writing, declaring, It was a Matter no longer entire, since upon the Difficulty rais'd about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States, their Masters, had been induced to sign a Treaty with *England*, from which they could not recede, nor from the Day therein fix'd for determining the Fate of either Peace or War; and as there was no Time, so there could be no Use of any Deputation to *St. Quintin*, or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient, besides the Assent of *France* to evacuate the Towns. After this, the French Ambassador had declar'd to the Dutch, That they had found the King their Master was resolv'd, at the Desire of the Swedes, to retard the Peace no longer upon their Consideration; and would consent to evacuate the Towns, upon condition the States would send their Deputies to treat upon the Ways of securing the future Satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended. But the Dutch Ambassadors continued peremptory, that there could be no Deputation made by their Masters; and, that if the Term fix'd by the late Treaty with *England* should elapse, there was no Remedy but the War must go on. To this the French Ambassadors replying, That their Hands were bound up from proceeding further without such a Deputation, the Peace was thereupon esteem'd desperate; and the more so, because, at
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the same Time, the Duke of *Luxemburg* press'd *Mons*, and the Marshal *De Schomberg* seem'd to threaten *Cologne*, demanding of them immediate Satisfaction of the Money that had been seiz'd during the Assembly there; and *Brussels* it self grew unquiet, upon their finding themselves almost surrounded by *French* Troops: So as the Confederate Ministers thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desir'd and aim'd at, which was a long War in Conjunction with *England*: For they neither believ'd *France* would yield a Point they had so long and so publicly contested; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* would suffer their Ambassadors to sign the Peace without *Spain*; and the Time was now too near expiring for agreeing the Terms and Draught of a Treaty between the two Crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digested.

In the midst of these Appearances and Dispositions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, agreed by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a sudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Christendom*; when, in the Morning early, Monsieur *Boreel*, who had been sent from *Amsterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambassadors, and after some Conference with them, these three Ambassadors went immediately to those of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to consent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to sign the Peace, but that it must be done that very Morning. Whether the *Dutch* were surpriz'd or not, they seem'd to be so; and entering into Debate upon several of the Articles, as well as upon the Interests of *Spain*, this Conference lasted near five Hours; but ended in Agreement upon all the Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*, and Orders for writing all fair with the greatest Haste that was possible, so as the Treaty might be sign'd that Night.

About four in the Afternoon, the *French* Ambassadors, having demanded an Hour of me and Sir *Lionel*, came to us at my House, gave us an Account of their Agreement with the *Dutch* Ambassadors upon all Points in difference between them, and of the Treaty's being so order'd, as that it should be sign'd that Evening; and made us the Offer that they would all come and sign it at my House, that so we might have the Part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We answer'd them, That having been sent by his Majesty with Instructions only to mediate a General Peace, we could not by our Orders assist at the signing of a Particular One; and therefore desir'd them to excuse us from having any Part in this Conclusion between them and the *Dutch*, either by the signing it at our Houses, or by using our Names as Mediators in the Treaty.

The *Dutch* Ambassadors came to us likewise with the same Communication and Offer, and receiv'd the same Answer; and I observ'd their Conversation upon the mighty and sudden Turn to be a good deal embarrass'd, and something irresolute, and not very well agreed between the two Ambassadors themselves. Monsieur *Van Beverning* complain'd of the Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and the incurable Jealousies that *De Cross's* Journey had rais'd in *Holland*: That since the King still desir'd the Peace, his Masters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that they, the Ambassadors, took themselves to be so instructed, as that they must sign the Peace upon the Offers made by the *French* to evacuate the Towns. Monsieur *Van Haven* did not seem to me so clear in Point of their Orders; and I never could learn whether upon *De Cross's* Arrival and Discourses at the *Hague*, the States-Deputies there had sent Orders to their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to sign the Peace (even without the *Spaniards*) in case of the *French* assenting to the Evacuation of the Towns before the Day appointed for that Purpose should expire; or whether only the Town of *Amsterdam* had by *Boreel* sent that Advice to Monsieur *Van Beverning*, with Assurances to bear him out in what he did, where his Orders might receive a doubtful Sense or Interpretation. However it were, Monsieur *Van Beverning* was bent upon giving this sudden End of a War, and such a quick Dispatch to the Draught of the Treaty, that it was agreed in

all Articles, and written out fair, so as to be sign'd between eleven and twelve at Night. And thus were eluded all the Effects of the late Treaty concluded at the *Hague*, and the Hopes conceived by the Confederates of the War's going on; which so provok'd several of their Ministers, as to engage them in sharp and violent Protestations against the *Dutch* Ambassadors, by which they hop'd to deter them from signing the Peace without new Orders from their Masters. But all was to no Purpose, *Van Beverning* was unmov'd, and the Thing was done.

The Day after the Peace was sign'd, came an Express to me from Court, with the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his Majesty and the States, and Orders to me immediately to proceed to the Exchange of them: Which was such a Counterpace to the Dispatch I had receiv'd by *De Crofs*, and to the Consequences of it, which had ended in the Conclusion of the Peace, and thereby render'd the late Treaty of no further Use, that the Ratification seem'd now as unnecessary, as it had been at first unresolv'd at our Court, and unexpected from us by the *Dutch*. However, I went away immediately upon this Express; and next Day after my Arrival at the *Hague*, made an Exchange of the Ratifications according to the Orders I receiv'd.

I found the Pensioner and several other of the Deputies very much unsatisfy'd with the Peace, and more with the Precipitation of Monsieur *Van Beverning* to sign it upon the sudden Offer of the *French* Ambassadors to evacuate the Towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and receiv'd new Orders upon it. They said his Instructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in Question for it, and of disavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having Recourse to the Treaty with his Majesty (which they now saw ratify'd) and of continuing the War in Conjunction with *England*; and the rather because they saw *France* had no mind to venture it, but had chosen to stoop from those high Flights they had so long made in all Transactions with their Neighbours, either of War or Peace. But others of the Deputies, especially those of *Amsterdam*, declar'd their Satisfaction in this Conclusion at *Nimeguen*, argu'd, That the Weakness of their Confederates, especially *Spain*, and the Unsteadiness or Irresolution of *England*, had made the Peace of absolute Necessity to *Holland*; and excus'd any Precipitation of their Ambassadors in signing that Day, or without clear and positive Orders, upon the Emergency being so sudden and surprizing, and the Time so critical, that the Delay of sending to the *Hague* must of Necessity have engag'd the States in their Obligations of the late Treaty with *England*, and thereby in a Necessity of continuing the War.

The Truth is, I never observ'd, either in what I had seen or read, any Negotiation manag'd with greater Address and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Course of the Affair; especially since the Prince of *Orange's* Match, which was thought to have given them so great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd so much to their Advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the War, if *England* should fall with such Weight into the Scale of the Confederates, as the Force of that Kingdom, and Humour of the People would have given to such a Conjunction; and consequently, that his Majesty might have prescrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Course of his Mediation: For besides the Respect which the *French* have for our Troops both Horse and Foot, more than any others, especially since the Services and Advantages they receiv'd from them in all their Actions against the *Germans*; besides the Terror of a Conjunction between our Naval Forces and the *Dutch*, and of Descents upon their Coasts, with the dangerous Influences that might make upon the Discontents of their People; they wisely foresaw another Consequence of our falling into this Confederacy, which must unavoidably have prov'd more mortal to them than all the rest, in two Year's time. For whereas the Wealth of *France*, which makes their Greatness, arises from the infinite Consumption made by so many neighbouring Countries, of so many and rich Commodities as the native Soil and Climate, or Ingenuity of the People produce in *France*; in case this War had gone on, with *England* engag'd in it, all these Veins of
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such infinite Treasure had been stop'd at once, or at least left open only to some Parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their Wines, their Salts, nor their Modes in Habit or Equipage, that draw so vast Expences upon all the Provinces almost of *Europe* which lie Northward of *France*, and drain such vast Sums of Money from all their Neighbours, into that fruitful and noble Kingdom, more favour'd by Nature, in my Opinion, than any other in the World: But the Loss of this Advantage, upon the Necessity, Folly or Luxury of others, must, in two or three Year's Time, reduce them to such Weakness in those Sinews of War, by so general a Poverty and Misery among their People, that there wou'd need no other Effect of such a general Confederacy, to consume the Strength and Force of that Nation. This they very prudently foresaw, and never intended to venture; but having Reason for apprehend it from the Prince of *Orange's* Match in *England*, they took it without Repentment; nay, improv'd it rather into new Kindness than Quarrel, making use of the King's good Nature to engage him in a Prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had still the Ascendant upon our Court. They eluded the Effects of the Message sent them by my Lord *Duras*, with his Majesty's Scheme of the Peace; by drawing it out into Expostulations of Kindness, and so in-ro Treaty. During this Amusement of our Court, they ply'd their Business in *Holland*; yet, with greater Art and Industry, poison'd the People there with Jealousies of the Prince's Match in *England*, and of Designs from both upon their Liberties, by a long and unnecessary Continuance of the War. They united the Factions in *Amsterdam* upon the Scent of a Peace, and upon their own Conditions, to avoid those that had been propos'd by his Majesty. When they had gain'd their Point with the several Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being sure of the Peace on that Side; and by his Ambassador at *Paris*, made Offers of mighty Sums, both to himself and his chief Minister, only for their Consent to such a Peace as *Holland* it self was content with. When the States had absolutely resolv'd on the Peace, by the particular Faction of *Amsterdam*, and general Terror upon the *French* taking of *Ghent* and threatening *Aarwerp*, they esteem'd the Humour in *Holland* so violent towards the Peace, and so unsatisfy'd with the Fluctuation of our Counsels in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the Interests of *Spain*, and so rais'd the Pretence of not evacuating the Towns before the Satisfaction of *Sweden*. And tho' I know this was by the Politicians esteem'd a wrong Pace of *France*; yet I did not think it so, but that all Appearances were for their succeeding in it. Nor had they Reason to believe either our Court or *Holland* would have resent'd it to that degree they did; or that they cou'd have fallen into such close and sudden Measures, and with such Confidence, as they happen'd to do upon this Occasion by the Treaty of *July* at the *Hague*. When this was concluded, they made all the Offers that could be at breaking the Force of it; by drawing it into Negotiation, and by Condescensions to the States unusual with that Crown even to the greatest Kings. They poison'd it by the Dispatch of *De Groot*, and by his Instructions, as well as Artifice and Industry, to make the Contents of it publick at the *Hague*, which were pretended at Court to be sent over to me with the greatest Secrecy that could be. At the same time they made all the Declarations of not receding from the Difficulties they had rais'd, otherwise than by Treaty; and thereby laid asleep all Jealousies of the Confederates, as well as Endeavours to prevent a Blow they did not believe could arrive where the Honour of *France* seem'd so far engag'd: And thus they continu'd till the very Day limited for their first Declaration. The Secret was so well kept, that none had the least Umbrage of it that very Morning. When they declar'd it, they left not the *Dutch* Ambassadors time enough to send to their Masters; fearing, if they had, the States would have refus'd to sign without *Spain*, which could not be ready before the Time must have claps'd for incurring the Effects of the late Treaty.

Thus the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*. His Majesty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after the vast Expence of raising a great Army, and transporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was necessitated to accept the Terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Discretion of *France*, and the Restitution of *Lorrain* (which all had consented in) wholly abandon'd and unprovided. So that I must again conclude the Conduct of *France* to have been admirable in the whole Course of this Affair, and the *Italian* Proverb to continue true, *Che gli Pazzi Francesi sono morti* [*The French Fools are dead.*] On the contrary, our Counsels and Conduct were like those of a floating Island, driven one Way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides. The King's Disposition inclin'd him to preserve his Measures with *France*, and consequently to promote a Peace which might break the present Confederacy: The Humour of his People and Parliament was violent towards engaging him in a War: The Ministers were wavering between the Fears of making their Court ill, or of drawing upon them the Heats of a House of Commons, whom the King's Expences made him always in need of. From these Humours arose those Uncertainties in our Counsels, that no Man who was not behind the Curtain could tell what to make of, and which appear'd to others much more mysterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable Engine beginning to appear upon the Stage, made the Court fall into an absolute Resolution of entering into the War just when it was too late; and to post away the Ratifications of the Treaty of *July*, so as to arrive the Day after the *French* and *Dutch* had sign'd the Peace, and after the King had given the States occasion to believe he did not intend to ratifie it, but that he had taken his Measures with *France*; for so all Men in *Holland* concluded from *De Cross's* Journey, and the Commands he brought me for mine to *Nimeguen*, at a Time when my Presence at the *Hague* was thought the most necessary, both to ratify the Treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their Resolutions upon it.

Thus ended in Smoke the whole Negotiation, which was near raising so great a Fire. *France* having made the Peace with *Holland*, treated all the rest of it with Ease and Leisure, as playing a sure Game. *England*, to avoid a cruel Convulsion that threatened them at home, would fain have gone into the War, if *Holland* would have been prevail'd with; but they could not trust us enough, to lose the present Interest of Trade, for the uncertain Events of a War wherein they thought their Neighbours more concern'd than themselves.

About two or three Days after my Return to the *Hague*, and exchanging the Ratifications, came the News of the Battle of *Mons*, between the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who had posted himself with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, so as to prevent the Prince's Design of relieving *Mons*. And I remember, the Day the *Dutch* Peace was sign'd at *Nimeguen*, I was saying to the Marechal *D'Estvades*, That for ought I knew, we might have a Peace sign'd and a Battle fought, both in one Day. He reply'd, There was no Fear of it; for the Duke of *Luxemburg* had writ him word, he was so posted, that if he had but ten thousand Men, and the Prince forty, yet he was sure he would not be forc'd; whereas he took his Army to be stronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an Action so well known in the World, and so shall only say, that in spite of many Disadvantages from an Army drawn so suddenly together, so hasty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Posts taken with so much Skill, and fortify'd with so much Industry by the *French*, as was believ'd, the Prince upon the fourteenth of *August* attack'd them with a Resolution and Vigour that at first surpriz'd them, and after an obstinate and bloody Fight, so disorder'd them, that tho' the Night prevented the End of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, That if he had been at liberty next Day to pursue it with seven or eight thousand *English* that were ready to
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join his Army, he must in all appearance not only have reliev'd *Mons*, but made such an impression into *France* as had been often design'd, but never attempted since the War began; and upon which a *French* Officer present in it said, *That he esteem'd This the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole Course or Progress of it.*

But, the Morning after the Battle, the Prince receiv'd from the States Advice of the Peace having been sign'd at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon immediately sent a Deputy with the News of it to *Montieur De Luxemburg*. After Compliments pass'd on both Sides, the Duke desir'd to see the Prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the Field, at the head of their Chief Officers; where all pass'd with the Civilities that became the Occasion, and with great Curiosity of the *French* to see and crowd about a Young Prince, who had made so much Noise in the World, and had the Day before given Life and Vigour to such a desperate Action, as all Men esteem'd this Battle of *St. Denis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends, as well as his Enemies: Some said, That he knew the Peace was sign'd before the Fight began; and, that it was too great a Venture both to himself and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, since it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid it to the *Marques De Grana*, who, they said, had intercepted and conceal'd the States Paquet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before the Battle (but after it was resolv'd on) and that he had Hopes by such a Breach of the Peace, even after it was sign'd, that the Progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true, or not, I could never certainly be inform'd; but so much is, that the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory; nor with greater Spight, to see such a mighty Occasion wrested out of his Hand by the sudden and unexpected signing of the Peace, which he had assur'd himself the States would not have consented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to pursue their own Paces, in order to finishing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themselves with great Zeal and Diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators; whilst *Sir Lionel*, who continued still there in that Figure, declin'd the Function, as in a Matter wherein he found our Court would not take any Part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Soon after the Prince's Return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a Person that had little else to do: And I having occasion to go at the same time to *Amsterdam*, he desir'd me to remember him kindly to *Monfieur Hoest* the Chief Burgomaster there, and tell him, That he desir'd him to be no longer in his Interests than he should find his Highness in the true Interests of the State. I did so; and *Monfieur Hoest* very frankly and generously bid me tell the Prince, He would be just what his Highness desir'd, and be ever firm to his Interests, while he was in those of his Country; but if ever his Highness departed from them, he would be the first Man to oppose him; till then he would neither censure nor distrust his Conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual Trust between the Prince and the States, his Country must be ruin'd. From this Time to that of his Death, *Monfieur Hoest* continued in the same Mind, and by his Example that great and jealous Town began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole Conduct in the Administration of the Affairs of the State.

For the Time I stay'd at *Amsterdam*, I was every Day in Conversation with *Monfieur Hoest*, who, besides much Learning, Worth, Sincereness, and Credit in his Town, was a Man of a pleasant natural Humour; which makes, in my Opinion, the most agreeable Conversation of all other Ingredients, and much more than any of those squeez'd or forced Strains of Wit that are in some Places so much in request; tho', I think, commonly the Men that affect them are themselves much sonder of them than any of the Company.

Dining one Day at Monsieur *Hoest's*, and having a great Cold, I observ'd every time I spit, a tight handfom Wench (that stood in the Room with a clean Cloth in her Hand) was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Somebody at Table speaking of my Cold, I said, the most Trouble it gave me was, to see the poor Wench take so much Pains about it. Monsieur *Hoest* told me, 'Twas well I escap'd so; and, that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambassador, she would have turn'd me out of doors for fouling her House: And laughing at that Humour, said, There were two Rooms of his House that he never durst come into, and believ'd they were never open but twice a Year, to make 'em clean. I said, I found he was a good Patriot; and not only in the Interests of his Country, but in the Customs of his Town, where that of the Wife's governing was, I heard, a Thing establish'd. He reply'd, 'Twas true, and, that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patronne* [*an easie Governess*]; and, that his Wife was so. Another of the Magistrates at Table, who was a graver Man, said Monsieur *Hoest* was pleasant, but the Thing was no more so in their Town, than in any other Place that he knew of. *Hoest* replied very briskly, It was so, and could not be otherwise, for it had long been the Custom; and whoever offer'd to break it, would have banded against him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all those Men too that were govern'd by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppos'd. In the Afternoon, upon a Visit, and Occasion of what had been said at Monsieur *Hoest's*, many Stories were told of the strange and curious Cleanliness so general in that City; and some so extravagant, that my Sister took them for Jest; when the Secretary of *Amsterdam*, that was of the Company, desiring her to look out of the Window, said, Why, Madam, there's the House where one of our Magistrates going to visit the Mistress of it, and knocking at the Door, a strapping *North-Holland* Lads came and open'd it; he ask'd, Whether her Mistress was at home: She said, Yes; and with that he offer'd to go in; but the Wench marking his Shoos were not very clean, took him by both Arms, threw him upon her Back, carried him cross two Rooms, set him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shoos, put him on a pair of Slippers that stood there, and all this without saying a Word; but when she had done, told him, He might go up to her Mistress, who was in her Chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted with such Pleasantries as these the Thoughts of that buisie Scene, in which I was so deeply engag'd, that I will confess the very Remembrance of it, and all the strange surprising Turns of it, begin to renew those cruel Motions they had rais'd both in my Head and Heart, whilst I had so great, and so sensible a part in them. But to return where I left the Thread of these Affairs.

After the Peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Ministers of the Confederates, especially those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employ'd their last Efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, as accepted for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaim'd at their Breach of Honour and Interest: That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by those Terms, was indefensible, and could serve but to exhaust their Men and Treasures to no purpose: That the Design of *France* was only to break this present Confederacy by these separate Treaties, and so leave the *Spaniards* abandon'd by their Allies upon the next Invasion; which they would have reason to expect, if *Spain* should use them with as little regard of their Honour and Treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambassadors seem'd to design. These themselves also met with some Difficulties in their Mediation, by a Pretension rais'd in *France* upon the County of *Beaumont* and Town of *Bovignes*, which they did not find to have been mention'd in what had pass'd between the *French* and *Dutch*, upon the score of *Spain*, before the Peace was sign'd.

All these Circumstances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determin'd by the States, as to their Ratifications, which were like to be delay'd till *Spain* had concluded their Treaty, though those of

France had been dispatch'd so as to arrive at *Nimeguen* the twenty second of this Month; and Monsieur *D'Arvaux* commanded from thence to the *Hague*, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to the States; and the *French Army* had retir'd into *France* at the same time the *Dutch* return'd from before *Mons*. So that all seem'd, on the *French* side, resolv'd to pursue the Peace; on the side of the Empire, and Princes of the *North*, to carry on the War; on the *Spaniards*, very irresolute, whether to accept the Peace the *Dutch* had mediated for them, or not: And in *Holland*, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratifie that their Ambassadors had sign'd, and whether at least before the Treaty of *Spain* should be agreed.

Whilst the Minds of Men were busied with different Reasonings and Preferences, as well as Wishes, upon this Conjunction; about the End of *August* Mr. *Hide* arriv'd at the *Hague* from *England*, without the least Intimation given me of his Journey, or his Errand; so that I was surpriz'd, both to see him, and to hear the Design of such a sudden Dispatch.

The Substance of it was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been surpriz'd at the News of their Ambassadors having sign'd a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the Inclusion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns within the Time requisite: To complain of this Precipitation of the States; and at the same time of the new Pretensions that *France* had advanc'd upon the County of *Beaumont* and the Town of *Bovignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*, and hinder'd it from being concluded at the same time with that of *Holland*; which his Majesty understood always to have been the Intention of the States, as well as his own. That for these Reasons he understood, and believ'd, that the late Treaty of *July*, between his Majesty and the States, ought to take Effect; the Case being fallen out against which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War against *France*. That if the States would hereupon refuse to ratify the Treaty their Ministers had sign'd at *Nimeguen*, his Majesty offer'd to declare War immediately against *France*, and carry it on in all Points according to the Articles and Obligations of the said Treaty with the States.

Tho' Mr. *Hide* did not know, or did not tell me, the true Spring of this resolute Pace that was made by our Court, so different from all the rest in the whole Course of this Affair; yet he assur'd me they were both in earnest and very warm upon the Scent, and desir'd nothing so much as to enter immediately and vigorously into the War, in case *Holland* would be persuaded to continue it; and that no Time nor Endeavours were to be neglected in pursuing the Commission he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court with all the Instances and Earnestness that could be. When I carried him that very Evening to the Prince at *Honflaerdycck*, and he acquainted his Highness with the whole Extent of his Errand and Instructions; the Prince receiv'd it very coldly, and only advis'd him to give in a Memorial to the States, and ask Commissioners to treat, by whom he would find what the Mind of the States was like to be upon this Affair, and at which he would at present make no Conjecture.

After a short Audience, Mr. *Hide* went to the Princess, and left me alone with the Prince; who as soon as he was gone, list'd up his Hands two or three times, and said, Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is so often at Sea, never learn a Word that I shall never forget since my last Passage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steady, Steady, Steady? If this Dispatch had come twenty Days ago, it had chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Christendom*; and the War might have been carried on till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrennes*, and left the World in quiet for the rest of our Lives: As it comes now, it will have no Effect at all. At least, this is my Opinion, tho' I would not say so to Mr. *Hide*.

After this, he ask'd me what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new Heat in our Court; and what could make it break out so *mal a propos* [*Unseasonably*] after the Dissatisfaction they had express'd upon the late Treaty when

it was first sent over, and the Dispatch of *De Cross*, so contrary to the Design of it. I told him very truly, That I was perfectly ignorant of the whole Matter, and could give no Guess at the Motions of it: And so I continu'd till some Months after, when I was advis'd, That the Business of the Plot, which has since made so much Noise in the World, was just then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the Consequences that might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which seem'd to rise chiefly from the Peace, his Majesty resolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had so long desir'd, of entering into the War: Which is all the Account I can give of this Counsell or Resolution.

The Event prov'd answerable to the Judgment the Prince at first made of it; for tho' the States Deputies drew the Matter into several Debates and Conferences with us, which fill'd all Parties concern'd in the War with different Apprehensions, and served to facilitate the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; yet the Pensioner told me from the first, this was all the Use that could be made of it, and that the States were so unsatisfied with our whole Conduct in the Business of the Peace, that tho' they would be glad to see us in the War, yet they were resolv'd to have no further part in it, unless *France* should refuse what they had already promis'd to *Spain*. However, while this Affair continued in Agitation during Mr. *Hide's* Stay at the *Hague*, all Appearances look'd very different from the Opinion of the Prince and Pensioner; who alone had so full a Grasp of the Business in *Holland*, as to make a true Judgment what the general Sentiments there would determine in. Many of the Deputies were so ill satisfy'd with their Ambassadors having sign'd the Peace, that they inclin'd to his Majesty's Proposals, and fram'd several Articles against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Proceedings, whereof some laid Mistakes to his Charge; others, the Omission of Matters absolutely necessary in the Treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his Orders and Instructions, particularly, in having stipulated that the States should give their Guaranty for the Neutrality of *Spain*. And in this point, I doubt he had nothing to shew from his Masters to cover him. The rest seem'd rather to be rais'd invidiously at his Conduct, in having suddenly concluded an Affair, which they now saw might have had another Issue if he had given it more Breath; tho', at that time, many of his Accusers expected as little from *England* as he did, and with Reason alike, since none of them could imagine any thing of that new Spring there from which this violent Motion had begun. Whatever Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Orders or his Proceedings had been, the Heats were so high against him at the *Hague*, that many talk'd, not only of disavowing what he had done, but of forming Process against him upon it: And tho' in a short Stay he made there upon this Occasion, he had the Fortune or the Justice to see his Enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with so ill Payment of what he thought had been so good Service to his Country; and, after his Return to *Nimeguen*, was observ'd to proceed in the Negotiations there, with more Flegm and Caution than was natural to his Temper; and less Shew of Partiality to the Peace, than he had made in the whole Course of the Treaty.

All the while these Matters were in motion at the *Hague*, the King's Forces were every Day transporting into *Flanders*, as if the War were to be carried on with the greatest Certainty and Vigour. Which gave Opinion and Heart to those in *Holland* that dislike'd the Peace: It rais'd also so great Confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they fell into all the Measures they could with the Confederates Ministers at *Nimeguen*, to form Difficulties and Delays in the Treaty there, between that Crown and *France*; upon the Security that *Holland* would not ratify theirs, till that of *Spain* were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War, by the violent Dispositions which now appear'd in *England*, as well as in the Confederates, to continue it. The *Spanish* Ambassadors laid hold of all Occasions to except against the Matter of Stile of those Articles which *Holland* had mediated between them and *France*; they found Difficulties upon the Conditions wherein the several Towns to be evacuated should be restor'd to them, as to the Fortifications that had been made in them by the *French*, and as to the Artillery and Munitions that were in them at the Time when

when the *Dutch* had agreed upon those Conditions; they found Matter of Dispute upon the Territories that belong'd to the several Towns, and especially upon the *Chateleine* of *Aeth*, which *France* had dismember'd since it was in their Possession, and had join'd above threescore Villages to the *Chateleine* of *Tournay*, which had belong'd to *Aeth*, and were with that Town transfer'd by the *Spaniards* to the *French* upon the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*: But the *French* pretending now to restore it, only in the Condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the *Spaniards* made a mighty Clamour both at *London* and the *Hague* upon this Subject, and complain'd of this, among other smaller Matters, as Innovations endeavour'd to be introduc'd by *France*, even beyond what they had themselves propos'd to the *Dutch*, and agreed in *April* last, which had been laid and pursu'd as the very Foundation of the Peace.

In this uncertain State all Matters continu'd at the *Hague* for about three Weeks, the Opinions of most Men running generally against the Peace; as well as the Wagers at *Amsterdam*, by which People often imagine the Pulse of the State is to be felt and judg'd, tho' indeed it be a sort of Trade driven by Men that have little Dealing or Success in any other, and is manag'd with more Tricks than the rest seems to be in that Scene; not only coining false News upon the Place, but practising Intelligence from remote Parts to their Purpose, concerting the same Advices from different Countries, and making great Secret and Mystery of Reports that are rais'd on purpose to be publick; and yet by such Devices as these, not only the Wagers at *Amsterdam* are commonly turning, but the rising and falling of the very Actions of the *East India* Company are often and in a great measure influenc'd.

But *France* thought the Conjunction too important to let it hover long in such Uncertainties; and therefore first dispatch'd a Courier to their Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to satisfy the States in those Clauses of their Treaty wherein they seem'd to except justly against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Conduct, and thereby cover the Credit of that Minister who had been so affectionate an Instrument in the Progress of the Treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to soften a little of the Rigour they had hitherto exercis'd in the smallest Points contest'd with the *Spaniards*; and last of all, they dispatched an Express to their Ambassadors, with Power to remit all the Differences which obstructed or retarded the Conclusion of the Treaty between that Crown and *Spain*, to the Determination and Arbitrage of the States themselves.

This was a Pace of so great Confidence towards the States, and appear'd such a Testimony of the most Christian King's Sincerity in the late Advances he had made towards a Peace, that it had all the Effect design'd by it. The several Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general Concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambassadors Hands, to be exchange'd when that of *Spain* should be sign'd. Monsieur *Van Beverning*, now favour'd with a fair Gale from home, the Humour of his Country blowing the same Way with his own Dispositions, and seconded with the great Facilities that were given by *France*, made such a quick Dispatch of what remain'd in contest upon the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and sign'd by the twentieth of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchange'd with the usual Forms. In all this Sir *Lionel Jenkins* had no Part, as in an Affair disapprov'd by the King his Master. The *Dutch* Ambassadors play'd the Part of formal Mediators; had the Treaty between the two Crowns sign'd at their House; and took great Care by the Choice and Disposition of the Rooms where it was perform'd, to avoid all Puntiloes about Place, that might arise between the several Ambassadors. Mr. *Hide* had the Mortification to return into *England*, with the entire Disappointment of the Design upon which he came, and believ'd the Court so passionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the Part of a common Ambassador; *France* was left in Possession of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and, by consequence, Master of that of the Empire and the North, upon their own Terms; and *England* was left

to busy it self about a Fire that was breaking out at home, with so much Smoak, and so much Noise, that as it was hard to discover the Beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the End of it.

After the Peace of *Spain* sign'd, and of *Holland* ratify'd, tho' the Ambassadors of the Emperour at *Nimeguen* were sullen, and those of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* enrag'd, yet, by the Application of the *Dutch* Ambassadors, the Conferences were set on Foot between them and the *French*; and Sir *Lionel* received Orders from Court to return to his Function, tho' the remaining Part he had in the Affair was rather that of a Messenger than a Mediator. The Northern Princes continu'd their Preparations and Marches, as if they resolv'd to pursue the War; but at the same time gave Jealousies to the Emperour of some private Intelligences or Negotiations of separate Treaties set on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburg*, by Monsieur *Despensé*, an old Servant of the Elector, but Subject of *France*. On the other side, *France* made great Preparations to attack the Empire, upon the Pretence of forcing them into the Terms they had prescribed for the Peace; and thereby gave so great Terror to the Princes of the *Rhine* that lay first expos'd to the Fury of their Arms, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier*, and Duke of *Neuburg*, sent away in great Haste to the States, demanding and desiring to be included by them in the Peace they had made, by Virtue of an Article therein, which gave them liberty within six Weeks to declare and include such as they should name for their Allies. But this was oppos'd by *France*, and refus'd to any particular Prince of the Empire, and allow'd only to the Emperour and Empire, if they should jointly desire to be declar'd and included in the Peace as an Ally of *Holland*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, about the same time, seeing the whole Confederacy breaking into so many several Pieces, and every one minding only how to shift the best they could for themselves, accepted his Part of the Peace as *France* had carv'd it out for him; and chose the Alternative offer'd from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperour, tho' he profess'd all the Inclination that could be to see the General Peace restored, yet he pretended not to suffer the Terms of it should, like Laws, be impos'd upon him. He consented to the Re-establishment of the Treaties of *Westphalia*, which seem'd to be all that *France* insisted on; but could not agree to the Passage demanded for their Troops, whenever they found it necessary for the Execution of the said Treaties; and this was insisted on positively by the *French*: Nor could the Imperialists yield to the Dependence pretended by *France* of the ten Towns of *Alsace* upon that Crown; which the *French* demanded as so left, or at least intended, by the Treaty of *Munster*, while the Emperour's Ambassadors denied either the Fact or the Intention of that Treaty.

While these Dispositions, and these Difficulties, delay'd the Treaty of the Emperour, the Ratifications of *Spain* were likewise deferr'd, by Concert, as was suppos'd, between the two Houses of *Austria*; so as the Term agreed for the Exchange of them was quite elaps'd, and twice renew'd or prolong'd by *France* at the Desire of the States. But during this Time, the *French* Troops made Incurfions into the richest Parts of *Flanders*, and which had been best cover'd in the Time of the War; and there exacted so great Contributions, and made such Ravages where they were disputed, that the *Spanisb Netherlands* were more ruin'd between the signing of the Peace and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in so much Time during the whole Course of the War.

The Outcries and Calamities of their Subjects in *Flanders* at length mov'd the *Spaniards* out of their slow Pace; but more, the Embroilments of *England* upon the Subject of the Plot, which took up the Minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no Regard for the Course of Foreign Affairs. This Prospect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the Peace to a General Issue; and *France* making a wise Use of so favourable a Conjunction, press'd the Empire not only by the Threats and Preparations of a sudden Invasion, but also by confining their Offers of the Peace to certain Days, and raising much higher Demands, if those should expire before the Emperour's Acceptance.

All these Circumstances, improv'd by the Diligence and Abilities of the Dutch Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, at length determin'd the House of *Austria* to run the Ship a-shore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea in so cruel a Storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The *Spanish* Ratifications at length arriv'd: And after the Winter far spent in fruitless Contest by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless Hopes from *England* by the *Spaniards* and other Confederates, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* gave Notice both to the Court and to me, that he look'd upon the Treaty between the Emperor and *France* to be as good as concluded; and soon after I receiv'd his Majesty's Commands to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there assist as a Mediator at the signing of the Peace, which then appear'd to be General.

I never obey'd the King so unwillingly in my Life; both upon Account of an Errand so unnecessary, and, at best, so merely formal (which I never had been us'd to in so long a Course of Employments;) and likewise upon the Unclemency of the Season, which was never known so great in any Man's Memory, as when I set out from the *Hague*. The Snow was in many Places where I pass'd near ten Foot deep, and Ways for my Coach forc'd to be digg'd through it; several Post-boys dy'd upon the Road; and it was ridiculous to see People walk about with long Icicles from their Noses. I pass'd both the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, with both Coaches and Waggons, upon the Ice; and never in my Life suffer'd so much from Weather as in this Journey, in spite of all Provisions I could make against it. The best of it was, that I knew all the Way. It was neither at all material that the Mediators shou'd sign this Branch of the General Peace, having sign'd none of the other; nor that two should sign it, when one alone had assisted in the whole Course of this Negotiation since it was renew'd between the Empire and *France*. Besides, I was very confident it would not at last be sign'd by either of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the Point, the Emperor's Ambassadors should yield that of Precedence to the Mediators, at the Conclusion of the Treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole Course of it: So that I look'd upon the Favour of this Journey, as afforded me from the particular Goodwill of some of my good Friends in the foreign Committee; taking a Rise from some Instances of Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who was in one of his usual Agonies, for fear of being left in the Way of signing alone a Treaty, which he neither was pleas'd with himself, nor believ'd many People in *England* like to be.

I arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the End of *January*, 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to sign, as Sir *Lionel* believ'd; yet the Imperialists made a vigorous Effort in two Conferences, after my Arrival, to gain some Ease in the Points of *Lorraine*, and the Dependence of the ten Towns in *Alsace*, wherein they thought themselves the most hardly us'd of any others, and in the first, their Master's Honour and Justice more concern'd; so as Count *Kinski* made a Mien of absolutely breaking, without some Relief upon them. But the *French* Ambassadors knew too well the Force of the Conjunction, and the Necessity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Peace, to pass the same Way, or leap out of the Window; and they were too skilful not to make use of it, or to give any Ground to all the Instances or Threats of the *Imperialists*. These, on t'other side, durst not venture the Expiration of the last Day given them by *France*, nor the Reserve made in that Case of exacting new and harder Terms. So as the Peace was sign'd about three Days after my Arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorraine* thought himself press'd with such Hardships upon both the Alternatives, that he could not resolve to accept of either: For in that he had chosen, not only his Dutchy was dismember'd of several great Parts wholly cut off, but the rest left at the *French* Discretion; who insisted upon great Spaces of Ground left them in Propriety, quite cross his Country, for the March of their Armies, whenever they should pretend Occasion: So this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the Treaty, and of his Country; contrary to the direct and repeated Engagements of the Confederates, and the Intentions of his Majesty, as he often declar'd in the whole Course of the Treaty.

When

When it was ready to sign, the *French* Ambassadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in signing it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole Course of this Assembly; but the *Imperialists*, when it came to the Point, downright refus'd it; and we, according to our primitive Orders, refus'd to sign without it; and by our Officers, gain'd only the Point of having That determin'd against us, which till this Time had always remain'd in Suspence.

Whilst I staid at *Nimeguen*, I had a Sheet of Paper sent me from an unknown Hand, written in *Latin*, but in a Stile and Character that discover'd it to be by some *German*; The Subject of it was a long Comment upon a Quatrain recited out of *Noſtredamus*.

*Ne sous les ombres d'une journe nocturne
Sera en los & bonte Souverain,
Fera renaistre le sang de l'antique Urne
Et changera en Or le Siecle d'Airain.*

*Under the Shades of a Nocturnal Day being born,
In Glory and Goodness Sovereign shall shine,
Shall cause to Spring again the Blood o' th' Ancient Urn,
And into Gold the Brazen Age refine.*

The Scope of the whole Discourse was to prove the Prince of *Orange's* being by it design'd for the Crown of *England*, and how much Glory and Felicity should attend that Age and Reign. I cou'd but mention it, because I thought the Interpretation ingeniously found out and apply'd, having otherwise very little Regard for any such kind of Predictions, that are so apt to amuse the World. And tho' the present State of the Royal Family leave not this without Appearance of arriving at one Time or other; yet it is at too great a Distance for my Eyes, which, by the Course of Nature, must be clos'd long before such an Event is like to succeed. The Author of this Paper made *The Shades of a Nocturnal Day*, to signify the deep Mourning of the Princess Royal's Chamber, with the Lamps hung about it, which, by the Windows being kept shut, left no other Light in it that Morning the Prince was born (which was soon after his Father's Death.) *Restoring the Blood of the Ancient Urn*, was that of *Bourbon* or of *Charlemaigne*, from whom the Prince was said to descend. The rest was only Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and the general Praise should attend them, and the golden Age he should restore.

The Day after the Treaty was sign'd I left *Nimeguen*, and return'd to the *Hague*, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence; which was render'd the more agreeable, when upon my going into *England* soon after, I found my self in above seven thousand Pounds in Arrear at the Treasury: And though, with much Trouble and Delay, and some worse Circumstances (to engage Men that were more dexterous than I in such Pursuits) I recover'd the rest of my Debt; yet two and twenty hundred Pounds, due to me for this last Embassy, continues to this Day a desperate Debt, and mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both said and writ to me, that he would move to have my Statue set up if I compass'd that Treaty, has sat several Years since in the Treasury, and seen me want the very Money I laid out of my own Purse in that Service, and which I am like to leave a Debt upon my Estate and Family.

I shall not trouble my self with observing the remaining Paces of the General Peace, by that of the North, which was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*. And though *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* look'd big, and spoke high for a Time after the Peace between the Empire and *France*, pretending they would defend what they had conquer'd from the *Swedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the March of the *French* Troops into the *Brandenburg* Country, both those Princes made what Haste they could to finish their Separate Treaties with *France*; and, upon certain Sums of Money agreed on, delivered up all they had gain'd in this War to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus Christendom was left for the present in a General Peace, and *France* to pursue what they could gain upon their Neighbours by their Pretensions of Dependencies, and

by the *Droit de Bienfiance* [*The Right of Conueniency* ;] which they pursu'd with such imperious Methods, both against the Empire and the *Spaniards*, as render'd their Acquisitions after the Peace greater, at least in consequence, than what they had gain'd by the War: Since not only great Tracts of Country, upon the Score of Dependences, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as Sacrifices to their Ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themselves in their Relief. But these Enterprises I leave to some other's Observations.

Very soon after my Arrival at the *Hague*, the King sent me Orders to provide for my Return as soon as I could possibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, That he had sent for me over to come into the Place of the first Secretary of State in Mr. *Coventry's* Room. My Lord Treasurer writ to me to the same Purpose, and with more Esteem than I could pretend to deserve, telling me, among other Things, They were fallen into a cruel Disease, as had need of so able a Physician. This put me in mind of a Story of Doctor *Prujean* (the greatest of that Profession in our Time) and which I told my Friends that were with me when these Letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great Trouble about her Daughter. *Why, what ails she?* Alas, Doctor, I cannot tell; but she has lost her Humour, her Looks, her Stomach; her Strength consumes every Day, so as we fear she cannot live. *Why do you not marry her?* Alas, Doctor, That we would fain do, and have offer'd her as good a Match as she cou'd ever expect, but she will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think, that she would be content to marry?* Ah, Doctor! that is it that troubles us; for there is a young Gentleman we doubt she loves, that her Father and I can never consent to. *Why, look you, Madam,* replies the Doctor gravely (being among all his Books in his Closet) *then the Case is this. Your Daughter would marry one Man, and you would have her marry another: In all my Books I found no Remedy for such a Disease as this.* I confess, I esteem'd the Case as desperate in a Political as in a Natural Body, and as little to be attempted by a Man who neither ever had his own Fortune at Heart (which such Conjunctions are only proper for) nor ever could resolve, upon any Pursuits of it, to go against either the true Interest or the Laws of his Country: One of which is commonly endanger'd upon the fatal Misfortune of such Divisions in a Kingdom: I chose therefore to make my Excuses both to the King and to my Lord Treasurer, and desir'd leave to go to *Florence*, and discharge my self of a Promise I had made some Years past of a Visit to the Great Duke the first Time I had Leisure from my Publick Employments. Instead of granting this Suit, the King sent a Yacht for me towards the End of *February* 1678-9. with Orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's Office about the same time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joseph Williamson's* Place. I obey'd his Majesty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my Journey, and the Design of it, according to his Command; who made me Compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the Loss of the Ambassador. But I told the Prince, that tho' I must go, yet if I found the Scene what it appear'd to us at that distance, I would not charge my self with that Employment upon any Terms that could be afforded me. We knew very well in *Holland*, That both Houses of Parliament believ'd the Plot: That the Clergy, the City, the Country in general did so too, or at least pursu'd it as if they all believ'd it. We knew the King and that some of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion: And the Prince told me, He had reason to be confident, that the King was in his Heart a *Roman Catholic*, tho' he durst not profess it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one side or t'other; but thought it easie to preface, from such contrary Winds and Tides, such a Storm must rise, as would tear the Ship in Pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

At my Arrival in *England*, about the latter End of *February*, I found the King had dissolv'd a Parliament that had sat eighteen Years, and given great Testimonies of Loyalty and Compliance with his Majesty, till they broke first into Heats upon the *French* Alliances, and at last into Flames upon the Business of the Plot: I found a new Parliament was call'd; and that to make way for a calmer Session, the Resolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going

over into *Holland*, who embark'd the Day after my Arrival at *London*. The Elections of the ensuing Parliament were to eagerly pursu'd, that all were in a manner engag'd before I came over; and by the Dispositions that appear'd in both Electors and elected, it was easie to presage in what Temper the Houses were like to meet: My Lord *Shaftsbury*, my Lord *Essex*, and my Lord *Hallifax*, had struck up with the Duke of *Monmouth*, resolving to make use of his Credit with the King, and to support it by theirs in the Parliament: And tho' the first had been as deep as any in the Counsels of the Cabal while he was Chancellor, yet all three had now fall'n in with the common Humour against the Court and the Ministry, endeavouring to inflame the Discontents against both; and agreed among themselves, That none of them would come into Court, unless they did it all together; which was observ'd like other common Strains of Court-Friendships. Sir *William Coventry* had the most Credit of any Man in the House of Commons, and I think the most deservedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for having been turn'd out of the Council and the Treasury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford's* Greatness, and the Designs of the Cabal. He had been ever since opposite to the *French* Alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a War with that Crown, and Assistance of the Confederates; and was now extremely dissatisfied with the Conclusion of the Peace, and with the Ministry, that he thought either assisted, or at least might have prevented it; and in these Dispositions he was like to be follow'd by the best and soberest Part of the House of Commons. For my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two most admirable Emblems of the true, and so much admir'd Felicity of Ministers of State: The last, notwithstanding the greatest Skill of Court, and the best Turns of Wit in particular Conversation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the first Part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to support himself by Intrigues with the Persons most discontented against my Lord Treasurer's Ministry, whose Greatness he so much envy'd: And who was yet at this time in much worse Condition than himself, tho' not so sensible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of Transactions with *France*, which tho' he had not approv'd, yet he did not defend himself from the Imputation, for fear of exposing his Master; he was hated by the *French* Ambassador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War with *France*; he was in danger of being pursued by his Enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to stifle the Plot: And yet I found within a Fortnight after I arriv'd, that he sat very loose with the King his Master, who told me several Reasons of that Change; whereof one was, his having brought the Business of the Plot into the Parliament against his absolute Command: And to compleat the happy and envied State of this Chief Minister, the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* and Earl of *Sunderland* were joyn'd with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the Design of his Ruin. What a Game so embroil'd, and play'd on all sides with so much Heat and Passion, was like to end in, no Man could tell: But I, that never had any thing so much at heart as the Union of my Country, which I thought the only way to its Greatness and Felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the Divisions of it; the deplorable Effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with, in the Stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*: And for this Reason, tho' I was very much press'd to enter upon the Secretary's Office immediately after my Arrival, yet I delay'd it, by representing to his Majesty how necessary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the House of Commons (where it had been usual to have them both) and that consequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that Office before I got into the House, which was attempted, and fail'd: But how long this Excuse lasted, and how it was succeeded by many new and various Accidents, and how I was prevail'd with by the King to have the Part I had afterwards in a new Constitution of Council; and how after almost two Years unsuccessful Endeavours at some Union, or at least some Allays of the Heats and Distempers between the King and his Parliaments, I took the Resolution of having no more to do with Affairs of State; will be the Subject of a third Part of these Memoirs.



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